

Anonymous

Synoptic Account of the House of Timur

The following document, written anonymously in 816/1413 and preserved among the pages of a dismantled anthology in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, B.411, folio 159a), gives a synoptic account of the House of Timur from Iskandar-Sultan's point of view, according to which the Timurid empire had been bequeathed to him by his grandfather, Amir Timur.

This synopsis was written at the height of Iskandar-Sultan's power over Fars and Persian Iraq, but already his suspicions of Shahrukh, who one year later defeated Iskandar-Sultan and had him blinded, were aroused. The observations on his cousins' physical characteristics and conduct reflect an understandably unfriendly attitude.



The Renowned *Uruq* of the Sultan Ghazi Amir Timur Kürägän.

When, in the year of the Hegira 773 [A.D. 1371–72], corresponding to the Year of the Dog, His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi**¹ seized the throne of Transoxiana from Amir Husayn b. Musma b. Qazaghan, he made Samarqand his capital and built a rampart, palace and citadel therein.

The next year Zhanda-Hasham revolted and was put down. Thereafter His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** set out for the Mughuls, going as far as Sangar Yaghach and subduing many tribes. As he was returning from there, Amir Musa, Zhanda-Hasham, the sayyids of Tirmidh and Shaykh Abu-Layth of Samarqand mutinied and went out against him. He

killed Zhanda-Hasham but took no retribution upon the others. He set out for Khwarazm and returned peacefully that time.

After that, Toqtamish fled from Urus Khan and sought refuge with the **Sultan Ghazi**, who welcomed him and sent him as governor of Turkistan. However, he returned in defeat. His Majesty the Warrior Sultan sent him back, and this time [Toqtamish] almost died, having fallen wounded in a spot where Edigü Barlas found him and brought him back. A third time His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** favored Toqtamish and retained him, but on account of Toqtamish contention arose between His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** and Urus Khan. The armies camped between Utrar and Sighnaq, but by chance such hard rain fell that no movement could be made for four months. Finally Urus Khan and His Majesty both withdrew without fighting. His Majesty raided once more as far as Jeran Qamish

¹ Amir Timur is referred to throughout as "Sultan Ghazi." Words written in gold and red in the original are given in boldface in the translation.

and withdrew, having installed Toqtamish upon the throne in Savran. Urus Khan had died in the meantime, and Temür Malik was on the throne. Temür Malik was killed by Toqtamish, who then assumed the throne of the Uzbeks unchallenged.

Thereafter His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** set out for Khwarazm, which he conquered in the year 783 [1381]. Having installed a *darugha* there, he withdrew and ordered the construction of the citadel at Kish, which was completed that very winter. The next year he wrenched Khurasan from the hands of the Kart dynasty, and the following year he conquered Kalat and Turshiz. The next year he seized Sistan, Garmser and Qandahar. The next year he took Mazanderan and conquered up to Sultaniyya. During that year Toqtamish revolted and sacked Tabriz.

In the year 787 [1385] His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** went once again to Iran, conquering Tabriz, Khoy, Salmas, ... Arran, Muqan, Shirvan and Georgia. Toqtamish came again to the banks of the Kura but retreated in defeat after seeing only the vanguard of the army. After those victories His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** returned via Burujird, Nihawand and Khurramabad, which regions he conquered, taking prisoner Malik Izzuddin and his son Sidi-Ahmad. Then he headed toward Isfahan, which he devastated by massacre. Next he took Fars. By chance at that time Toqtamish had dispatched a large army to Transoxiana under the leadership of Aq Khwaja Oghlan. **Prince Umar-Shaykh** was in the capital [Samarqand]. The amirs of Samarqand, like Abbas, Sulaymanshah and Barat Khwaja joined His Highness, and in 788 [1386], in a place called Chugalak, they gave battle to the Toqmaq. The amirs of Samarqand withdrew in rout. His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** and his men made a valiant showing, but since it was not possible to regroup in the face of such a rout, he went to Uzjand. The Toqmaq

headed for Samarqand, raiding and taking prisoners in Qarsh[i], Bukhara and dependencies. Just then, by chance, Anga Tura came to Uzjand, and His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** faced him in battle. After much fighting he drove the rebel away. When His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** heard this news in Fars, he left Yahya b. Muzaffar b. Muhammad Muzaffar in Shiraz and set out to return home. When the Toqtamishites learned that His Majesty was approaching, they fled. The imperial army pursued them for a great distance. His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** headed for Khwarazm. Sulaymanshah and Elyighmish who were there abandoned the city and fled. His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** "turned [the city] upside down."²

Mirka b. Sher Bahram, who was His Majesty's son-in-law, rebelled, and His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** went to attack him. He killed him and pacified the realm that was at unrest. The Boraldai tribe also rebelled, but they were put down by Jahanshah Chäkü. Qandahar also revolted, and Aq Buqa went from Herat and triumphed over them. During this year Soyurghatmish [Khan] died, and his son Sultan-Mahmud was installed in his stead. That winter the Toqmaq appeared without warning, while the armies of His Majesty were scattered. He met Ichki Ev-oghli and defeated and killed the rebel vanguard led by Elyighmish on the banks of the Khujand River. Toqtamish, merely hearing of their defeat, decided not to make a stand and beat a retreat. His Majesty pursued the Uzbek from there to Sariq Özän. By chance, Hajji Beg, Muluk [Sarbadar] and Isa Türkman rebelled in Khurasan. [His Majesty] sent Prince Miranshah back with the Khurasan army to put them down while with the remaining army he himself encircled Mughulistan, completely overthrew the Mughul *ulus* and withdrew.

²Koran 11:82.

In the year 794 [1392] he set out with the entire army for the Qipchaq Steppe, where he defeated Toqtamish and took much plunder and many prisoners. In 794 he went once again to Iran and, having conquered Mazanderan, headed to triumph over Fars. He gave Tabriz to Miranshah and went himself via Khuzistan to Shiraz, where he killed Mansur. Fars he gave to Prince Umar-Shaykh. Executing the sons of Muhammad Muzaffar, he went via Iraq to Azerbaijan and conquered Diyarbakr and Mesopotamia. As he was about to head to Syria, he summoned Prince Umar-Shaykh. Prince Umar-Shaykh left Sultan Iskandar in Fars and set out via Baghdad. Along the way, in an obscure place, His Highness Prince Umar-Shaykh was martyred. Prince Pir-Muhammad returned to Shiraz, and Sultan Iskandar set out for the *ordu*, meeting His Majesty the Sultan Ghazi in Ala Tagh. Since His Majesty recognized the light of fortune and felicity and the aura of rule in him, he sent him back to consolidate Transoxiana and to guard the borders against the Mughuls, proceeding himself via Darband to the Toqmaq. On the banks of the Don he did battle with Toqtamish, whom he defeated, completely overthrowing the Rus, Circassians and all the Qipchaq Steppe—city, tribe, nation and nomad. Upon his return he raided and plundered all around the Alburz Mountains. Passing through Darband he headed for Samarqand.

In the year 800 he held a great feast at which Begisi Sultan was married to His Highness the Sultan. In 801 he set out

for India, conquering those realms up to be banks of the Ganges. Returning with many elephants and much booty, he ordered the construction of a new Friday mosque at Samarqand. Without warning Khanzada arrived to report that Miranshah's mind was deranged, that he had rebelled and that Azerbaijan was in turmoil. Consequently His Majesty the Sultan Ghazi went to Azerbaijan and reduced Miranshah to nought. The first year [of this campaign] he conquered Georgia; the second year he headed for Syria, which he conquered; the third year he massacred Baghdad; the fourth year he liberated Anatolia; and the fifth and sixth years he consolidated his gains and returned. During his return he placed Umar in Tabriz, Aba-Bakr in Baghdad, His Highness the Sultan in Hamadan, Rustom in Isfahan, and Prince Pir-Muhammad in Shiraz, with Miranshah in Aba-Bakr's charge. When he reached Samarqand he held great banquets at which were married Muhammad Taraghay b. Shahrukh, Sayyid-Ahmad and Bayqara b. Umar-Shaykh Bahadur, Ejil b. Miranshah, Ibrahim b. Shahrukh and Elängir b. Aba-Bakr b. Miranshah.

At the beginning of the winter of 807 [1404], having mustered and provisioned for a ten-year campaign, he set forth for the realms of Cathay. While overwintering in Utrar he was afflicted with dysentery and responded to God's invitation on the 14th of Sha'ban [February 15, 1405]. He left his great empire as a legacy to His Highness Sultan Iskandar—may he enjoy long life and great fortune.

NAME	Timur	Umar-Shaykh	Jahangir	Miranshah	Shahrukh
FATHER	Taraghay	Timur	Timur	Timur	Timur
MOTHER	Täkin	Tolun ³	Öljäy ⁴	Menglichä	Taghay Tärkän
LAQAB	Shuja'uddin	Qutbuddin	—	Mu'izzuddin	Mu'inuddin

³In text *TWMLWN*, a conflation of *Tümän* and *Tolun*.

⁴Elsewhere Jahangir's mother is given as *Turmish Agha* (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 99).

NAME	Timur	Umar-Shaykh	Jahangir	Miranshah	Shahrukh
FEATURES	Handsome and of good height	Tall and well spoken	Short, weak constitution	Handsome	Tawny
LENGTH OF LIFE	73	42	19	42	37
YEAR OF ACCESSION	773	770	none	781	798
YEAR OF DEATH	806	796	782 ⁸	810	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Illness	Shot by arrow	Dysentery	Killed	—
SEAL			—	Abu'l-Fath Miranshah	... Shah-Rukh
CONDUCT	Just and truthful	Just and brave	Unscrupulous	Generous but debauched	Parsimonious, no redeeming quality
BURIED AT	Samarqand	Shahr-i Sabz	Shahr-i Sabz	Shiraz	—
LENGTH OF RULE	37 years	24 years	—	30 years	18 years
VIZIERS	Hajji Sayfuddin	Tükäl	—	Yamin (?) Simnani	Sayyid Fakhruddin

[His Majesty] was extremely just, good-hearted, orthodox, heroic, mighty, generous and well spoken. Of praiseworthy qualities and good characteristics God withheld none from him. Safety and security reached such a level during his time that from the borders of Cathay to the Frankish shores everything was of one stripe and all were in step with each other. People who had only heard of the names of each other's countries as marvelous things in books sat around the same tables and drank from the same cups. Abandoning their bad manners and customs, they adopted good manners and qualities from each other. The whole face of the earth was bright, everyone learned talents and accomplished skills, and all arts and crafts reached the degree of perfection.

As for his sons: Inasmuch as Jahangir did not have an independent domain, and neither from him nor from his sons did any good works issue, his branch has not been diagrammed. However, the other princes' houses have been arranged

graphically, and the career of every individual has been mentioned as it was.

The Sons of Prince Umar-Shaykh. When His Highness Umar-Shaykh Bahadur died, His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** gave Fars to Prince Pir-Muhammad and took Sultan-Iskandar, Ahmad, Rustam, Sayyid-Ahmad and Bayqara to Samarqand. From among all the princes His Majesty chose Sultan Iskandar to view with favor and attention and set all his hopes upon his glory. One of the misfortunes of the sons of Jahangir was that Muhammad-Sultan rose up to attack His Highness, and much sedition and strife came about because of his disgraceful action. For that reason His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** put [Sultan-Iskandar] in Hamadan.

When His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** died and Miranshah's sons laid the foundations of sedition in Azerbaijan. Lest his own brothers act untimely out of ignorance and disgrace themselves, His Highness the **Sultan** [Iskandar] came from Hamadan to Fars, seized control of the area and confirmed his brothers there. When the realm was pacified and calm

⁵Given elsewhere as 777.

and all the world had placed its hopes upon His Highness the Sultan, the realms of Fars and Iraq were adorned by his felicitous fortune and state, and he once again gained control of the realms that had been lost by the contention of Miranshah's sons. He killed Mu'tasim, the last hope of the Muzaffarids, defeated the Turcoman forces, and wrenched Isfahan from the hands of its usurpers. After that he conquered all of Luristan and other provinces up to the gates of Tabriz, and from Mecca and Medina to Kuch and Makran, and from Khurasan to the Iron Gates of Darband, all were under the control of prefects appointed by him. From the age of ten until this very moment the wake of his renowned sword and his successful arm has spread through Iran and Turan and across time and space. The Mughul nation is held back by the force of his sword like Gog and Magog behind a dam of fear and trembling. And whenever they encroach, his heroes arrive like demons from lightning bolts and madmen from water and drive them farther back. The Emperor of China, the heir of Faghfur, Khaqan and Afrasiyab, recognizes his suzerainty to this state and acknowledges himself a servant of His Highness, and his emissaries travel for two years bearing gifts and tribute. All the scions of royal families, like Ahmad of Baghdad and other *khaqans* too, prostrate themselves at his golden threshold. Although there are great records of past sultans and emperors, His Majesty the Sultan Ghazi and His Highness Prince Umar-Shaykh annulled them all and established records impossible to equal, yet His Highness has achieved such works and left such a record of deeds in the world that all the perfection of the [aforementioned] two sultans and so many thousands of other rulers would also be effaced from the pages of the mind and the ledgers of thought. Of the sciences of divinity, philosophy, arithmetic, mathematics, revela-

tion, rational and tradition and other rare accomplishments, of what every class of the nations of the world employ, know, do and use, he has surpassed the totality of the masters of those arts and founders of those canons and added a hundred thousand points and subtleties to each of them. He has elevated every art to such an apogee of perfection, unsurpassable apex and degree of absoluteness that no addition can be imagined. Even in sciences the likes of Sayyid Nuruddin Ni'matullah, Sayyid Sharif, Khwaja Sadruddin Turka, and Shaykh Muhammad Jazari, each of whom is miraculous in several thousand arts and sciences, consider themselves honored to benefit from his assembly, and every problem that has presented itself during this period of time to each of these men in the religious and mystical sciences, they have reported to him one by one and discovered a solution. All the various nations and classes of creatures of the world, externally and internally, bow to his generous existence in fealty and obedience and seek from his high-minded great fortune assistance and aid. They recognize that their lives, religion, worldly goods, safety and security, fame and status depend upon his grace and favor, and they acknowledge that eternal torment and humility hang upon disobedience of his command.

His wellwishers are honored with pleasure, fortune and might; his detractors are humbled by pain, fear and wrath. When the breeze of his beneficence blows scorched earth turns into paradise; the fire of his wrath raises dust from the heart of the ocean. As long as crowns, thrones and empire are princely lots, may the Creator favor him with crown, throne and fortune.

NAME	Pir-Muh'd	Rustam	S'n-Iskandar	Ahmad
FATHER	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh
MOTHER	Malikat Agha	Nana Khatun ⁶	Malikat Agha	Malikat Agha
LAQAB	Ziya'uddin	Azududdin	Jalaluddin Sultan	—
OFFSPRING	2 sons, 1 daughter	2 sons	1 son	—
FEATURES	Squint-eyed, light-skinned	Sallow	Incomparable	Rosy white
YEAR OF ACCESSION	793	807	793	807
LENGTH OF LIFE	32	—	God willing, he will reach old age	—
LENGTH OF RULE	18 years	3 years	Whole life	Whole life
DATE OF DEATH	812	—	—	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Killed by his slave	—	—	—
CONDUCT	He lived res- pectably	Did not possess dominance	Without equal	A compassionate man
BURIED AT	Shiraz	—	—	—
SEAL	Pir-Muhammad	Rustam	Iskandar	Ahmad
VIZIER	Ruknuddin Kirmani	Qazi Ahmad	Tahir b. Hajji Sayfuddin	—

NAME	Sayyid-Ahmad	Muhammad	Pir-Ali
FATHER	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	S'n-Iskandar
MOTHER	Tughluq Sultan	Malikat Agha	Jan Malik Agha
LAQAB	—	Bayqara	Qutbuddin
OFFSPRING	—	—	—
FEATURES	Light-skinned, green-eyed	Tawny	Like his father
YEAR OF ACCESSION	—	—	804
LENGTH OF LIFE	20	—	May he reach old age under his father's protection
LENGTH OF RULE	6 yrs. in Sirghan	—	Whole life
DATE OF DEATH	815	—	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Illness	—	—
CONDUCT	Of considerable talent	Seditious and impudent	Like his father
BURIED AT	Herat	—	—
SEAL	Sayyid-Ahmad	Muhammad	Pir-Ali b. Iskandar
VIZIER	—	—	Isma'il b. Abdul-Samad

⁶I.e., Qutluq Tärkän Khatun (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 101).

The finest offspring of this house, the cream of this family, is His Highness **Sultan Jalaluddin Iskandar**. It is as though he is the reason for the favor enjoyed by the Turkish branch of humanity and the tribe of Japheth son of Canaan [*sic*]. Indeed the reason for the creation of worldlings was the appearance of his noble essence, for regardless how one looks backward to the time of Adam and searches through past princes, kings and emperors, not one of them "has even a scent of our spring." Just as the Divine Majesty is without equal or peer, so too is he the shadow of that very essence and the manifestation of those very attributes. So exalted is his quality of dominion and so great his felicity that anyone who goes to sleep by night suffering his wrath will not awake until resurrection, anyone who refuses to obey his command will have his neck broken, and anyone who does not keep his feet firmly in fealty to him, his foot will become like a reed and, like a black reed pen, will be split up through his body. Anyone who—God forbid—is deprived of his glance of favor will never see the countenance of happiness.

The sublime monuments he has until now in the space of a few years left as a memorial upon the face of time—such as the Jalali Fort in Shiraz, a palace, a castle and splendid buildings there, the fort at Qasr-i Zard, and the Iskandariyya Fort at Isfahan, the Iskandarabad Fort in Luristan, the palace and lovely Gitinumay Garden, the incomparable Gulistan palace and garden at Yazd, the Dilkash Garden at Abarquh, and numerous mosques, *madrasas*, *khanaqahs*, charitable institutions, hospices, caravanserais and other buildings he commanded built—if all the rulers of the face of the earth who are and ever have been had lived for a thousand years, they would not have been able to leave behind them a decimal of a tenth of these monuments.

Now that it is time for panegyric and praise of his good qualities, I am ashamed

to mention the name of any ruler in the same breath as his praiseworthy qualities and attributes and wonderful deeds, but what am I to do? It is impossible to transgress his great order and command. If other comparisons are not made, like black jet strung on a cord of pearls, then how can the distinction be made? It is for this reason that it has been said that:

If a rose were not among thorns, how could
its subtlety be apparent? It would be a pearl
amidst the bottom of the ocean, a ruby
within granite stone.

May God preserve him for ever and ever—until the disintegration of the world—upon the throne of patronage of the arts, through the prophet and his glorious family.

The Sons of Prince Miranshah. When the news of the terrible and tragic death of His Highness the **Sultan Ghazi** was received by Umar, he allowed himself to be duped by conceit and vainglory beyond description. He alienated Jahan-shah [Chäkü], who was the greatest proponent of the state, with the result that so much blood was shed, and the amirs of Iraq, like Shaykh Ibrahim, Kustandil, Sayyid-Ahmad, the sons of Sa'd, Verk [Berk Bahadur], Jaligh, Bistam and Muhammad Dawatdar all withdrew from his divan and court. After that he drove his father from his domain and imprisoned his brother [Aba-Bakr]. When he continued in that path, those close to him also lost confidence in him. When his brother had a opportunity and escaped from his bondage, the armies broke with Umar and joined him. [Aba-Bakr] killed every general he had and, heading for Tabriz, did battle with the Turcoman at Uruspar [?]. Despite all the soldiers he had, he defeated himself because there were no generals and no organization. When they camped at Chors (?), they left on the ground the rest of what they had when they heard the false news that the rebels

were close at hand. Coming to Tabriz, he plundered the city and withdrew. Once again, two years later, he led a group of the Jäüni-Qorbanis astray and went to battle the Turcoman. He reduced his father to such a state that in battle he mounted him on a skinny horse with no quiver, no mail or anything of the sort so that he was killed by two soldiers. All of Aba-Bakr and Prince Miranshah's family and retainers, along with thirty thousand householders of the Chaghatay *ulus*, were taken prisoner by the Turcomans. Himself devastated by this battle, [Aba-Bakr] came to Sultaniyya and then, leaving that place, went to Kerman. Edigü's sons honored him and turned over to him the keys to the city and treasury, pandering to him like servants. Secretly Aba-Bakr plotted to have them seized and killed, but one of his trusted men informed them of the plot, and they drove him away. He went to Sistan, where he contemplated doublecrossing the Malik of Sistan before fleeing and going to Kerman, where he was killed by Edigü's sons. In short, because of his perfidy, from the gates of Sawa to the Frankish borders and Syria, nearly a thousand parasangs in length and breadth of revenue-producing, taxable domain, fell into the hands of aliens, and enemies who had never been able to stay for two days together in one place ceased being harmless and turned into dangerous foes—and disgrace ensued.

When His Majesty the Sultan Ghazi died, the princes Khalil, Ahmad and Bayqara were in the *ordu*. All made

obedience to Khalil, who gained possession of kingdom and army, with all the treasures and hoards—the wealth of the universe—which he promptly squandered. The generals of the Iraq army, the Tatar tribes and the Jäün-Qorban tribes were left in the lurch. Khudadad Husayn and Shaykh Nuruddin rebelled, and although Tüman Agha was given in marriage to Shaykh Nuruddin, it was to no avail. All the wealth was spent, and the army too was in such disarray that Khudadad with three thousand men defeated his ... thousand men, imprisoned him and took control of Samarqand. Prince Shahrukh led his army against him and seized Samarqand. Khudadad took Khalil and joined the Mughuls, by whom Khudadad was murdered. Khalil fled to Alan and from there to Shaykh Nuruddin. Fleeing from there too, he joined Prince Shahrukh and accompanied him back to Herat. On the pretext of going to Azerbaijan Khalil took a huge military contingent from Prince Shahrukh, but when he reached Rayy he wanted to go to assist Rustam. The Khurasan army refused to go. Khalil went and, devastated by that deceit and mistake, managed to extricate himself with a thousand guiles. In the vicinity of Mahabad, Abdullah Tarkhan, one of His Highness the Sultan's slaves, came upon him and wanted to take him prisoner back to the *ordu*. Khalil pleaded, and Abdullah let him go. Khalil went to Rayy, where he fell ill and died. His bones were taken to the Shrine of Imam Riza, and from there they were transported to Samarqand.

NAME	Aba-Bakr	Umar	Khalil	Ejil
FATHER	Miranshah	Miranshah	Miranshah	Miranshah
MOTHER	Urung Sultan	Urung Sultan	Sevinch Beg	Tini (?) Beg
LAQAB	Muzaffaruddin	—	Burhanuddin	—
FEATURES	Possessed the features of Haydaris (?)	Weak and ill formed	Tawny, handsome	Like his father
OFFSPRING*	4 sons, 1 daughter	—	3 daughters	—
YEAR OF ACCESSION	805	805	807	—
LENGTH OF LIFE	32 years	27	29	22

NAME	Aba-Bakr	Umar	Khalil	Ejil
LENGTH OF RULE	9 years	6 years	5 years	—
YEAR OF DEATH	811	810	814	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Killed in Kerman	Killed in Herat	Fell ill in Rayy	—
CONDUCT	Unjust, unenlightened, perfidious	Conceited and base	A mindless prodigal	Impudent and seditious
BURIED AT	Shiraz	Herat	Samarqand	—
VIZIER	Nawroz	Qutbuddin Awbihi	Ala'uddawla Simnani	—

Ejil is today in Badakhshan. The other four sons of Prince Miranshah are in Khurasan: (1) Soyurghatmish, who is seventeen years old; (2) Sultan-Muhammad, eight years old; (3) Muhammad-Temür, seven years old; and (4) Sidi-Ahmad, five years old. He also had three daughters, Begi Sultan, Qutlugh Sultan and Agha Begi. All three are in Khurasan.

The Sons of Prince Shahrukh. [Shahrukh] has ruled Khurasan well, and although he was plagued by several large-scale rebellions, such as Sayyid Khwaja's revolt and Hasan Jandar and Jahan Malik's mutiny, he did not give up an inch. Another time he had to fend off Umar's sedition, which was the worst of all. When Umar was defeated, he joined [Shahrukh] in Astarabad. Prince Shahrukh gave him all of Mazanderan. After one year of residence there, during which he gained power, he rebelled and caused much devastation as he set forth for Herat. Although Prince Shahrukh heard of Pir-Ali's movement, he paid no attention and went out to meet Umar. In the vicinity of Bardu [?], a dependency of Jam they encountered each other and a battle ensued. [Shahrukh] defeated Umar,

who headed to take refuge in Balkh. In the area of Chechäk Tu he ran across some of [Amir] Mizrab's herdsmen and wanted to drive the horses. The herdsmen surrounded him with swords, brought him down and took him to the *ordu*. Since he had a bad wound on his head, he died of that. However, many people claim that during surgery a needle was driven into his head, destroying his brain. His tomb is on the Khiyavan in Herat. When the news of his defeat was published abroad, Pir-Ali killed Pir-Muhammad and wanted to head toward Herat, but he was unable and remained uncertain what to do. Prince Shahrukh came out toward him and drove him into exile from Balkh. He gave Balkh to Qaydu, Pir-Muhammad's son. While Shahrukh was in Sistan, Qaydu connived with Khalil and laid the foundations of sedition. Prince Shahrukh took Balkh from him and gave it to his own son Ibrahim-Sultan and dispatched Qaydu to Kabul and Ghazni. Today he has consolidated from the piedmont of Kashghar to the borders of Qumis and Tabaristan and has amassed treasures and wealth beyond the imagination.

NAME	Taraghay	Ibrahim	Baysunghur	Soyurghatmish
FATHER	Shahrukh	Shahrukh	Shahrukh	Shahrukh
MOTHER	Gawharshad	Tuti ⁷	Gawharshad	Gawharshad

⁷Tuti Khatun, according to *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 133), of the Narin tribe of the Mughuls.

NAME	Taraghay	Ibrahim	Baysunghur	Soyurghatmish
LAQAB	Ulughbeg	—	—	—
FEATURES	White-skinned	Tawny	Tawny, Turkish features	Tawny
YEAR OF ACCESSION	812	812	—	—
LENGTH OF LIFE	18 years	19 years	15 years	almost 14
LENGTH OF RULE	4 years	4 years	—	—
YEAR OF DEATH	—	—	—	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	—	—	—	—
CONDUCT	Most incompetent	Calm and placid	Impudent and lazy	Jovial and dignified
PLACE OF RULE	Samarqand	Tokharistan	—	—
SEAL	Muhammad Sultan Ghazi	Ibrahim	—	—
VIZIER	Ali Simnani	Hajji Yusuf	—	—

Aside from these, he has a son named Juki, born of Gawharshad, and three daughters, also by Gawharshad.

[Shahrukh] knows well how to maintain the externals of the religious and customary law, but he has not embarked upon any particular science or art. The most outstanding virtue he possesses is that he loves His Highness **Sultan Iskandar** extremely well, wishes him well and supports him heartily by sending several times a year emissaries, messages and correspondence to His Highness the **Sultan**, treading the path of devotion and affection. The details of rule he has entrusted to his amirs, but he allows no creature to interfere in the overall planning, which he executes himself. All of his military live from fiefs, and they content themselves with that.

The salaries and gratuities that His Highness the **Sultan** has allowed by his great charity to both elite and common-folk no one has ever matched, and no one can remember anyone else having done so. May God the Exalted maintain His Highness's existence for long years upon the throne of rule and majesty, through him after whom there will be no prophet.

Copied⁸ on Tuesday evening, the 21st of Rabi' I, A.H. 816 [June 21, 1413], praising God and praying for his prophet, at the Abode of Security Isfahan—may God preserve her from calamity.

⁸In the first chart Shahrukh is said to have begun his rule in 798 and to have ruled for 18 years, making the 816 date correct. However, the ages given for Shahrukh's sons are all two years less than they should be.