

THE AQ-QOYUNLU STATE FROM THE DEATH OF OSMAN BEY TO UZUN HASAN BEY (1435-1456)

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Introduction

The creator of the Aq-Qoyunlu principality founded in the region of Diyarbakır was Kara Yülük Osman Bey, a member of the Bayındır tribe of the Oghuz. The Bayındır tribe, which had actually participated in the conquest of Anatolia, was concentrated in the Upper Euphrates and Tigris River basins during the period of Mongol rule. With the collapse of the İlhan State, the Bayındır, who centered the tribal leadership on their family, formed the Aq-Qoyunlu nation by uniting with other tribes.

The name under which they first enter the historical record was “Tur Alililer” and under this name they were active for an extended period in the Kelkit and Trabzon basin. During the period when Emir Timur (Tamerlane) of the Chaghatay made his influence felt in Anatolia, one branch of the Tur Alililer under the leadership of Kara Yülük Osman Bey broke off and joined Timur. After the Battle of Ankara in 1402 when Anatolia came under Chaghatay control, under Osman Bey’s leadership the tribe settled in Diyarbekir and founded an emirate there. Later, when the Tur Alililer group in the Kelkit Valley joined Osman Bey the Aq-Qoyunlu nation and an emirate based on it came into existence (1403). The emirate, which was subject to the Chaghatay, showed great development during the period of Osman Bey. Many tribes residing in the Tigris and Euphrates river basins joined the Aq-Qoyunlu nation. In addition, starting with Diyarbekir (Âmid), when well-known centers in eastern and southeastern Anatolia such as Mardin, Urfa, Kemah, Ergani, Erzincan, Bayburt, Tercan and Erzurum were included within the emirate’s boundaries other centers such as Silvan, Ahlat,

Bitlis, Eğil, Hasankeyf and Tercil accepted its rule. For these they contested with the Mamlûks and the Qara-Qoyunlu; their greatest ally was Timur's grandson, the Chaghatay ruler Shâh Rukh. The emirate, which grew in both in people and area under Osman Bey's leadership, became a regional power controlling major roads and routes linking the Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Anatolia. However, with this came certain difficulties. First of all, the emirate's geographic location hindered the development of a strong, centralized administration. Along with territorial expansion came the need for a more effective bureaucratic system. It was necessary to redefine the position of the tribes within the Aq-Qoyunlu nation, but this was extremely dangerous for the state. When Osman Bey died while in the process of solving these challenges, the tribes started a struggle for power. Kara Yülük's successor, Ali Bey, was not recognized by a large part of the Aq-Qoyunlu nation resulting in a twenty-year civil war. These times were the darkest and most turbulent in Aq-Qoyunlu history, yet also extremely productive from the perspective of resolving its difficulties. When the civil war ended the political, social and cultural work leading to an empire had been completed to a great degree.

Ali Bey's Emirate

A confederated political structure that has not been centralized and whose very existence is linked to its powerful, charismatic founder's destiny is condemned to disintegrate the moment it loses its creator. And it could not be expected that the Aq-Qoyunlu who had lost their founder would not go through this process, too. But it is more appropriate to leave the discussion as to why this disintegration did not lead to disappearance but led to the complete opposite, to the investigative evaluation in later pages. Among the Aq-Qoyunlu who had not resolved the question of the throne the issue of the confederation's leadership appeared immediately upon Osman Bey's death. The first to begin to act were the sons of Ahmet Bey who had lost the struggle in the past. Kilij Aslan Bey, Kutlu Bey and Hüseyin Bey left Erzurum at once and began

the struggle for dominance. However, failing to find general acceptance among the Aq-Qoyunlu nation, they retreated to their fiefs in Palu and Bayburt. While Sheikh Hasan, one of the princes belonging to the dynastic family, was occupied hosting the Chaghatays Ali Bey, who has left the war early, was placed on the principality's throne by the Aq-Qoyunlu nation in the vicinity of Tercan who were under his son Jihangir's administration. The new Aq-Qoyunlu bey immediately applied to the Chaghatays to ratify his position. The Chaghatay crown prince Mehmet Juki declared Ali Bey the ruler of Diyarbekir and as bey of the Aq-Qoyunlu bestowed a sword and robe of honor on him. As for Yaqub, one of the powerful contenders for the throne, he was forced to be content with Erzincan. Thinking to strengthen his ties between the two sides, the Chaghatay crown prince married one of the daughters of the late Osman Bey's and returned to Karabagh (end of autumn 1435).¹

The Chaghatay prince's dispositions did not please the tribal leaders; they doubted that Ali Bey could keep the confederation together and he lacked charisma among the community. Sultan Hamza was the first to object. With his manner of controlling Mardin while his father was alive, one of the principality's main centers of support, he gained important esteem among the tribes. The area he ruled was the territory of an important section of the Turcoman tribes. The prince, who maintained good relations with the local Orthodox and Syriac Christian elements, did not recognize Ali Bey who had been declared ruler by the Harput-Erzincan faction in the name of the Mardin group and took Âmida, the principality's center. The dispute within the principality suddenly turned into the historical Upper-Middle Euphrates rivalry. If Hamza had been able to take Ergani, the principality's central military camp, there is no doubt that he would have gained control over a large section of the principality. However, the governors, who were Ali Bey's Chaghatay comrades in arms, did not allow this to happen. Remaining loyal to Ali Bey who had been appointed by their own prince, they left the center to his son Jihangir. Hamza's movement politically and in reality divided into two the principality which was geographically composed of three parts. Ali Bey called on the Chaghatays and when he returned to his fief in Harput he received a second setback when his brothers, Mehmet and

Mahmut, and his mother, Seljuk Hatun, in a sudden maneuver joined Hamza's ranks; due to the strengthening of the opposition a dispute over leadership occurred. For the integrity of the principality and, even more, to force acceptance of his rule, he did what was required, marching upon Âmida and putting pressure on the region. Ali Bey's appearing in the area was sufficient to make the other side anxious. When Sultan Hamza fled to save his original fief of Mardin, the people of the city which had been left leaderless, or more correctly in the control of the Pürnekli, wasted no time in sending an invitation to Ali Bey. While the Emir, who had gained control of the city in a short time, was wintering in the vicinity of Ra'su'l-Ayn in order to continue the pressure on the region he made an ill-timed attempt at contact with the Mamlûks sending his son to Cairo as a goodwill ambassador (autumn 1436). Sultan Malik Ashraf Barsbay, who did not favor negotiations and was known to harbor ill-will against the Turcomans, as soon as he had the prince immediately imprisoned, sent his border troops towards Âmida. In the vicinity of Karaca Dağ Jihangir, who had come out from Âmid to confront the marauding enemy, could not escape becoming the prisoner of the Döger, despite a heroic assault with a handful of Emir, Mosul and Bektash warriors. The Aq-Qoyunlu prince's extraordinary struggle is truly worthy of mention. The source describes the event thus: *"The Egyptians seized the opportunity and attacked again. There was a great battle between them. While the Döger cavalry was completely armed and equipped, Jihangir Mirza's cavalry was inadequate. The Döger attacked from all sides, surrounded Jihangir Mirza's army and rained arrows down upon it. All of Jihangir Mirza's soldiers escaped through a gap. Then they mounted and went on the offensive. For one week the fought back and forth. They unhorsed the Emir's son Jihangir, fighting in the middle of the battle, four times. The first time Hazan son of Rustem reached the horse. The second time Pir Ahmad son of Seydi Ahmad; the third Lala Hasan and the last time Behzat son of the Arab. The last Arabian horse that he mounted threw the prince and he was taken prisoner. Omar of Emir also performed acts of bravery. An arrow which struck the upper part of his right ear came out the left side, once again an arrow struck a handspan below his knee. Paying no attention to these*

Omar shot arrows and was trying to protect the army."² While the news that his son had fallen prisoner shook Ali Bey, the latest events seemed to tell that difficult times awaited both him and his nation. After a Mamluke attack on the horizon, a Qara-Qoyunlu danger appeared. Iskender, returning after not seeing the necessary interest from the Ottoman rulers who were wary of the Timurids, entered Aq-Qoyunlu territory. When the brothers Yaqub, Sheikh Hasan and Pilten Bey, who ruled the principality's northern flank, joined Ali Bey, who was determined to defend his country and tribe, the ruler of Palu, Kilij Arslan who had been Iskender's friend for a long time, opposed. While Iskender waited in the vicinity of Sariççek, news from Erzincan changed the primary target. Prince Jafar, taking the city had rebelled. The Aq-Qoyunlu Bey immediately proceeded to Erzincan upon this extremely dangerous development. The rebellious prince appeared resolute and did not surrender the city. The matter was about to reach a delicate state; if Yaqub bey and Sheikh Hasan Bey who had taken the lead to prevent a new division of the principality had handed over Jafar the rebellion would not have ended. This time Jafar Bey's children tried to resist with the support of the dynasty's side branches. But to this end the intervention of the ruler of Bayburt, Kutlu Bey produced no results. Ali Bey with the help his brothers Yaqub Bey, Sheikh Hasan Bey, Mehmet Bey and Mahmut Bey who had supported him from the beginning with great resolution, took control of Erzincan within a short period of time, putting down a rebellion that would have created serious consequences if it had spread (summer 1436).³

Iskender, who had failed to divide the Aq-Qoyunlu, besieged Harput with the forces that Kilij Arslan, who had remained loyal to him, had sent; but the show of force that he had wanted to make soon turned to disaster. The Qara-Qoyunlu bey suffered heavy losses in the face of the extremely successful resistance of Harput's ruler, Pehlivan Bey. Upon learning that Ali Bey had set out at the head of a large force he raised the siege and headed for his residence in Kığı. When he reached Erzurum by the Tercan-Erzincan road he did all in his power not to leave a single work of the Aq-Qoyunlu in the places through which he passed; he practically left nothing standing. After pillaging Erzurum and its

vicinity he retreated to his winter quarters at Sürmelu on the border of Azerbaijan (winter 1437-38).⁴

Ali Bey, who had acted with courage despite the objections of the emirs, returned to Âmid after putting matters right in Harput and the Kelkit valley. Now his objective was the future of his sons being held hostage in Cairo. He sent a private courier to Cairo with a letter containing the most extreme concessions he could make in the name of repairing relations with the Mamlûks. The proud Mamlûk Sultan, regarding what was given as insufficient, also demanded Harput, the Aq-Qoyunlu bey's homeland. Naturally, this incorrect decision brought about his end. The broken-hearted father discovered the error of accepting this demand. The nation, interpreting this as submissiveness, and a large section of his followers turned their backs on him. Ali Bey, whose leadership had become a subject of debate within the tribe, attempted to resist no matter the cost. He sent his twelve-year-old son, the great future leader Hasan Bey to Harput to convince them, but the prince was unsuccessful in the face of resistance. When, fearing punishment, he took refuge under the protection of his uncle Yaqub and his mother the new events that took place in the principality's southern section changed everything.⁵

The Collapse of Power: The Struggle with Sultan Hamza

When in his lifetime Osman Bey divided the principality among his sons and groups of relatives in the dynastic family according to the "ülüş" system, the ground was laid for feudal division. Just as Osman Bey's death created tumult in the principality that had not created a tradition of central authority, the failure of Ali Bey (chosen by the tribe) to break the princes' resistance sped up its division. The principality's core cadre, disturbed by developments, brought out the ruler of Mardin and Ali Bey's brother, Sultan Hamza, against Ali Bey, extremely weakened by outside interference and without power, and rallied around him. While the most powerful Aq-Qoyunlu tribes, the Pürnek, Musullu, Bektaşlı and Hacılılar, being among those who chose Hamza shook Ali

Bey's authority, the victory over the Qara-Qoyunlu was the fatal blow. The historic victory which Hamza won at the end of 1437 over Isfahan Bey, the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler of Baghdad, prepared a foundation of legitimacy for his continuing authority within the tradition of the Aq-Qoyunlu. Ali Bey could no longer remain in Âmid. While hurriedly summoning Hasan Bey to the capital, he retreated to the northern provinces. The Aq-Qoyunlu Bey, whose primary aim was to save his children no matter the cost, did not hesitate to hand Harput over to the Mamlûks even at the price of being without a homeland. With this final action he not only saved his sons, but also gained legitimacy in Malik Ashraf's eyes. With his sons Jhangir and Hüseyin at his side Ali Bey, joining his brother, the ruler of Erzincan, Yaqub Bey, began to prepare the city as a base to continue the struggle against the claimant to the sultanate. Shortly afterwards, with Hamza Bey's capture of Âmid, Erzincan was the temporary capital for a short period.⁶

Despite capturing Âmid, Sultan Hamza's leadership had not won legitimacy in the view of the Aq-Qoyunlu. The northern flank (the summer grounds) in particular continued its opposition. Also, the people of Âmid did not consider Hamza one of their own. The Muslim population, through their religious leader Qadi Ahmet and civil leader Haji Yusuf, resisted the siege to its end. When the Aq-Qoyunlu prince took the city with the aid Christian from the religious minorities, what the Muslims feared came to pass. When Qadi Ahmet and Haji Yusuf were killed the shops were looted. With this action the non-Muslim elements gained considerable influence. Hamza's action became the cause of great indignation among the city's Muslim population as well as the Aq-Qoyunlu tribes. As for Ali Bey in Erzincan, he set about obtaining help against Hamza from the Mamlûks by sending his sons Jhangir and Hüseyin to Cairo. After quite a long and adventurous journey the princes appeared before Malik Ashraf in Cairo, then proceeded back to Anatolia with a considerable force of 5000 troops from the Mamlûk sultan. If there are many valid reasons for the Mamlûks assisting Ali Bey's sons this way, their mistrust of Sultan Hamza, the rebel emir Canıbek Sufi's activities in the region and above all the reduction of the Chaghatai's influence by means of saving their

old friend Iskender Mirza who was in a difficult position against Jihanshah, can be considered the most important.⁷

While the princes were advancing towards Anatolia, Ali Bey, unable to bear his brothers' offensive treatment any longer, had long since set off for Ottoman territory. Thus when Ali Bey's period ended, internal strife and division in the Aq-Qoyunlu increased further. Although Hamza had the strongest and most stable position among potential candidates, he did not have the power to unite all the Aq-Qoyunlu. While Ali Bey's sons would never renounce their claim to the throne, new claimants would also appear on the scene. Gentle, peace-loving Ali Bey, beyond being unacceptable to that element of the Aq-Qoyunlu who were supporters of war and expansion, was also underestimated by his rivals. The Mamlûks, who showed their ability to use his goodwill for their own simple gain, threw away the opportunity for peace in the region in which they actually most needed it. After this no Aq-Qoyunlu leader would ever show them as friendly an attitude as had Ali Bey.

Sultan Hamza's Partial Leadership and Resistance

As the matter was unresolved, Ali Bey's abandoning his claims to leadership brought the situation to an impasse. However, Hamza, the ruler of Mardin, who had viewed all these developments as to his advantage was not at ease. His brother's sons, Jhangir and Hüseyin, with the thought of claiming their ancestors' inheritance to the end, continued the Mamlûk's support activities and, persuading their uncle Yaqub, took the summer quarters of Erzincan, which formed the state's northern axis. When Jhangir became the ruler of Erzincan, in reality he became nothing more than an ordinary agent of the Mamlûks, and their gain was not limited to only Erzincan. Now Akşehir, Kemah, Arapkir and Çemişkezek which formed a chain along the length of the upper Euphrates were also under their control (June 1438). When the totally defeatist attitude of Ali Bey and his sons was allowing the Mamlûks to gain respect in the region, the sudden death of Malik Ashraf Barsbay

brought a halt to the development. The Mamlûk forces immediately withdrew; the new ruler, Chakmak had a different area of interest. He intervened so openly that when the Mamlûks created a sphere of influence that extended to Azerbaijan no effective opposition came from either the Ottomans or the Chaghatays. Thus, the new formation brought about by the change in the balance of power in the Middle East condemned the Aq-Qoyunlu to the Mamlûks.⁸

The old actors resumed their places on stage in the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Mamlûk army. Escaping the storm by hiding in Âmid, Sultan Hamza on one hand struck coins bearing the name of the new Mamlûk leader Baysbar, and on the other did not hesitate to march on his nephew when he neglected to read his name in the mosques at Friday prayers. The ruler of Mardin besieged Erzincan with the large army that he had gathered. This time, when Ali Bey's sons put forth credible, convincing claims that he had offered the country to the Mamlûks, he did not allow their veracity to be considered due to negative impression they made on the tribe. The resistance of the Princes Jihangir Bey, Hüseyin Bey and Hasan Bey with the people of Erzincan put pressure on Hamza. In particular, unable to withstand Hasan Bey's attack he withdrew. Ali Bey's sons had won an important victory (July 1438).⁹

A Short-Term Compromise on Jafer Bey; The Struggle Changes Course

Jihangir and his brothers who, with their father's retreat, found themselves without sovereignty and more importantly without a territory, supported the Erzincan emirate of Jafer, son Yaqub Bey in whose territory they had taken shelter. In this way when Mamlûk rule in the region came to an end by itself, Jihangir was saved the disgrace of being an ordinary leader who attracted criticism. Nevertheless, everyone realized that Jafer's sultanate would not be long-lived. More than having a weak, untrustworthy personality, the Aq-Qoyunlu prince's main misfortune was having neither fortune nor strength in the power game.

The slippery ground created by the shifting allegiances of the independent tribes in an atmosphere of anarchy had a tremendous effect on the outcome. In the same way shortly afterwards many tribes concerned with finding winter pasture as a result incompetence and a lack of purpose put an end to Jafer. The ruling class, abandoning the administrative center in desperation and retreating to Akşehir, was divided into three factions. When Jafer, who had lost power, was forced by pressure from the opposition to abandon his father's home territory, the opposing forces of Yaqub-Hasan Bey along with Ali Bey and his sons Jhangir-Hüseyin formed a dual alliance. At this point it is understood (though it seems possible that the source had bad intentions against him) that Ali Bey played an uncertain, shadowy role in the course of events. Ali Bey, who had returned from Ottoman territory with the hope which his sons' holding Erzincan had given him, was like a worthless object tossed to and fro in the power game whose conditions and actors had changed. After an unsuccessful attempt to form an alliance with Pilten Bey, the ruler of Kığı, he tried his luck once again in Erzincan. With his brother Yaqub Bey's support he again tried for the leadership of the Aq-Qoyunlu. But when the tribe's definite negative response ended his political life, the disagreeing allies also dispersed. When the Erzincan alliance, lacking the historical, political and economic supports which would work to compel it and give it form, dispersed without being founded, it seemed that only an Aq-Qoyunlu political organization with its center in Âmid would be able to continue.¹⁰

Sultan Hamza was pleased with developments. While strengthening his situation in Mardin Yaqub Bey, a member of the scattered alliance, was retreating to Kemah with the nephew of the 'future Padishah Uzun Hasan,' Hasan Bey. Ali Bey, together with his sons Jhangir and Hüseyin, took refuge with the Mamlûks. Coming to Aleppo in January 1439, the former Aq-Qoyunlu bey was a simple refugee who had lost everything and remained so until he died.¹¹

Jhangir against Hamza

In the Near East, in an atmosphere in which the political powers were on the advance, the instability on the Tigris-Euphrates line and the tribal disintegration among the Aq-Qoyunlu continued. The northern flank located in the summer grounds continued its strong opposition against Hamza who held the winter grounds. Yaqub Bey, who appeared to be the strongest man in the region, with the efforts of his nephew Hasan Bey formed a de facto administration. When the duo succeeded in repelling the attacks of Jafer Bey who wanted to test his luck in the region once more, he was compelled to return to Ottoman territory (spring 1440).¹²

This time when Sultan Hamza was unable to cope with the northern opposition he came face to face with the danger of being attacked where he was most vulnerable in his home. It was as if the region where Chaghatay influence had almost completely disappeared and which the Ottomans (themselves undergoing a tremendous upheaval) had not thought of laying hands on had been abandoned to the mercy of Mamlûks who sought instability. The customary weakness seen in the Mamlûk administration in Syria was one of the elements shaking the region's stability. As the Turcomans became an important focus of strength in the power game connected to Cairo, they gained power on the political stage of the Near East over those they controlled. This situation, in a fashion opposite to the region's societal orientation, created an artificial Turcoman movement which included the Ottomans too. All the factions entered the race to take advantage of this powerful but aimless wind and fill the sails of their political ships. The Aq-Qoyunlu, who were one of two Turcoman political powers capable of heading into the wind, watched all the events that took place far from their knowledge and power.¹³

Ali Bey and His Sons' New Adventure with the Mamlûks; Jihangir's Rule in Urfa

Ali Bey, who in every phase of his life had tied his destiny to an

incredible degree to the Mamlûks, was dogged by his fate in the last days of his life, too. Now, in the territory which he had chosen as a refuge he was about to fall to the position of a rebel collaborator. The rebellious governor of Syria, Emir Tanrıvermiş, was looking for a way to make Ali Bey and his sons partners in his adventure. The Mamlûk emir, who was having no trouble luring the inexperienced Jihangir into his trap, was unable to outdo Ali Bey. The Aq-Qoyunlu bey, understanding that his son had been chosen to be the sacrifice for Sultan Hamza's support in the political chess game, immediately established contact with Cairo and by disclosing the real truth of the matter saved his son from potential enmity and guaranteed his future by obtaining the office of ruler of Urfa for him. This was the event that changed the fate of the Aq-Qoyunlu. With his last effort Ali Bey completed his paternal duty and won general approval. Jihangir, with his brother Hasan Bey at his side was hosted by Sultan Chakmak in Cairo and provided material and monetary assistance, and returned to Anatolia having obtained the position of ruler of Urfa (summer 1440).¹⁴

Jihangir's last attack put Sultan Hamza into a difficult position when the political balance among the Aq-Qoyunlu shifted. Hamza, who had no desire to see a 'weed' in his own back yard, immediately made an attempt to separate his nephew from the territory he was trying to hold, but without success. The prince, resisting wholeheartedly, kept his uncle out of Urfa. Jihangir, determined to defend the city he held to the end, while on one hand fortifying the city was on the other hand strengthening his ties with his uncle, Yaqub Bey, who controlled the summer grounds. He began an assault in the region of Ergani in order to open a corridor between the two sides. Hamza, fearing that this policy would encircle him, started a new his own assault in the spring of 1441. When he was unable to take Urfa with his army he headed toward a weaker base, Birecik. Jihangir's sending his brother Hasan Bey to assist the city's ruler, his loyal friend Fahrettin, the strong resistance that was forming along with the news from Urfa changed Hamza's plan. With the Aq-Qoyunlu's forces turned towards him he once again headed to Urfa. Hasan, coming to the aid of Jihangir who had been abandoned by his servants, by defeating his uncle's vanguard units prevented the fall of

Urfa. Hamza, unable to reach any kind of conclusion with his nephews, left the emirs of Pürnek and the ruler of Savur to continue the struggle and himself marched on the center of the northern flank, Erzincan. When Yaqub Bey, caught unprepared and having received no aid from his nephews, evacuated the city, Hamza, who for the first time since Osman Bey found himself in control of a large part of the Aq-Qoyunlu territory, pronounced himself sultan. When returning after appointing his brother Sheikh Hasan to the city, he was doubtless at the peak of his power.¹⁵

While the loss of Erzincan was a great blow to the sons of Ali Bey, they lost no time in making counter-attacks. They attacked Hamza's lands numerous times; the vicinity of Mardin suffered tremendous destruction. Afterwards Ergani and Âmid were selected as targets. Despite causing Hamza heavy military and economic losses, no political success was obtained. Along with this, Hasan Bey, who continued serious activities in the region, succeeded in bringing Devletshah, one of his father's loyal friends, into his ranks. The prince, who continued to battle against Hamza, moving to Kemah attempted with his uncle Yaqub Bey to re-take Erzincan, but winter prevented it. Hasan Bey, spending the winter of 1441-42 in Urfa with his older brother, at the age of fifteen married a girl from his tribe and from this marriage Sultan Halil would be born.¹⁶

Struggles with Arab Tribes and Sultan Hamza's Last Years

With the solidarity frequently encountered in Turkish history, the two brothers defended the Urfa emirate heart and soul. Just like the founders of the Seljuk State, Tuğrul and Çağrı Bey, with Jihangir as the head and Hasan Bey commanding the army they tried to defend the region, brandishing their swords and spilling blood. Their most powerful rival was their uncle Hamza Bey. In the south, scattered but populous Arab tribes were always a threat. In the first part of 1442 when news reached Hasan Bey that a large Arab group from the Bedouin who were on the move had attacked Jaber castle, held by Ömer Bey of the Emirli Turcomans, he immediately intervened. However, it did not appear that

the Bedouin wave would halt. This time, when another unit setting out from the Syrian Desert attacked the castles of Hadise-ane¹⁷ and Hakim-ane on the banks of the Euphrates, a group which separated from the main one sacked Rakka. Despite having a limited number of soldiers with him, Hasan Bey opposed the Bedouin. There were numerous skirmishes all along the Euphrates; as a result, after a close pursuit the Aq-Qoyunlu prince succeeded in returning to Jaber castle with a large quantity of booty and captives. Here Hasan Bey, who had fought violently with pursuing units, was able with difficulty to throw the Arabs back beyond the Euphrates. A severe drought in Syria was forcing the Arab tribes to move north to the Euphrates line. Throughout history this distress had been one of the main reasons for going into action and warfare in the region. Now the Bedouin in the south had set their sights on the water sources of the Turcomans in the north. It was impossible for the Turcomans to stop these masses who came in droves. Thus, when the region's most powerful, well-known tribes, like the Adwan and Uneyin rose up and seized Rakka's water sources there was little that the Aq-Qoyunlu could do. Though Jihangir and Hasan Bey, setting out from Urfa fought a savage battle with the Arabs in the region of Tell Asad they could not avoid defeat. While Jihangir returned to Urfa after the defeat, Hasan Bey preferred to wait against any new Arab assault at Jaber castle.¹⁸

Forgotten during the struggles with the Arabs, the lone but respected leader in the north, Yaqub Bey's wish (citing old age) to leave his inheritance to his nephews was going to stir up the Aq-Qoyunlu once again. While Jihangir, leaving his brother Hasan Bey in Urfa, immediately went to Kemah, his uncle Hamza counter-attacked by threatening Yaqub. When Hamza's threats, together with his attractive offers of cooperation, caused the ruler of Kemah to hesitate Jihangir, feeling insecure, returned to Urfa and Hasan Bey was seen on the road to Jaber. In this tumult he received news of Ali Bey's death. The modest, unfortunate bey of the Aq-Qoyunlu, as if forgotten in a corner, had quietly passed away in the town of Shayzer, near Aleppo (middle of 1443). His death, apart from individual grief, had no impact on the political destiny of the Aq-Qoyunlu. The struggle to regain the power he

had lost was his sole legacy to his sons.¹⁹

The Death of Sultan Hamza and Jhangir Becomes the Aq-Qoyunlu Bey

After Ali Bey's death, the pace of events among the Aq-Qoyunlu accelerated. Hamza, whose health had been poor for a long time, did not recover after contracting a serious illness in Erzincan and died in Âmid in October 1444. Not having left a successor behind to carry on his claim, it appeared that the almost ten-year interregnum that had continued since Osman Bey's death would come to an end. Sultan Hamza, who ruled a large part of the Aq-Qoyunlu territories and was ruler of Erzincan-Âmid and Mardin, is not described in the sources as one with a good personality. The writers of the period paint a portrait of him as a tyrant, an enemy of Islam, a Christian sympathizer and do not conceal that they heard of his death with pleasure. Nevertheless, this is certain - Hamza, who ruled for eight years during the Aq-Qoyunlu's most troubled period, protected the territory he ruled in addition to preventing a wide-scale political division.²⁰

The Aq-Qoyunlu, questioning the reasons for their existence without the pressure of the Qara-Qoyunlu and whether or not they had need for a state, were attempting to escape by accidental developments from the political crisis into which they had fallen. It was as if the deaths of Ali and Hamza Bey had opened a new path, but the current matter was what would become of Hamza's legacy. His estate, which would give the owner the power to proclaim his leadership, had two claimants in sight. Of the claimants, the ruler of Urfa, Jhangir, knew he had an advantage, at least in terms of distance, over Hamza's brother Sheikh Hasan, the ruler of Erzincan. While both of them hastened toward Âmid when Sultan Hamza died, factional fighting between their supporters in the capital. Jhangir, who arrived earlier, resolved the issue. When the Aq-Qoyunlu bey took control of Âmid by acting early, Sheikh Hasan, a victim of the road, returned without hope. Jhangir, in a ceremony attended by his brother and the Emîr-i Dîvân Ali Memaş, whom was

summoned from Birecik where he had taken refuge, became the leader of the Aq-Qoyunlu. Keeping the ceremony short, the new leader demonstrated his first decree in Mardin, the most important of Hamza's estates. The city, one of the fundamental supports of the Aq-Qoyunlu state, was in a state of confusion. The emirs did not want to recognize the authority of Hamza's daughter. Jihangir, thinking to quickly resolve the issue that was growing by the minute, married his uncle's daughter. No matter how much the castle magistrate Ali Farraş might wish to resist, Mardin surrendered to the sons of Ali Bey. Although the success strengthened Jihangir's power and authority, there were many more bridges to cross. The difficulties of the Erzincan and Kelkit valley was before him like a great handicap. His only consolation was that the ruler of Kemah had joined his late uncle, Yaqub Bey.²¹

In addition to the internal disputes, the first serious outside attack against the new Aq-Qoyunlu leader came from the Arabs. Uneyn, taking advantage of the prince Hasan Bey's evacuation of Jaber Castle, immediately put his tribe on the offensive. Jihangir, seeing the scale of the danger, immediately transferred his brother, despite needing him, in that direction. Marching quickly on the Arabs, Hasan Bey caused the Uneyn to suffer a terrible defeat on the banks of the Euphrates. When returning to Jaber with the great booty he had won, upon his call, he once again joined his older brother who had taken Mardin.²²

Rebellions against Jihangir's Sultanate, A New Political Division.

Despite taking Âmid and Mardin, we have indicated that Jihangir's sultanate was not accepted by all the Aq-Qoyunlu. When Osman Bey's heirs again appeared on the stage, it is understandable that they had no intention of surrendering power to Ali Bey's sons easily. The Aq-Qoyunlu regime found itself face to face with the danger of a new civil war and political division. The problem of the lack of power of Jihangir, who had announced his rule, grew deeper. In reality, the confederated tribes had done quite well for themselves due to the princes' power struggles. Because they had obtained a number of

concessions due to their ability to change the balance of power, on the contrary, when the economic wealth along with the pressure on them of the state dependent on the ruling dynasty grew weaker, as a result of the concessions that they had obtained they attained a more influential position in the political arena. The tribes, who hated any kind of restrictive measure on them, were in a struggle with the new bureaucracy that was taking shape. In the sources we can see that their first reaction in this area was directed towards one of the important bureaucrats of Hamza's time, the Emîr-i Dîvân, Ali Memash, who regularly provided them with a limited salary from the treasury. Actually, this small example is quite significant for the process of the Aq-Qoyunlu state's formation and development and is an indication of the efforts made from the aspect of becoming a state. However, one could not expect this essentially powerful feudal, tribal aristocracy not to resist this development. In such an atmosphere the Aq-Qoyunlu leader's analytical role had to be to carry the tribe's dynamism towards a new goal. However, neither Jihangir nor the other claimants for the throne, Sheikh Hasan, Mahmut and the others had such ability. For this it would be necessary to wait a little longer for Hasan Padishah.²³

The first to rebel against Jihangir whose authority had not been accepted by all the Aq-Qoyunlu was Sheikh Hasan, the governor of Erzincan. While the government was working to take measures the operation suddenly enveloped the state's northern flank. Unable to withstand the pressure, the old ally of Ali Bey and his sons, Yaqub Bey abandoned the city and withdrew to the side of his nephews; he died shortly afterwards. The death of Yaqub Bey, who had been in favor of a centralized, powerful state all his life, was a significant loss not only for Jihangir but for Aq-Qoyunlu society. But Jelal Bey, whom he had left in his place, shifted the balance in the power game when, as the result of a ruse, he captured Sheikh Hasan. Jihangir, who failed to take advantage of this unexpected event and the removal of his authority's most powerful opponent, Sheikh Hasan, was unable to prevent his legacy from passing to another uncle, Mahmut Bey. In former times Mahmut Bey, seen infrequently on the Aq-Qoyunlu political stage apart from being the governor of Çemişkezek, wanted to take advantage of the

atmosphere of confusion which developed after Sultan Hamza's death, but finding no support from the confederated tribes went to Baghdad in the winter of 1445 with the aim of obtaining the assistance of the Qara-Qoyunlu. Parallel with Sheikh Hasan's campaign, he entered Aq-Qoyunlu territory with the assistance he had obtained from Isfahan Bey, but he was forced to turn back when Isfahan Bey died. The administration of Âmid, extremely cowed by Mahmut's movements, relaxed somewhat so that the matter of Birecik, which had appeared, became a new cause for worry. When Ali Memash, unable to take shelter in Âmid, became the ruler of Birecik with Jihangir's approval he requested assistance from the former ruler Fahreddin Mahmut Bey. Mahmut, who saw his invitation for assistance as a good opportunity for the aims he had just recently postponed, came quickly to Birecik and handed the city back to its former ruler. With this sally, he must have attracted the attention of the northern flank which was searching for a leader against Jihangir because he was invited to Erzincan. Henceforth he was the new leader of the opposition. Jihangir, who had remained rather unconcerned by developments, thought of laying siege to Erzincan, though a bit late. But when Mahmut, understanding that he would be a serious rival, sent his nephew away empty-handed despite the extraordinary zeal he had shown at the price of utilizing prince Hasan Bey, his position was also strengthened (summer 1446). When the hopes tied to Jihangir were shattered, the failure at Erzincan made the political divisions within the Aq-Qoyunlu chronic. This division, which created very suitable conditions for outside intervention, became the most important element preparing Jihangir's end.²⁴

Shah Rukh's Death and the Aq-Qoyunlu

While the Aq-Qoyunlu were in the midst of political and social divisions the Near East was at the crossroads of a new political and social transformation. The fire of change which had been developing secretly, after the Chaghatay ruler Shah Rukh's long period of rule (an element of stability in the region) suddenly turned into a conflagration

enveloping everything with his death in March 1447. Dynamic forces, which until that moment had been suppressed and waiting in the shadows, by going into action all around began to shake all systems and values that had been valid up to then. The competition that began among the political and social organizations was so merciless that there was other chance for those who lost. On the horizon a new age was coming into being. The political pioneers of this new age, which would depend on a dynamism whose axis would primarily be Anatolia, were slowly appearing on the stage. These were the actors whose names have passed into history written in gold letters: Fatih Mehmet, Hasan Padishah and Sheikh Junayd. In light of our subject it is not possible for us to portray each of the three leaders. Here we shall concentrate on Hasan Padishah and a Sufi sect leader, Junayd. It can be said that the three leaders' political and social projects laid the foundations for that astounding advance in the Near East. We must not ignore a number of elements that prepared the foundations of the age; one of those who prepared it was the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler Jihan Shah. While the administrator of Azerbaijan for the Chaghatay for many years, beginning in 1446 he put into effect his project to gather the Qara-Qoyunlu, who gave the appearance of being scattered and divided politically, around one leader and make them into the most powerful state in the Middle East. By taking Baghdad, under the administration of his brother Isfahan Bey's son, he reached his first goal in June. When Jihan Shah increased his strength with this attack he intimidated his rivals. Jihan Shah, who saw the death of his master Shah Rukh as divine support for his project, increased his efforts to unite Iran under his administration. At this point he entered into a struggle with religious and ideological groups that had reached the point of threatening the state and present values. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler's road crossed that of Sheikh Junayd at just this juncture. Upon the Sheikh becoming the leader of the Safavi sect in Ardabil in 1447, it had experienced the most magnificent days of its history. Jihan Shah who worried that this dynamic group would share in power, began a merciless persecution of the sect when he drove Junayd from the country. Without doubt this courageous struggle would pave the way for new and serious socio-political developments in the region. Thus, this

struggle in 1456 that brought Uzun Hasan and Sheikh Junayd together in Âmid.²⁵

In addition to the Safavi, Jihan Shah also took sides against the Hurufi; he pursued the sect, most of whom lived in the vicinity of Tabriz and were at one time strong enough to make an attempt on the life of the Chaghatay ruler Shah Rukh, and killed most of its members. After the event a significant part of its scattered members shifted their area of operations to Anatolia and Syria; they played an influential role in the political and social events that these regions were experiencing. After the Hurufi he dealt with the Musha'sha'a, considered the continuation of the Karamatians who had continuously created problems in Iraq. At the same time situation of Iskender's son Elvend, the ruler of Mosul, who was revolting against his uncle's political approach also created problems. However, the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler, together with Rüstem, the talented son of Tarhan, forced back the Musha'sha'a and Elvend. Elvend, unable to hold out, sought refuge with the Aq-Qoyunlu. Jihan Shah immediately demanded his rebellious nephew. Jihangir, resisting though he had to hold them back, in keeping with an old Turkish custom did not hand back the refugee. Shah, determined to get him back, demanded the fugitive three times and receiving a refusal each time, rapidly began his preparations for war. The two nations whose fates were brought together in the Elvend affair were beginning a long lasting, twenty-year struggle that would change not only their fates, but the balance in the region.²⁶

It is clear that Jihangir, who displayed courage enough to interfere in the internal affairs of the Qara-Qoyunlu, neither perceived the situation he was involved in nor was he able to calculate the results very well. Jihan Shah, who wanted to teach the Aq-Qoyunlu a serious lesson, sent an army under the command of Emir Arapshah and Kilij Arslan in the spring of 1450 against Erzincan, ruled by Mahmut Bey. The army, reinforced by Musa, the ruler of Tercan, Sheikh Hasan's son Bayezid and Pilten Bey's sons Halil and Iskender, laid siege to Erzincan. The first reaction to the Aq-Qoyunlu leader's indifferent attitude to the danger, because the city was in the hands of his opposition, came from his brother Hasan Bey. The prince very appropriately pointed out that if

Mahmut Bey was not helped, residing in Âmid would become difficult. However Jihangir, a narrow-minded and worthless leader, closed his ears to his brother's warnings and refused aid. Thus Erzincan, receiving no outside help and whose people's powers of resistance were gradually declining, surrendered in exchange for mercy. But the Qara-Qoyunlu who entered the city took the residents hostage in exchange for Elvend. Afterwards, in exchange for his nephew Jihan Shah offered to settle accounts between them with the hostage residents of Erzincan, and Jihangir proposing the same reasons did not accept. The Qara-Qoyunlu leader, angry that he could not make a small local emir do what he had said, sent Rüstem, son of one of his most trusted commanders, Tarhan, with a tremendous force of 30,000 against Jihangir. Aq-Qoyunlu beys like Musa Bey and Sheikh Hasan himself who were in the army provided their observations the Qara-Qoyunlu leader was in the midst of preparations for an operation. When the Qara-Qoyunlu reached Malatya via the Kemah-Divriği road Jihangir, consulting with the panic-stricken emirs would not dare battle despite all his brother's objections and shut himself up in Âmid. Of the tribes, while the Bektaşlı and the Koca Hacı took refuge with Sheikh Hasan, the Pürnekli joined Rüstem when they saw their leader's blind, cowardly attitude. The disintegration had reached such an extreme degree that for the first time in their history an Aq-Qoyunlu leader was left in the lurch by his retainers. With the abandonment of his older brother who lacked authority and who had brought his leadership into debate, Hasan Bey also retreated to his territory, Ergani. The Aq-Qoyunlu were without a leader and had been abandoned to their fate. Jihangir had heedlessly, if not treasonably, put his tribe into a perilous position and then left them high and dry. Rather than the danger the enemy posed, the most important aspect of the matter was the number of leaders. In reality, the looked-for savior was not far and the fog created by the crisis obscured him for now.²⁷

While Jihan Shah's Diyarbekir operation was followed in Cairo with great concern, the news that the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler Jihangir was fleeing from the Qara-Qoyunlu and headed toward Syria created great panic (July 1450). However, Jihangir had not come for refuge but to gather the scattered tribes. The Mamlûk government, apprehensive over

the confusion in the region, were not forced to find someone who would protect their interests in Diyarbekir against all possibilities. Coming to Cairo Kasım bin Kara Yülük, who always acted with the Dulkadirli, announced that he was requesting the administration of Diyarbekir in the name of the Mamlûks. While Sultan Chakmak followed a “wait and see” policy he was truly blind to Diyarbekir. The governor of Urfa Üveys Bey, suffering the same fit of bewilderment as the Aq-Qoyunlu government, abandoned the city for no reason. Rüstem, shifting his force in that direction after the event, after pillaging the Turcomans along his route in the area of Siverek and Homs, headed towards Urfa and took the city easily. After establishing a Qara-Qoyunlu unit here he headed for Mardin. The city, defended by a strong unit, resisted the Qara-Qoyunlu for a long time and caused significant losses. Jhangir, encouraged by this success, raced to Mardin’s aid and, suffering a heavy defeat, returned to Âmid. While the Aq-Qoyunlu unit, emptying the city upon their leader’s defeat, moved into the inner fortress the Qara-Qoyunlu entered the city. Sultan Chakmak, wanting to counter-attack when the Qara-Qoyunlu startled the Mamlûks by becoming an effective force in the province of Diyarbekir with this unexpected success and by their taking Urfa and Mardin, on one hand sent an envoy to Jihan Shah and immediately afterward bestowed a robe of honor on Kasım bin Kara Yülük, then in Cairo, in September 1450 as the ruler of Urfa. When the two great powers in the region entered a violent power struggle over Diyarbekir the more discreet Jihan Shah, sending word to Cairo that his operation had no hostile intent, was increasing the pressure on the Aq-Qoyunlu even more.

Thus, according to a report reaching the Mamlûk capital in October 1450, the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler, entering Mamlûk territory in pursuit of Jhangir who was fleeing from him, had arrived in the vicinity of Aleppo. Although the Sultan immediately closed the borders fearing that the Turcoman conflict would spill into his country, he was unable to prevent panic in the region. The result of Jihan Shah’s operation was the outbreak of famine when the people in the vicinity of Aleppo abandoned their homes. The Mamlûk ruler was able to relax a little when news was sent at the beginning of December that Jihan Shah had left the region of

Aleppo. In contrast, the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler was not relaxed at all in Âmid. A struggle to the death over Diyarbekir was in progress. Jihangir, passing many difficult days under siege, was compelled to send his mother Sârâ Hatun to the Egyptian sultan. Sultan Chakmak, made to wait in Bire for a time for Sârâ Hatun, later received her in Cairo (January 1451). After this meeting we see that the rulers in Syria began to aid the Aq-Qoyunlu. In February 1451 Jihangir's son came to Cairo and brought a letter expressing his father's gratitude and loyalty. In March of the same year Jihan Shah, going on the diplomatic offensive against a Mamlûk - Aq-Qoyunlu rapprochement, did not delay in sending a diplomatic delegation to Cairo bearing messages of friendship and loyalty.²⁸

Hasan Bey's Resistance

In an atmosphere where the Mamlûks and the Qara-Qoyunlu had entered into diplomatic negotiations regarding the fate of the Aq-Qoyunlu, who were going through the most difficult days of Jihangir's leadership, prince Hasan Bey was a new hope. The young prince was the only person who knew what he was doing in the period when dark clouds gathered over his territory and everyone else was bewildered. When the Qara-Qoyunlu attack began he left his brother, made his tribe move from Siverek to a more secure location, Çermik, and here, in spite of the severe winter conditions, regrouped in a short time. He persuaded Üveys Bey, who had been with him for a while, to return to Urfa. Üveys, going to Urfa in the middle of winter, succeeding in re-taking the city from the Qara-Qoyunlu, with the help of Emîr-i Âhûr Hüseyin and Sunduk Aka. While the success raised the morale of the Aq-Qoyunlu, Rüstem, involved with the siege of Mardin and not wanting to give his rival a chance to regroup sent the Aq-Qoyunlu Sheikh Hasan, Pir Ali and Sheikh Mehmed to Urfa. Realizing that the besieged Üveys could not hold out long, Hasan Bey ran to his brother's assistance. The prince, coming to Âmid with the bodyguards from his private holding of Ergani, took his elder brother's auxiliary forces and raced to the aid of Urfa.

However, the city had fallen and as the inner fortress was totally surrounded by the Qara-Qoyunlu he waited for a time to enter the city. After entering, he organized the small Aq-Qoyunlu unit inside the fortress and fell on the enemy. Following the unsuccessful first assault, they went out with Hasan Bey's guard in a second operation and attacked the unsuspecting enemy; a pitched battle ensued. As a result of Hasan Bey's inspired leadership a force of 300 defeated one of 1200. At the end of the battle many enemy emirs from the Aq and Qara-Qoyunlu, including the main opponent and traitor Sheikh Hasan, were taken prisoner. Sheikh Hasan, brought before Hasan Bey, was personally punished by him. While his severed head was sent to Egypt, his hands were sent to Âmid. Afterwards Bektaşlı Mehmet Bey met the same fate. The other traitors, such as Pürnekli Veli, Pervane Ali Bey and Hacı Mehmet Bey were also sent to Âmid. Hasan Bey, gaining victory at an unexpected moment, immediately became the Aq-Qoyunlu hero. Part of the Aq-Qoyunlu nomad families in the vicinity of Habur and Cizre, which were about to pass under the authority of Kasım bin Kara Yülük who had appointed to the region by the Mamlûks, joined Hasan Bey after the victory. Hasan Bey's victory created great excitement among the Mamlûks. The news of Hasan Bey's victory reaching Cairo in Rabi'u'l-Awwal 855/April 1451 was greeted as good news.²⁹ Hasan Bey, moving on to Âmid after his victory, headed to his territory of Ergani after sending gifts to his older brother.³⁰

The Struggle with Qara-Qoyunlu Rüstem Bey

The Qara-Qoyunlu emir Rüstem Bey, hesitant due to Hasan Bey's victory, abandoning the siege of Mardin set out in pursuit of the Aq-Qoyunlu prince. When he reached Ergani via Birecik, Siverek and Âmid, he did pillage the tribes of the regions he passed through - he burned their crops. Hasan Bey, after sending a part of his retinue to Harput, which was in the hands of the Mamlûks, departed from Ergani. Now a great struggle between the two sides was beginning. In the pursuit that took place between the branches of the Euphrates first one

side then the other played the role of the hunter. Although having a small force at his side, Hasan Bey, who used his advantage of knowing the region well, attempted to settle the issue with a sudden attacks by tiring the Qara-Qoyunlu; in this he was successful. However, the enemy was as clever and capable as Hasan Bey. Despite the defeats he suffered, Rüstem Bey would in no way give up following the prince. At the beginning of summer 1451, this epic struggle was still continuing on the plains of Diyarbekir, which had been the stage for numerous acts of heroism. On the flanks of Karaca Dağ, which he had selected for his base, the Aq-Qoyunlu prince was struggling not only with the enemy but also with wild nature and hunger. When they could find nothing else to eat they were forced to slaughter their horses and eat them. In addition to this, Hasan Bey and his attendants continued their struggle undefeated by any difficulty; ambushes and hit-and-run attacks were the ways to intimidate the enemy. The prince who was forced to hide by day and move by night wanted to aid his older brother Jihangir, but the enterprise was hindered by Rüstem. Finally, Hasan Bey, who had kept his enemy busy on the plains for a year, succeeded in returning to Âmid. Resting here for a period, after gathering his forces, in spite of his older brother's opposition, he attacked the Qara-Qoyunlu who had set up their headquarters before the city. Following the initial clash, when the Qara-Qoyunlu suffered serious defeats in several sectors Rüstem grew anxious and began to withdraw. At this point Jihangir, who had left the city to aid his brother, returned to Âmid upon learning that Jihan Shah had gone into action.³¹

Jihan Shah, furious when he learned that Tarhan's son Rüstem would not be able to destroy the Aq-Qoyunlu with the forces he had, wanted to head for Âmid personally after venting his rage on the Aq-Qoyunlu captives. However, he did not dare this due to events in Azerbaijan. He moved from Erzincan, where he had resided, to Tercan and from there he reached Bayburt which he had assigned to Duharlu Bayezid Bey. This old Aq-Qoyunlu territory had been in the hands of Kutlu Bey's grandsons Jamshid and Ahmet Bey. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler killed Ahmet Bey and handed the castle over one of his attendants Emiktaş Mahmut. While Erzincan and Tercan were left to Kilij Arslan,

one of Pilten Bey's sons, Sheikh Hasan was appointed to Şebinkarahisar. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler who sent Sheikh Ibrahim, one of Kiliç Arslan's attendants, to the aid of Kemah which was being threatened by the Aq-Qoyunlu Jafer Bey, left Ispir to Bayezid Bey. Thus, while almost all the Aq-Qoyunlu's summer grounds had passed into Qara-Qoyunlu control, Jihan Shah, who had left the region, reached his ancestors' old summer grounds of Bingöl. When the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler had been in Bingöl, he sent auxiliary forces to Kemah and Karahisar which had resisted him. Kiliç Arslan, at the head of these forces, oppressed the region. In particular, in Ramadan/September 1451 this oppression caused the Muslims to complain and due to Kasım Bey's interference Kiliç Arslan was forced to retreat to Erzincan. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler, gathering provisions as he moved from Bingöl to Muş, also sent his son Muhammedi Mirza against the Aq-Qoyunlu. At the same time peace negotiations between Jihangir and Rüstem, who was in the vicinity of Mardin. Jihangir, who sent Rüstem's proposals and his mother Sârâ Hatun to Jihan Shah, could not obtain what he wanted. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler received Sârâ Hatun very well and requested one of her sons as a hostage for peace. When the Aq-Qoyunlu did not accept this the war started again. Muhammedi Mirza, joining Rüstem, surrounded Âmid. But the Aq-Qoyunlu's resistance and the extremely had winter defeated the Qara-Qoyunlu. When Rüstem abandoned the siege and returned to Jihan Shah's side Hasan Bey marched on the Kurds who were pillaging the Aq-Qoyunlu villages between Bire and Suruç. The prince, who severely punished the Kurds despite the severe weather, gained a large quantity of booty which he distributed among his soldiers after separating the royal fifth. Afterwards he passed the winter between Samsat and Urfa.³²

In the spring of 1452 when Jihangir once again saw Rüstem before Âmid, he requested assistance from his brother. Hasan Bey went into action despite the objections of his retinue. After leaving his tribe at Çermük he headed towards Âmid. The soldiers of Ergani joined him at the Deve Pass, but learning on the way that Rüstem had attacked and destroyed Çermük, he turned back. Though he drove the Qara-Qoyunlu from the area, he retreated to Ergani after being wounded in a second

conflict. At his side were comrades in arms Süleyman Biçen, Sheikh Ali Mühürdar, Masur Avşar, Halil Bey, Sheikh Hasan and Koca Hacılı Ali. The prince, seeing his tribe hungry and in a desperate condition, raided the area of Muş and returned with a large quantity of booty.³³

Jihangir's Peace with the Qara-Qoyunlu and Hasan Bey

Cowed by the actions in Khorasan and Iraq-i Ajem of Baysungur, one of Timur's grandsons and Babür Mirza's son, Jihan Shah made an advantageous treaty with the Aq-Qoyunlu leader Jihangir while he hastily withdrew the Qara-Qoyunlu beyond Diyarbekir. According to this treaty the Aq-Qoyunlu for the first time in their history became the subjects of the Qara-Qoyunlu. In addition, when Jihangir sent his son Murad as a hostage to the Qara-Qoyunlu palace, he also consented to allowing his daughter marry Muhammedi Mirza. However, a courageous Jihangir could have easily routed the Qara-Qoyunlu who were under the Chaghatay threat; the situation was truly dishonorable from the Aq-Qoyunlu's perspective. What was done was done and the Aq-Qoyunlu leader had, as always, preferred to take the easy way out. However, this time he could not save himself. His nation and his tribe abandoned him and his leadership had even become the subject of debate in Âmid. In an atmosphere of increased unease and searching his brother Hasan Bey stepped up his activities.³⁴

After recuperating for a time in Ergani Hasan Bey, who had completely cut himself off from his brother who had made a treaty with the Qara-Qoyunlu, chose his old territory of Erzincan for his field of action. Internal disputes had increased significantly in the region which had been under Qara-Qoyunlu control for a period. The ruler of Mazgirt, Kasım bin Osman who was trying to gain a good position for himself with Mamlûk support, took advantage of the Qara-Qoyunlu being occupied with the Chaghatay and attacked Erzincan. Other Aq-Qoyunlu emirs, uniting against the danger, sought assistance from Hasan Bey. The young prince with the support of Pilten Bey's sons Halil and Iskender in addition to that of Musa from the Ahmedi who ruled the

Bayburt-Tercan basin, the ruler of Çemişkezek Sheikh Hasan and Kilij Arslan, marched on Kasım Bey. Though Kasım Bey, who realized that he could not oppose the alliance formed against him, fled to Bayburt he was captured by Hasan Bey's attendants. Hasan Bey did not touch his uncle and headed toward his real target, Kilij Arslan. The prince, who made his rival powerless by holding his son, headed directly towards Erzincan. The city had been held under siege for forty days. At this time struggling on one hand with Dulkadirli Süleyman and on the other with Hassun, sent by Jihan Shah, and the Qara-Qoyunlu forces under the command of Yar Ali they began to defeat them. However, the last Qara-Qoyunlu force under the command of Saadlu Hüseyin and Arabshah raised the siege when they saw that they would not be able to resist and went to the areas around Tercan. After enjoying themselves in the region for a time, when they came to the Bingöl summer grounds in order to raid the Qara-Qoyunlu's old territory in the Lake Van basin, news reached them that the Qara-Qoyunlu Arabshah had taken Erzincan and forced Kilij Arslan out of the region. Although Hasan Bey, wanting to prevent the Aq-Qoyunlu Kilij Arslan from joining Jihan Shah, held the road Kilij Arslan succeeded in reaching the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler from the regions of Erzurum, but Jihan Shah rewarded him by throwing him into prison. Returning to Bingöl after this event, while hunting here the prince also sent his brother Jihan Shah against Ahlat, Erciş and Adilcevaz. Jihan Shah together with Pürneklî Halil Akdoğan passed through the Qara-Qoyunlu territories like a storm and took considerable booty. Hasan Bey, learning of the serious destruction caused by his brother, went to Ahlat after releasing the prisoners. He then headed towards Muş when the situation returned to normal. Here some of the local Kurdish beys, Shemseddin Bitlisi, Melik Sasoni and Süleyman İbrahim came and informed him of their obedience. From here Hasan Bey marched on the ruler of Çemişkezek, Sheikh Hasan via the Çapakçur road. Unable to withstand the Aq-Qoyunlu warriors' raids, the Sheikh offered his obedience. All that remained for Hasan Bey, who had gained tremendous power and prestige due to his actions in both the region and among the Aq-Qoyunlu within a short period after leaving Jihangir, to become leader of all the Aq-Qoyunlu was Âmid.³⁵

The Fall of Âmid and Hasan Bey Becomes Head of the Aq-Qoyunlu

While the star of Hasan, distinguished for the energetic, aggressive and visionary personality that his older brother lacked, grew brighter with each passing day as a result of the extraordinary successes that he had accomplished in a very short period, events were also developing against him. He had returned from Ahlat and was resting at Çemişkezek when news came that his uncle Kasım Bey had slain Jafer bin Yaqub and surrounded Kemah. When he was about to head there in response to the people of Kemah's request for help, he learned of the difficult position of his older brother Jhangir, who had set out to pillage the Kurds, and that Âmid was empty. This could be the opportunity that the prince had been waiting for years. Quickly he made a decision and headed for Âmid. With him were forty men and he wanted to enter the city without being recognized. The plan was successful and Hasan Bey became master of the city without meeting any resistance. The leading citizens (a'yân), ordinary people and tradesmen, aware of the situation, made their allegiance known. While Hasan Bey had gained a great success with the help of fate, Jhangir, unaware of anything, after sending his soldiers to Mardin on Sheikh Hasan's warning headed towards Âmid with his lieutenants. Still completely unaware, when he learned of the situation from a loyal man after reaching the city walls, he left the area with the three men who with him and went to Mardin. Hasan Bey had his brother followed for a time; afterwards he set off to strengthen his rule in Âmid. Among other things, Koca Hacılı Ali Bey and Pürnekli Dara Bey joined Hasan Bey. The young leader, who appointed one of his loyal men Ebubekir to be mayor of the city, went to the district of Beşiri to subdue the vicinity of Âmid and there the local beys and fortress holders accepted his rule (end of 1452).³⁶

While following his victory the famine of the winter of 1452 shook Hasan Bey's power, Jhangir was laying the foundation of an alliance with Üveys Bey in Urfa. The Aq-Qoyunlu bey who wished to go hunting before the partners went into action, left Âmid in March 1453.

While in the vicinity of Mardin he left Emîr-i Âhûr Kasım Bey to pillage the region; he himself set off in the direction of Urfa. After dealing with a force that had opposed him before the city he took Kasım Bey who had pillaged the areas of Nusaybin and come at that time and went towards Suruç. Jihangir, who had not found the opportunity to either hinder his brother or meet with the Mamlûks, left Urfa and returned to Mardin. While Üveys Bey pursued him it was not difficult for Hasan Bey to take Urfa. The Aq-Qoyunlu bey, who left the city in the care his loyal man Koca Hacılı Mehmet Bey, headed for Mardin via Viranşehir after subduing the Arab Beni Rabia tribe. When Hasan Bey wanted to reach an understanding with his brother, Jihangir appeared to support the sultan, However, with his lieutenants encouragement fighting began. Although in addition to Üveys Bey the Aq and Qara Keçili Kurds were in Jihangir's ranks, Hasan Bey won the battle. Afterwards, Hasan Bey returned to Âmid after besieging Mardin for a time.³⁷

Jihangir had been eliminated. Now the energetic Aq-Qoyunlu bey's target was the Hisn-i Keyfa Ayyubi who had taken the other side in his war with his brother. Without losing time he went to Beşiri; the Kurdish emirs immediately submitted. After a short summer break Hasan Bey this time turned towards the Qara-Qoyunlu Arabshah, his greatest threat in the north. After having his army conduct a large hunting drive while in the vicinity of Eleşkirt, he set out towards Sürmeli. On the other side Arabshah, fearing the Aq-Qoyunlu threat, had left Sürmeli and headed to the regions of the Arpaçay. Hasan Bey followed him persistently, but his soldiers were tired. After resting at Balıklı Göl for a time, he once again went in pursuit of the Qara-Qoyunlu emir. Arabshah, realizing that he could not get free of his stubborn opponent, left the region and retreated to the area of Gence. Hasan Bey, who had forced the Qara-Qoyunlu to retreat, won a great victory and had once again taken control of his ancestors' territory between Bayburt and Erzurum. After receiving the submission of the rulers of Kağızman, Tercan and Bayburt, though he besieged the regional center of Erzincan he did not take it. Following his successful campaign the Aq-Qoyunlu bey, pulling back to rest at his winter quarters, sent ambassadors to Cairo and the Ottoman Sultan Fatih

Mehmed in order to consolidate his victory through diplomatic channels. The responses were positive; the region's two powerful states recognized Hasan Bey as the new Aq-Qoyunlu leader.³⁸

For the Aq-Qoyunlu leader 1454 was a year spent in the effort to consolidate his rule. The dynasty's loyal friend and ruler of Eğin, İsa Bey, was once again a subject. Next came the rulers of Hisn-i Keyfa, among the last of Ayyubi dynasty. Here Malik Halef, Hasan Bey's opponent, was being supported by the Qara-Qoyunlu Jihan Shah. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler, who was eager to create a satellite state in the region linked to him, not only put the Aq-Qoyunlu to a great deal of trouble in Hisn-i Keyfa, but now they a large army of 20,000 under the command of Arabshah against Erzincan. Hasan Bey who now had to choose one front over the other, set out against Arabshah after making a temporary agreement with Malik Halef. At that point when the Qara-Qoyunlu bey, occupied with the siege of Shetari castle in the vicinity of Pülümür, received word of Hasan Bey's coming he raised the siege and took refuge in Erzincan. Also at that time the ruler of Bayburt Duharlu Mahmut Köküldağ, who had set out to aid the Qara-Qoyunlu, was captured en route by Bayezid Bey and made a prisoner. Following all of these developments the Qara-Qoyunlu, seeing that remaining in the region was now beginning to be dangerous, returned to Azerbaijan without staying too long in Erzincan.³⁹

After the Qara-Qoyunlu's retreat Hasan Bey, continuing the siege of Hisn-i Keyfa where it had been left off, finally succeeded in eliminating Malik Halef and appointing the docile Ahmet Bey. The Aq-Qoyunlu Bey's next goal was the Qara-Qoyunlu territories in the Jezireh. Leaving his tribe with his brother Jihan Shah in Samsat he headed towards Mosul. While going to Old Mosul via Harran he sent Muratlı Rüstem and Koca Hacılı Ali to Dohuk. He took large amounts of booty as a result of pillaging that extended as far as Sinjar. The Aq-Qoyunlu, sharing the booty as was the custom, sold what they had to the Damascenes upon reaching the banks of the Euphrates; in exchange for lambs and horses they got manufactured goods. Hasan Bey, pillaging the Bedouin who had attacked the area of Rahbe, returned to Âmid in the spring of 1455. After a period of rest and the circumcision of his sons

Halil, Mehmet and Zeynel he marched on Sheikh Hasan, the subject of his brother Jihangir. The Aq-Qoyunlu Bey, totally destroying the territory of the Sheikh who refused to switch allegiance, did not plunder the region of Erzincan in exchange for the wheat he required. Although he withdrew to Tercan for a time upon receiving word that the Qara-Qoyunlu were coming, he again subjected the areas of Erzincan and Bayburt to extensive raiding when the information turned out to be baseless. In the same period Malik Halef retook Hisn-i Keyfa. While sending his son Halil to Âmid as a precaution, Hasan Bey himself went out to confront Halef. However, this time Halef won the Aq-Qoyunlu Bey's heart and his trust by his offer of rich gifts and his appearance of being a loyal servant. And in truth, he remained a loyal ally until the end of his life. Hasan Bey celebrated the resolution of this matter by pillaging Siirt and the surrounding regions which were under the authority of the Qara-Qoyunlu Abdal Bey.⁴⁰

The Struggle with Jihangir Mirza and the Qara-Qoyunlu

Jihangir, taking advantage of the opportunity to disturb Hasan Bey who had come to the region of Urfa to spend the winter, began intrigues against his brother. While on one hand enticing the Aq-Qoyunlu beys, on the other he made contact with the Qara-Qoyunlu. The ruler of Âmid, learning of the affair with great distress, warned his traitorous brother. However, the enemy went into action long before the warnings reached their intended audience. The news that his mother, coming from Mardin and joining him when he reached Nusaybin, brought him was not at all pleasant - the Qara-Qoyunlu had entered Bayburt and killed its ruler Ahmet Bey. Hasan Bey immediately returned to Âmid and from there warned his brother once more. This time their mother was the intermediary. While the meetings were taking place he went hunting in the vicinity of Cizre to make his presence felt; according to rumors hunted 50,000 ostriches. With Jihangir's rejection at that time of an offer limiting the territory under his control to only Mardin, the struggle began. Hasan Bey immediately marched on Mardin. When the

battle between the two sides which took place before the city went in favor of the ruler of Âmid, Jihangir sued for peace. In the meetings Hasan Bey's wishes were carried out and Jihangir had to be content with Mardin. However, this was not a permanent agreement. On the contrary, the struggle expanded to include the Qara-Qoyunlu also. But again the Aq-Qoyunlu bey had reason to celebrate his victory. He arranged a large party in the area of Akziyaret, near Mardin. At the celebration, which all of the Aq-Qoyunlu emirs and leader attended, Hasan Bey was presented as the great Turcoman ruler of the future by Abdurrahman, the ecstatic Turcoman dervish leader. While the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler, returning to Âmid afterwards, was repairing his castle and stocking up on provisions envoys from Harput and Hisn-i Keyfa came and offered their masters' oaths of allegiance. When Jihangir, upset by developments at this time, attacked the surrounding areas the two brothers were once again at odds; there were pitched battles before Mardin. This time their mother settled the dispute and although the two sides withdrew to their borders, the older brother, not willing to accept the situation, took refuge with the Qara-Qoyunlu. In the winter of 1456-57 the ruler of Mardin went personally to Jihan Shah and swore his allegiance. In exchange he received the title of leader of the Aq-Qoyunlu. In addition, Erzincan was left to him. The Qara-Qoyunlu ruler, wanting to leave Hasan Bey in a very difficult position, made Arabshah commander of the Erzurum-Erzincan district. In the same period, the Aq-Qoyunlu bey, who to oppose his brother had put pressure on Mardin and attacked several caravans, headed for Erzincan in 1457 upon the Qara-Qoyunlu's going into action. Arabshah, as always, withdrew to the area of Ispir. Here, when he severely oppressed the people, the city's ruler Bayezid Bey invited Hasan Bey. Hasan Bey, arriving in the region shortly after Arabshah had fled to Azerbaijan before the Aq-Qoyunlu came, sacked the vilayet of Pasinler and afterwards the Georgian towns on the border. After staying for a time in Erzurum he went on to Tercan. Jihangir, who had come out of Mardin at this time, attacked the regions around Bismil. After sending Tavacı Halil and Sheikh Hasan against him, he rearranged the system in the region. Bayezid Bey and Hurşit Bey remained as the rulers of Ispir and Kemah. Hasan Bey, who had not been detained too

long in the region, headed for Âmid.⁴¹

The War with Rüstem Ibn Tarhan

Hasan Bey, in the unending struggle between two brothers on the path to being ruler of the Aq-Qoyunlu, was forced to defeat the Qara-Qoyunlu who supported his brother in order to achieve this. The region's other great power, the Mamlûks, were not only uneasy over the Qara-Qoyunlu interference in Diyarbekir but refrained from openly supporting Hasan Bey. Not receiving the needed results from his first application, the ruler of Âmid once again applied to Mamlûks, but this time through his brother the ruler of Urfa, Üveys Bey. On the other hand, the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler, who had his own problems in Khorasan due to the Timurids, when he sent one of his most trusted emirs Rüstem Bey at the head of 20,000 men against Hasan Bey, he also transferred Ali Şeker in Iraq in the same direction. Hasan Bey, learning of the event when the enemy was upon Mosul, immediately went to the region of Urfa, gathered his tribe and council concerning the approaching threat. The majority of the emirs were not in favor of open war. The prevailing view was in favor of fighting a defensive war from behind castle walls. The Aq-Qoyunlu ruler, saying, "This idea is far from manliness and courage. Abandoning our homes to the enemy is not fit for a kingship or a state. Let us draw our swords and fight - victory is ours" persuaded the emirs to fight. Hasan Bey, leaving Urfa after making his preparations, sent Emîr-i Âhûr Başlamış ahead for the purpose of discerning the enemy's condition. Learning from the scouts' reports that the Qara-Qoyunlu were in the vicinity of Nusaybin, the Aq-Qoyunlu bey, stationed in the region of Bismil, must have discovered that the enemy was stronger previously thought and began an orderly withdrawal towards Âmid. At this time the Dulkadirli and Bayatlı tribes, suffering from the maneuvers of the two great powers, were forced to move to Syria. As the Qara-Qoyunlu advanced, the Bayatlar and the local forces, beginning with Piltenli Halil, slowly joined them. Only the ruler of Çemişkezek, Sheikh Hasan was on the side of the Aq-Qoyunlu. The first contact between the two

sides took place in the region of Şeyh Zuli, between Âmid and Mardin. The skirmish between the Aq-Qoyunlu guards, Pürnekli Shah Ali and Dara Beyler, with Rüstem's vanguard ended in favor of the Diyarbekir Turcomans. Hasan Bey, encouraged by his vanguard's success, compared himself to his brother in the letter he sent to Rüstem and said, "You were like Darab (a famous Iranian ruler) when you trod over my brother; however you were unable to take a Caesar's head. Now an Alexander is before you. He is cautious and aggressive. He does not fear you." As for Rüstem, he accused him of not obeying his superiors in his response. At this point, when Rüstem crossed the Tigris Hasan Bey had his guards follow him. When the Qara-Qoyunlu emir was near Pambuklu Suyu the Mirdasi and Zirki Kurds joined him. After reaching the vicinity of Mardin, as part of the strategy of isolating Âmid he sent Üveys Bey to Eğil castle to cut the city's ties with Ergani. Afterwards, as he went into action he accused Hasan Bey of cowardice in the letter he sent to him. The Qara-Qoyunlu had advanced quite close to the Aq-Qoyunlu capital. Hasan Bey, in a clever tactic, drew the enemy to the area where his main force was located; now he was able to accept battle. First, after driving back the enemy's leading units which had approached very close to the main bases, he gathered the emirs and one last time held council. According to the reports that his guards had brought the enemy's numbers were greater than the total of the entire Aq-Qoyunlu nation. In this situation defense was the most appropriate strategy, and the Aq-Qoyunlu beys accepted defensive tactics, but Hasan Bey did not agree and preferred open battle. As a first precaution he strengthened the guard. His own attendants and the Koca Hacı were added to the vanguard. After making preparations he crossed the Tigris and confronted Rüstem, who was the first to attack. While he, together with the Aq-Qoyunlu Jihangir Mirza pressured Hasan Bey, Ali Şeker and Sulan Bey attacked the Aq-Qoyunlu right flank where the Pürnekler were. On the other side, Avşarlı Mansur Bey and the Aq-Qoyunlu left flank formed by the Sheikh Hasan and Kutbeglü clans was involved in a merciless struggle with the forces under the command of Shahsuvar and Sheikh Ali Bey. At that point the community of Mosul joined the battle and a violent struggle ensued. The Qara-Qoyunlu Ali Şeker broke the

Aq-Qoyunlu right flank and drove it to the banks of the Tigris. However, the Munkalay made up of Muradlı Rüstem, Jihanshah and Ali Mirza defeated Rüstem's vanguard. Two arrows unhorsed Hasan Bey; what was to be happened afterwards. In a great rage Hasan Bey attacked and his soldiers followed suit and putting their lives on the line attacked the enemy. Seeing the center's zeal, Mansur Bey Avşar on the left flank also went on the offensive. The Qara-Qoyunlu, caught unawares by the sudden attack suffered tremendous losses. At that moment Rüstem Ibn Tarhan was brought down from his horse and taken captive. The Aq-Qoyunlu's bad fortune was turning. Shahsuvar Bey and Shah Ali Bey, seeing what had happened to their emirs, fled. In contrast, Ali Şeker Bey, unaware of anything, was still on his feet having smashed the Aq-Qoyunlu right flank. Now, in Rüstem's absence other Qara-Qoyunlu ranks joined him and the battle started again. Although Hasan Bey's Emîr-i Âhûr organized an assault on Ali Şeker, he was defeated and killed. His brother, Jihanshah, while fighting with Şeker's son Pir Ali was occupied with repelling the enemy soldiers falling upon the Aq-Qoyunlu leader whom Ümmet and Halil Tavacı were protecting. In the first clash the Aq-Qoyunlu were defeated and Hasan Bey lost his horse. However, at that moment Emir Hamza together with the Araplı and Haydarlı clans race to help from the left flank changed the outcome. The Qara-Qoyunlu began to have difficulties. Though Ali Şeker attempted a last effort to change the situation, he was defeated. The victory had been won. The Aq-Qoyunlu took many prisoners, enough for two or three for each soldier; the total was 1700 prisoners. As for the spoils, there was no way to calculate them. At this time, Jihangir Mirza, who had joined battle in the Qara-Qoyunlu ranks, fled to Mardin in the first stages of the battle. After pursuing the remaining Qara-Qoyunlu as far as Mosul, he executed 500 of the prisoners he held along with Rüstem Ibn Tarhan (May-June 1457). According to rumor, Rüstem requested a sharp sword from the executioner. It was quite a coincidence that the sword he selected was the sword Baba Abdurrahman had used to kill Ak Ziyarette Rüstem as an example. After Rüstem's elimination, the Aq-Qoyunlu distributed the other captives in exchange for various things. Ali Şeker Çermük, Pir Ali Ergani and Sulan Bey were sent to Çüngüş. Now it was

time to announce the victory. To this purpose, victory announcements were sent to neighboring countries, in particular to the Ottomans and the Mamlûks. While the Ottomans remained indifferent, the Mamlûks rejoiced and congratulated the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler warmly.⁴¹

In short, the Aq-Qoyunlu state which had broken up rapidly after Osman Bey's death went through a twenty-year period of civil war; those who were in positions of leadership during this time - Ali, Hamza and Jhangir Mirza - prevented the Aq-Qoyunlu from being completely swept from the stage of history. In the second half of the 15th century, with the help of the major powers in the Near East at that time, they regrouped and raised the principality to the level of a state.

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2. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 121-22.
3. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.* I, pp. 124-27; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-28.
4. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.* I, pp. 127-28; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26; Sümer, Faruk, *Kara Koyunlular Başlangıçtan Cihan-şah'a Kadar*, vol. I, Ankara 1984, p. 139.
5. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.* I, pp. 128-30.
6. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.* I, pp. 135-36.
7. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.* I, pp. 137-41; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
8. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 141-43; Makrizi, T. Ahmet, *Kitabü's-Sülûk* (Publ. A. Fettah Ashur), Cairo, 1970-72, IV/3 pp. 1055-60.
9. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 143; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Makrizi, *op. cit.*, IV/3, p. 1072.
10. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 149-51
11. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 152; Makrizi, *op. cit.*, IV/4, p. 1105.
12. *Tihranî*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 152-53. According to the source the young prince who would be the future world-shaking Hasan Padishah was so destitute and desperate that his only possessions were the piece of cotton cloth that he wore and a horse he could not feed even if it were to turn into a moth.

13. Along with the centralized state system, a strong Turcomanism is seen among the Ottomans who acknowledged an anti-nomad socio-political policy, especially during the time of Murat II. The most obvious sign of its application can be seen in the zeal with which they tried to connect their line to the Tucoman's legendary ancestor Oğuz Khan. The first Ottoman historians spent a great deal of effort to form a genealogical connection between the two sides. For further evaluation and discussion see **Köprülü, F.**, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu*, İstanbul 1981, p. 45; Wittek, P., *Osmanlı Devletinin Doğuşu* (Trans. Fahriye Arık), İstanbul 1947, p. 5 ff.
14. According to the source the Mamlûk ruler gave 3000 Ashrafî dinars to the Aq-Qoyunlu princes and rewarded them with robes of honor and gold belts. In addition, we must make it clear that Hüseyin, who had been at Jihangir's side to the last moment, fled to Ottoman territory during events and that after this event Hasan Bey left his uncle's side and joined his older brother. See **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 154-56; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Makrizi, *op. cit.*, IV/4, pp. 1185-87.
15. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-59; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-41.
16. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-62; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 241. According to Tihranî, eight months after Halil was born, another son named Muhammed was born to Devletshah's daughter and nicknamed the child "Uğurlu" (Auspicious) due to the position of the stars. However, after later rebelling he was known as "Uğursuz" (Inauspicious) (see p.163).
17. This is the place where in the period of Sultan Tuğrul Bey the Caliph Qâim Biemrullah stayed for a time during the well-known Besâsîrî uprising. See **Osman Turan**, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, p. 147.
18. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 164-67.
19. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 168; Ibn Taghribirdi, *En-Nucum 'z-Zahire* (Publ. W. Poper) Berkeley 1939, VIII, pp. 248-49.
20. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 243.
21. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 244.
22. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, p. 169-70.
23. For good examples of the role of the tribes within a state in a political system based on tribal organizations, and their relations with the state see: **Vladimirtsov, B.Y.**, *Moğolların İçtimai Teşkilatı*, (Trans. A. İnan), TTK Publ., Ankara 1987, pp. 45ff.
24. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 172-74; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-46. According to what the sources relate, during the siege of Erzincan Hasan Bey, fighting heart and soul, was wounded in numerous places including

- his face (Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 245).
25. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 175-77; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49; İA, "Cihan şah," vol. 23, p. 176; for the political and social relations of Uzun Hasan and Sheikh Junayd see: Hinz, W., *Uzun Hasan ve şeyh Cüneyd - XV. yy. da İran'ın Milli bir Devlet Olarak Yükselişi*, (Trans. T. Bıyıklıoğlu), TTK Yay. Ankara 1948.
 26. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, p. 178; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 170; İA, "Cihan şah," p. 176.
 27. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 179-80; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-72; İA, "Cihan şah," p. 176.
 28. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, p. 181; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Hawadith el-Duhûr fi meda'l-ayyam wa'l-shuhur* (Publ. W. Popper), Berkeley 1930, pp. 79-80, 93, 95, 97, 99, 103; İA, "Cihan şah," p. 177.
 29. **Ibn Taghribirdi**, *Hawadith*, p. 104.
 30. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 183-85; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-74.
 31. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 185-202; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-77.
 32. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 205-13; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, p. 276.
 33. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 214-21.
 34. The news that Jhangir had reached agreement with the Qara-Qoyunlu reached Cairo in Jamazi el-Awwal 856/May-June 1452. See **Ibn Taghribirdi**, *Hawadith*, p. 127; **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Woods, J., *Akkoyunlular* (trans. S. Özbudun), İstanbul 1993, p. 142.
 35. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 228-30.
 36. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 230-32; After the conquest the ambassador that Hasan Bey sent reached Cairo at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 856/January 1453. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Hawadith*, I, p. 137.
 37. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 230-32; Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
 38. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 236-39.
 39. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 239-42; in connection with the events Hasan Beg Rumlu, *Ahsenu't-Tevârîkh*, reports that in 859/1455 Emir Taharten's son's envoys came to the Qara-Qoyunlu capital from Erzincan. For me this casts serious doubt on Erzincan's being ruled by Emir Taharten's son in the name of the Qara-Qoyunlu at this date.
 40. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 243-47.
 41. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 253-61; Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
 42. **Tihranî**, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 263-81; Hasan Beg Rumlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-58; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Hawadith*, II, p. 302; Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

X ü l a s ə

AGQOYUNLU DÖVLƏTI: OSMAN BƏYİN ÖLÜMÜNDƏN UZUN HƏSƏN BƏYƏ (1435-1456)

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Ağqoyunlu Dövlətinin əsası XV əsrin əvvəllərində Oğuzlara aid olan Bayandır tayfası tərəfindən Diyarbəkir bölgəsində qoyulmuşdur. Qurucusu olan Osman Bəyin (1403-35) dövründə bu ölkə xeyli tərəqqi etmiş və qısa bir zamanda genişlənməyə başlamışdır. Ancaq ölkənin sürətli və riskli böyüməsi bəzi problemlər də yaratmışdır. Xüsusilə də, yeni yaranmış dövlətdə tayfaların statusu məsələsi ciddi münaqişələr doğurmuşdur. Osman Bəy özü nüfuzlu şəxsiyyət olsa da, onun qısa ömrü bu problemləri kökündən həll etməyə yetmədi və onun ölümündən sonra iyirmi il davam edən bir vətəndaş müharibəsi başladı. Bu münaqişə çox ciddi iqtisadi, siyasi və sosial zərərlər gətirsə də, əslində müəyyən qədər də dövlət problemini həll etdi. Məhz buna görə də, bu dövrün hadisələri çox önəmlidir. Dr. İlhan Ərdəm bu məqaləsində o dövrün hadisələrini və münaqişələrini, həmçinin, Əli Bəy, Sultan Həməzə və Cahangir Mirzə hökmranlıqlarının daxili və xarici dinamikasını tədqiq etmişdir.