

## SOURCES REFLECTING UBAYDULLAH KHAN'S CAMPAIGNS IN KHORASAN

Farrukh Fayzullayev

Doctoral Student, Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental

Studies Institute, Tashkent, Uzbekistan,

fayzullayev\_farrux@bk.ru

### Abstract:

The Shaybanids created a large state in Central Asia in the 16th century through constant and intense struggles. Muhammad Shaybani Khan (1451–1510, reigned 1500–1510), Ubaydullah Khan (1487–1540, reigned 1533–1540), Kuchkinchi Khan (1452–1530, reigned 1510–1529) and the subsequent sultans of this dynasty were also intellectuals who were knowledgeable in science. There is a lot of information preserved in manuscripts and historical documents that they founded a number of higher educational institutions - madrasas, khanaqahs and libraries, especially in Turan, and patronized science and education. After Muhammad Shaybani Khan died in battle with Shah Ismail Safavi (1501-1524), his nephew Ubaydullah Khan united all the Shaybani sultans. He made several successful campaigns against Khorasan.

**Keywords:** Ubaydullah Khan, Shaybani, source, research, Safavid, Khorasan, battle, Shaybani Khan, army, Shah Tahmasp, Herat, chronology, manuscript, Iran, fortress, city, Merv, Transoxiana, document.

### Introduction

In the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, information about the socio-political, economic, and cultural life of Transoxiana and Khorasan was reflected in historical sources written during these periods. The Shaybani dynasty occupies a special place in the history of Uzbek statehood. It was precisely due to the activities of the representatives of this dynasty, Shaybani Khan (1500-1510) and Ubaydullah Khan (1533-1540), that the name Uzbek statehood came into being. Because on the world maps created before that, there was no state or territory called Uzbeks. This later became the basis for the name of the state of Uzbekistan, which was established in 1924. After the collapse of the power founded by Shaybani Khan, Ubaydullah Khan restored the state, founded the Bukhara Khanate, and patronized science, enlightenment, and construction work. The historical figure and events were interpreted differently depending on the era. Ubaydullah Khan is a historical figure who needs separate research. However, unfortunately, he does not have his rightful place in history or literary studies. A correct and objective assessment of the activities of the Shaybani rulers is one of the pressing issues facing source scholars and historians today.

The Shaybanid sultans, led by Ubaydullah Khan, fought several years of continuous wars with the Safavid state established in Iran in order to regain control of the lands of Khorasan. The manuscripts created at that time and the research conducted on this topic also give different dates and events of the campaigns of the Shaybanid rulers to Khorasan. The reason for this is that the sources created at that time also give different dates and events of historical events. In this article,



we have tried to arrange the dates and events of the Shaybanid campaigns to Khorasan based on historical sources and research conducted.

In covering the history of the Shaybanids' struggle with the Safavids for the Khorasan region, Hafiz Tanish Bukhari's (16th century) "Abdullah-nama" (The Book of Abdullah) written in Transoxiana, Muhammadiyar ibn Qataghan's (16th - 17th century) "Musakhhir al-bilad" (The Conquest of Countries), Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur's (1494–1530) "Baburnama", Ghiyasuddin bin Humomiddin Khandamir's (1475-1534) "Habib us-siyar fi akhbari afrodi bashar" (The Friend Who Informs the Biography of the People of Bashar), Hasanbek Rumlu's (1530–1578) "Ahsanut - tawarikh", Iskandarbek Munshi's (1560-1634) "Tarihi Alamorayi Abbasi" (The History of the Worldly Beauty of Abbasids), two unknown works "Tarihi Shah Ismail Safavi" and works such as "Tazkirayi shah Takhmasib" are important primary sources.

Researchers such as V.V. Barthold [14,15], A.A. Semyonov [25], G.A. Pugachenkova [24], R.G. B.A. Ahmedov [11] Z. Muqimov [22], G. Agzamova [10], A. Zamonov [18] and foreign scholars as M.B. Dickson [4], Nurten Kilich [6], S. S. Ukten [7], A. Majid [13] have carried out research. American researcher M. B. Dickson's study [4] is dedicated to Ubaydullah Khan's campaigns in Khorasan, Shah Takhmasp and Ubaydullah Khan's relationship. A comparison of the abovementioned sources and the following studies reveals confusion in the coverage of the history of Shaybani.

After the death of Muhammad Shaybani Khan, the land of Khorasan, which was considered an integral part of the state built by the Timurids and then Muhammad Shaybani Khan<sup>1</sup> (1500-1510), was invaded by the Safavid state. Shah Ismail Safavi<sup>2</sup> marches to Khorasan and captures Herat almost without resistance. Muhammad Shaybani Khan's body is desecrated. Shah Ismail Safavi killed many people who served the country during the reign of Husayn Bayqara (1469-1506), the ruler of Khorasan. For example: Maulana Sayfiddin Muhammad, who had been Sheikh ul-Islam of Khorasan for about thirty years, and was considered the only scholar of the century in the science of interpretation, hadith and jurisprudence, was executed for being Sunni [31:1095].

Khorasan was of strategic importance for the Safavid state. It was characterized by the location of the Imam Reza<sup>3</sup> mausoleum, its sacredness for Shiites, and its strategic importance from a geographical point of view.

According to M. Sulaymanov, the following factors were the reasons for the attack on Khorasan by Ubaydullah Khan and his allies. 1. Intolerance of the Uzbeks towards the Shiite doctrine; 2. The desire for expansion of state borders; 3. Historical and territorial claims of the Uzbek khans;

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Shaybani Khan died in the Battle of Merv with Ismail Safavi in 1510. Sources written by Iranian historians at that time state that Shah Ismail Safavi cut off Shaybani Khan's head and hands and sent them to the Turkish sultan and the khan's supporters in Mazandaran, and that the shah covered the khan's skull with gold, made a wine goblet, and drank wine from it. See: [23: 389]

<sup>2</sup> Ismail I Safavi (1487.17.7 — 1524.23.5) Shah of Iran (from 1502), founder of the Safavid state, commander, poet. With the help of the Qizilbash, he captured Azerbaijan (1500 - 1501), Tabriz (1502) and declared himself shah. Soon he conquered Iran, Armenia, Iraq and part of Transoxiana (1503 - 1510). During the reign of Ismail I Safavi, the Safavid state expanded significantly. In 1512, Ismail Safavi's troops helped Babur seize the throne of Samarkand. However, at the beginning of 1513, he suffered a severe blow from the troops of the Uzbek sultans Ubaydullah and Muhammad Timur. See: [29:36].

<sup>3</sup> Ali ibn Musa al-Reza (765-818) is the 8th Imam of the Shiites. His mausoleum is located in Mashhad. He is considered the 8th Imam of the Shiite Imamiyya. Many prominent Shiite figures are buried here. For example: Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi was buried in this same mausoleum after a helicopter crash that killed the president on May 19, 2024.



4. Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) was young and did not have the courage to go to the battlefield; 5. Disorders around Shah Tahmasp; 6. The comparative advantage of the Uzbek troops over the Safavid troops [8: 85].

We have tried to shed light on the following chronology and the reality of Ubaydullah Khan's march to Khorasan by analyzing the information presented in the sources and studies created in Movarounnahr and Iran.

**The Khorasan campaigns of 1513-1514.** After the Battle of Gijduvan<sup>4</sup>, Janibek Sultan first crossed the Amu Darya and headed towards Herat [31: 1228]. Together with Ubaydullah Khan, he besieged Herat for 60 days. A dispute arose between Ubaydullah Khan and Janibek Sultan, and they returned from the vicinity of Herat. Janibek Sultan crossed the Amu Darya and returned to Karmana. However, Sultan Muhammad Timur prevented Ubaydullah Khan from going to Bukhara near the Murghab River [16: 136]. Together they returned to Tus and Mashhad, occupied and plundered the lands from Merv to Isfarain, and then returned.

**In 1521<sup>5</sup>, Ubaydullah Khan made his first military campaign to Khorasan.** On May 24, 1521, Ubaydullah Khan marched on Khorasan with an army of 30,000 men. [31: 1244]. The governor of Herat, Amir Sultan Qurchi [31: 1240], sent a man named Shahquli to convey the news to Shah Ismail Safavi. Under the command of the governor of Khorasan, Sam Mirza<sup>6</sup> and Darvesh Mirza, measures were taken to defend the city of Herat [13: 149].

Ubaydullah Khan remained around Soki Salman for two or three days and divided his army into three groups. The first group was sent by Piri Mujarrad Khoja Abu'l-Walid Ahmad to Baghi Zaghan on the way to the tomb of the great ruler, and they met resistance from Shatir Abdullah. The second group entered from the beginning of Khiyaban street and approached the sultan's madrasahs. The third group, led by Ubaydullah Khan, attacked from the Iraqi Gate and besieged the city for twelve days. However, the attack was unsuccessful. In June 1521, Ubaydullah Khan and his army retreated to the vicinity of Puli Solar and Parian near Herat. From there, they returned to Maverannahr. This was the last battle between the Shaybanids and the Safavids during the reign of Shah Ismail Safavi. Shah Ismail Safavi died of illness on 23 May 1524 at the age of 37 [29: 69]. In 1524, Shah Ismail Safavi's ten-year-old son Tahmasp ascended the throne<sup>7</sup>. Due to his youth, state affairs were managed by emirs led by the Div Sultan. The Shaybanids returned after plundering various cities and villages along the way.

<sup>4</sup> The combined forces of the Iranians Najmi Sani and Babur Mirza were defeated by small army led by Ubaydullah Khan in the battle of Zarangaran village near Gijduvan on November 24, 1512. See: [28: 112].

<sup>5</sup> Abdulkadir Majid says that the first campaign began in 1515 when Ubaydullah Khan sent a letter to the Ottoman Sultan informing him that he was marching to Khorasan. Although Ubaydullah Khan sent a letter, we do not find any source that he marched to Khorasan in 1515. Martin Dickson dates the first military campaign to Khorasan to 1524-1526. In the work "Musakhir al-bilad" by Muhammad ibn Arab Qataghan (16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries), this campaign was dated as 929 AH (1522), in the work "Ahsan ut-tawarikh" by Hasanbek Rumlin (16<sup>th</sup> century) as 927 AH, in the work "Tarihi alamarayi Abbasi" by Munshi (16<sup>th</sup> century – 1634) as 929, and in the work "Habib us-siyar" by Ghiyasuddin bin Humamaddin Khandamir (1475 – 1535) as mid-927. Based on the dates in the cited sources, we have taken the year 1521 and consider this to be correct.

<sup>6</sup> Som Mirza is the son of Shah Ismail Safavi. Born in 1517. In 1521, he succeeded his brother Takhmasp on the throne of Khorasan. In 1567, he was executed by order of Shah Tahmasp. See: [5: 76].

<sup>7</sup> As Tahmasp was young, Div Sultan Rumlu ruled the throne. See: [3: 447].



**In 1524-1525<sup>8</sup>, Ubaydullah Khan organized a second military campaign against Khorasan.**

These campaigns were carried out at the initiative of religious leaders. Almost all the Shaybanid sultans participated. Although this campaign to Khorasan was organized by Kuchkunchi Khan<sup>9</sup>, the influential Shaybani sultans Abu Said (1531-1533)<sup>10</sup> Suyunkhoja Khan, Janibek Sultan, and Kistan Qara<sup>11</sup> Sultans gathered around Ubaydullah Khan in October 1524. The Shaybani sultans first captured Merv and moved towards Sarakhs. They killed the thirty or forty Qizilbash left there and captured the city. Then they captured Mashhad, Astrabad, and after a 6-month siege<sup>12</sup>, they captured Tus by truce. Ubaydullah Khan appointed Abdulaziz<sup>13</sup> to Astrabad, and he himself returned to Balkh and prepared to march towards Herat.

Meanwhile, the Qizilbash emirs Ahi Sultan and Pirgulu Sultan captured Astrabad. Ubaydullah Khan had already begun his advancement to Herat. Ubaydullah Khan defeated Ahi Sultan and Damri Sultan in Astrabad with his army and killed them. Ubaydullah Khan entrusted the recapture and management of Astrabad to Zinesh and returned to Herat [3: 458]. In this battle, Qanbar Ali led the "javonghar" part of the army, and Zinesh led the "baronghar" part. "Ahsan ut tawarikh" states that the Safavids had two thousand five hundred cavalymen in this battle, and the Uzbeks had more than twenty thousand cavalymen [3: 456].

At this time, Durmush Khan, the Ataliq of the new viceroy of Khorasan, Som Mirza, held a meeting and took measures to defend Herat [3: 449]. The Shaybanids, led by Ubaydullah Khan, attacked the Firuzabad gate. But they could not enter it. The Shaybanid sultans spent four months in the vicinity of Herat under the siege of Herat. They returned to Transoxiana without any open clashes [3: 448]. Although the Shaybanid sultans could not enter the city of Herat, they captured many cities of Khorasan during these campaigns. They ruled these cities for a while. It can be said that these campaigns ended with the victory of the Shaybanid sultans.

When looking at Ubaydullah Khan's military career, his campaigns in Khorasan are considered one of the largest and most extensive. During these campaigns, Ubaydullah Khan took control of many territories, but in the process he also suffered a major defeat.

In 1526, there were several reasons for the Shaybanid sultans to launch a military campaign against Khorasan. The situation in Iran was not good. Shah Ismail Safavid had died, and there was a disunity in the government. Since Shah Tahmasp was young, the country was ruled by Div Sultan. Div Sultan had great influence in the country. In addition, there were two other political groups in the state. The Ustajlu tribes ruled in the capital of the empire, Tabriz, and Khorasan, and their leader was Kupek Sultan. He was the ruler of Tabriz. The second group was the Tekali, who ruled in Isfahan and Hamadan, and their leader was Chukha Sultan. Div Sultan proposed an alliance to these two main rivals. Although peace was achieved for a while, in the spring of 1526, a series of

<sup>8</sup> In the work "Musakhir al-bilad" it is 932-938 AH (1525-1528), in the work "Ahsan ut-tawarikh" it is 932 AH (1525-1526), in the history of the world Abbasi it is 933-934 (1527-1528), in "Habib us-siyar" it is mid-927. In the work "Baburnama" of Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur it is 1525-1526. In M. Dickson it is 1526-1528.

<sup>9</sup> Kuchkunji Khan is a Khan of Khans of the Uzbeks. (1510-1531). Died on February 13, 1531. He was the eighth son born to Abulkhairkhan and Rabia Sultanbegim. See: [22: 143].

<sup>10</sup> Abu Said Bahadir Khan (1531-1533) – son of Kuchkunji Khan. Died in Safar 940 / August-September 1533. See: [22: 145].

<sup>11</sup> Kistan Qara Sultan is one of the Shaybani sultans; second son of Janibek Sultan. He was the ruler of Balkh from 932/1526 to 950/1544. See: [30: 398].

<sup>12</sup> Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur reports that the Shaybani sultans captured the city of Tus after an eight-month siege. See: [19: 224].

<sup>13</sup> Abdulaziz Khan (1540-1550). He ruled Bukhara. Son of Ubaydullah Khan. See: [21: 380].





clashes in the northwestern part of present-day Iran spread to Khorasan and turned into a rebellion. Shah Tahmasp executed Div Sultan as the culprit. Taking advantage of these factors, Ubaydullah Khan launched an attack on the northern parts of Khorasan and first captured Merv, Sarakhs, Bistham, and Astrabad. As a result of these campaigns, the borders of the Shaybanid state expanded to the Caspian Sea.

Ubaydullah Khan led a detachment to besiege Herat. When the matter became serious, Shah Tahmasp arrived in Khorasan with an army of forty thousand men, with rifles and chariots. Hearing that Shah Tahmasp was coming with a large army, Ubaydullah Khan returned to Merv after a seven-month siege of Herat<sup>14</sup> [3: 256]. Ubaydullah Khan sent an urgent message to Transoxiana asking for help. The Shaybani sultans immediately arrived with Barak Sultan from Tashkent, Kuchkinchi Khan, Abu Said Sultan, Pulod Sultan, and Janibek Sultan with his sons from Samarkand and Miyankol, Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan's sons from Hissar, and Kistan Qara Sultan from Balkh [19: 256]. According to "Ahsan ut-tavarikh", it is said that such a large army has not crossed the Amu Darya since the time of Genghis Khan. Various sources provide different information about the number of troops in this campaign. Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur says that the Uzbek army in this campaign was 105 thousand, the Safavid army was 40 to 50 thousand, according to Iskandarbek Munishi, the Uzbek army was 80 thousand, according to Abdulkadir Majid's research, 200 thousand, and Z. V. Tugan 300 thousand horsemen.

It should be emphasized that these campaigns were given a religious tone, with the aim of conquering Iran and completely eliminating the Shiite sect. That is why all classes of the population, regardless of class and age, participated in them, along with the soldiers of the Shaybanid sultans. For example: In this battle, Ubaydullah Khan brought forty people from the sheikhs of Transoxiana with him. The goal was that they would pray on the day of battle and win through their prayers.

Shah Tahmasp's army stopped in Mashhad. After visiting Imam Reza, the eighth imam of the Shiites, they went to Jam. In the meantime, the Shah was informed that the Shaybanid sultans had started marching again. To confirm this news, the Shah secretly sent 14 people and received the news that the Shaybanid sultans led by Ubaydullah Khan had settled in the village of Zirabad in the Juwayn region, north of Sabzavar in Khorasan [3: 465].

Tahmasp personally led the army, and deployed experienced commanders such as Chukha Sultan, Husayn Khan, Tabarruk Khan, Zulkadir, Hamza Sultan, Ahmad Sultan, Muhammad Khan Zulkadarughli, Pirgulu Sultan, Yakub Sultan, Muhammad Sultan, Malik Bek in the army units [3: 466]. This is reported in the "Baburnama" by Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur: "When Tahmasp learned about their (Shaybanid) united society, he was digging a trench in the Rodagan vastness. When the Uzbeks learned about this, they did not care about the enemy and decided, "All the khans and sultans will remain in Mashhad. Only a few sultans will go to the places where the Qizilbash hordes are located with an army of twenty thousand people and will not let them see their heads out of the trench. When the month of Scorpio comes, the yadachi<sup>15</sup> will be ordered to yadachi." They left Merv, saying that they would weaken the enemy and defeat him [19: 29].

<sup>14</sup> In Baburnama, it is said that Ubaidullah Khan returned to Marv without finding weapons to stay in the lands around Herat. In our opinion, he did not have the strength to face Tahmasp's army. See: [19: 256].

<sup>15</sup> Yadachi are rain summoners. See: [19: 33].



In 1528, the Shaybanid and Safavid armies clashed near Jam<sup>16</sup> and Khargird. The battle began with an initial victory for the Shaybanid sultans. The battle began, and the part led by Sultan Janibek won the battle. Shah Tahmasp fled the battlefield. The Shaybanids, convinced that the Shah's troops had fled, began to plunder his army. In fact, this was a military trick, as Shah Tahmasp pretended to retreat instead of fleeing the battle. The Safavid troops, armed with weapons and artillery taken from the Portuguese, attacked again and attacked not the wing led by Sultan Janibek, but the main part of the army, the center (heart) led by Ubaydullah Khan and Kuchkunchi Khan, who were acting independently, and inflicted a major defeat on them. Hearing the news of the defeat, Jonibek Sultan also ordered to retreat.

During the battle, Ubaydullah Khan was seriously wounded [3: 469]. Shah Tahmasp regained the lands occupied by the Shaybanids. Khorasan was again given to Husayn Khan. Shah Tahmasp returned to Baghdad to suppress the rebellion of Zulfiqar.

The Shaybanids suffered heavy losses in the Battle of Jam. The army of the Shaybanid sultans was several times larger than that of Shah Tahmasp, but their weapons consisted mainly of rifles, swords and spears. The presence of artillery among the Safavids decided the fate of the battle. Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur states in his "Baburnama" that no Shaybanid sultans returned from the battle except for Kuchkunchi Khan [3: 256]. Although this information is not accurate, this report, given by a person who participated in the battle, indicates that there were heavy losses. However, this defeat did not prevent Ubaydullah Khan from making further military campaigns towards Khorasan.

**In 1529-1531, a fourth military campaign was organized against Khorasan.** Unlike many campaigns, Ubaydullah Khan did not participate in these campaigns at first. This was probably due to the fact that he was seriously wounded in the Battle of Jam. The Shaybanids intended to capture Isfahan and open a safe route for the Hajj. A few months after Shah Tahmasp left, Ubaydullah Khan sent Suyunchmuhammad and his son Abdulaziz to Mashhad with six thousand Uzbek cavalry. Soon after, he himself arrived at the outskirts of the city with a group of Uzbeks. He captured Mashhad. He himself left one of his servants there and went on a campaign to Herat. The Qizilbashli, led by the governor of Khorasan, Husayn Khan, did not join the battle and fled to Siestan [3: 448]. Ubaydullah Khan ascends the throne of Herat [3: 471]. Ubaydullah Khan easily conquers Herat and Mashhad through negotiations. In 1530, when Kuchkinchi Khan dies in Samarkand and Ubaydullah Khan comes to pay his respects, Herat has been lost again [23: 134]. Ubaydullah Khan fails to return to Herat and conquer the city. In the meantime, Tahmasp suppresses the uprising in Baghdad and marches on Khorasan for the second time in 1531. In 1531, Ubaydullah Khan leaves Herat and retreats to Merv. He calls on all the Shaybanid sultans for help. In 1530, he holds a grand congress in Merv and calls on all the Shaybanid sultans to march on Khorasan. At this time, Abu Said (1530-1533), who had succeeded Kuchkunchi Khan as the ruler of Samarkand, was unable to achieve unity with Ubaydullah Khan as a result of the defeat at Jam. The Shaybani sultans did not dare to engage in open war with the Safavids [17: 58]. Unable to receive support, Ubaydullah Khan returned to Bukhara.

<sup>16</sup> The center was Jam Turbat. One of the small towns of Mashhad. Located between Herat and Mashhad, this town is now a small village between Iran and Afghanistan. See: [13: 309].



**In 1532-1533<sup>17</sup>, the fifth military campaign against Khorasan was organized.** During these campaigns, Herat, Mashhad, and Astrabad were captured.

First, Ubaydullah Khan captured the lands from Mashhad to Astrabad and besieged Herat. He cut off the water sources. At this time, Ubaydullah Khan was supported by the Balkh governor Kistan Qara Sultan and Janibek Sultan. The siege of Herat, which began in 1532, lasted 1.5 years [3: 491]. On December 20, 1532, Shah Tahmasp arrived in Khorasan and ascended the throne in Herat [3: 492]. Then he captured Mashhad and announced that he would march on Mavorunnahr in the spring. In order to go on a campaign, the Shah set up his camp in a place called Eleng-i Nishin on June 23, 1534 [12: 65]. The Safavid army sent 200 cavalry to Khalifa Sufyan<sup>18</sup> and sent them to Sabzavor. Khalifa Sufyan captured Sabzavor, Nishapur, and Mashhad. Ubaydullah Khan returned to Mavorunnahr. After the death of the Supreme Khan Abu Said in 1533, Ubaydullah Khan ascended the throne as the chief khan of the Shaybanid dynasty in 1533 [20: 202].

**In 1535-1537<sup>19</sup>, the sixth military campaign was organized in Khorasan.** During these years, the Shaybanid sultans attacked the lands of Khorasan several times from different directions. Ubaydullah Khan sent the Shaybanid sultans Sheikh Abu-Said Afrosiyab, Qaraja Bahadir, and Sayyid Mirza with four thousand cavalry to capture Herat. Caliph Sufyan went out against them with 1,500 cavalry and defeated them. Ubaydullah Khan also sent 1,500 horsemen after them. The Iranians defeated that army as well, killing two hundred and fifty men. Meanwhile, the ruler of Herat, Sam Mirza, attacked Kandahar, which was under the control of the Baburids, without the permission of the Shah, but was defeated.

The eighty-year-old Khalifa Sultan<sup>20</sup> was appointed by Sam Mirza as the ruler of Herat. Hearing of his old age and weakness, the Shaybanid sultans Bayram Sultan and Janibey Sultan's son Kistan Qara attacked Herat, and the Khalifa Sultan's army was defeated. 900 Qizilbash men from his army were killed [26: 110]. The Shaybanids returned with large spoils [2: 126].

After the death of the governor, an envoy was sent from Herat to the Khalifa Sufyan. He was asked to protect Herat. Khalifa Sufyan left his eldest son in charge of the governorship of Mashhad and went to Herat, entering the city on June 5, 1535 [9: 64]. In 1536, upon hearing of the Ottoman Empire's military campaign in Iraq and the events in Khorasan, Ubaydullah Khan crossed the Amu Darya and besieged Mashhad. The defense of Mashhad was taken over by the wife of the Khalifa Sufyan. The siege was prolonged because the Safavids strongly defended the city [9: 64]. The defense of Mashhad was abandoned due to the march to Herat. Khalifa Sufyan set out from Herat to Mashhad with his army against the Shaybanids. In the battle that took place on January 15, 1536, Khalifa Sufyan took refuge with the defeated soldiers in the fortress of Abdalabad near Nishapur. He defended the fortress for 35 days. Ubaydullah Khan's troops entered the fortress and

<sup>17</sup> Just as there was confusion in the dates of previous military campaigns, we also observe this during these military campaigns. In "Tarihi Alamarayi Abbasi" it is stated that it was 1530, in "Musakhir al-Bilad" it is stated that it took place in 1531, and in "Ahsan ut-Tawarikh" it is stated that the Shaybanids besieged Herat in May 1532. In the beginning of "Ahsan ut-Tawarikh" it says that this campaign was in 1532, and in the last part it is stated that the siege lasted a year and a half and ended in October 1532. If we assume that the siege lasted 1.5 years, Ubaydullah Khan may have besieged Herat in May 1531.

<sup>18</sup> He was considered one of the most influential emirs of Tahmasp. Originally from the city of Sivas. Ruler of the city of Mashhad. He was a famous man who won many battles during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. See: [3: 507]

<sup>19</sup> This date is almost the same date in the works "Musakhir al-bilad", "Ahsan ut-tawarikh", "Tarihi alamarayi Abbasi"

<sup>20</sup> His real name was probably Mir Mahmud Isfahan. See: [2: 279].



captured Khalifa Sufyan alive. According to Ubaydullah Khan's orders, he was handed over to the father of the soldier who had died in battle with him. He was killed [32: 505].

At this time, a favorable situation had arisen for Ubaydullah Khan in Herat. Sufyan had left the defense of Herat to Khalifa Khizr Chalabi, and Herat was deeply dissatisfied with Khalifa Sufyan and his emirs. A group of people in Herat who were suffering from their oppression secretly invited Ubaydullah Khan to Herat. On March 11, 1536, Ubaydullah Khan arrived at the Murad Gardens near Herat and settled there. Ubaydullah Khan besieged Herat for 50 days. On August 16, 1536, Mir Abu Tahir, who was at enmity with Khizr Chalabi, helped the Shaybanids enter the city [32: 505]. He opened the Khosh Gate at night and let in about 300 Shaybanid soldiers. Ubaydullah Khan ruled Herat for four months. Upon hearing of the defeat of the army in Herat, Shah Tahmasp marched to Khorasan [32:129]. Ubaydullah Khan had left Darveshbek in Herat to capture Mashhad. Upon hearing the news of Shah Tahmasp's arrival, he returned to Herat and held a large council. The purpose was to decide "whether to fight or not." With the advice of the Shaybanid sultans, he returned to Bukhara via Balkh in January 1537 [32:130]. This was Ubaydullah Khan's last march to Khorasan. He died shortly after, at the age of 54, on March 17, 1540 (Friday, 8th Dhul-Qa'da, 946 AH) in Bukhara [23:134].

In the battles for Khorasan between the Safavids and the Shaybanids, the Shaybanids prevailed in all battles except the Battle of Jam. Both Shah Ismail Safavid and Shah Tahmasp doubted the loyalty of the viceroys in Khorasan. That is why they always put their closest people in charge. Khorasan remained the most contentious area between the Safavids and the Shaybanids. Ubaydullah Khan and later Abdullah Khan II (1557-1598) Shaybanids prevailed over in this struggle.

The result of the battles was that the Safavids won the battles for Khorasan. After Ubaydullah Khan's military campaigns, the Shaybanids chose only a defensive path for a while. He failed to organize another aggression. This moderation continued until Abdullah Khan II.

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