

Commander in Chief Bureaucrats: An Introduction to the Transformation of Timurid Military Structure in the Shahrokh Era

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Abstract

The empowerment of Timur began from Transoxiana and the political –social structure governing this area had a significant role in the transformation of Amir Gorkani. The Timurid era was the time of victories and capture of empire and according to the available natural necessities, the army had a more highlighted role in the structure of power and the domination of military structure is obvious. Meanwhile, the succession of Shahrokh and his domination on the Timurid Empire is considered as a transient period that passed from a power with military discourse to a power with civil-military structure. In the Shahrokh era, although campaign and suppression as political necessities were not disappeared, some serious efforts were made to institutionalize the Timurid Empire and value its executive and civil aspects. These efforts led to the faded place of army in favor of court officials. Although, in this era, the fight against writers and army can be reviewed, it seems that the context of military ambitions faded due to the conservative and realistic character of Shahrokh and more opportunity is given to bureaucrats under the influence of power institutionalization and power of administrative-executive institutions. Such an opportunity is so that some commander in chiefs and officials of military royalty selected executive and court affaires and probably for the first time, a kind of transformation occurred in the history of Iran in the Middle Ages. This transformation was not something rather than the derogation of commander in chiefs from mere military functions and accepting administrative – executive patterns.

Key words: Timurid, Shahrokh, Bureaucrats, Military commander in chiefs

INTRODUCTION

Although, the Timurid era in the political history of Iran had a significant difference from previous periods in terms of government structure and nature, the government of Turks in the middle Asia and Transoxiana continued in Iran in terms of race and parentage. Because from the domination of Ghaznavids to the Safavid era, almost none of the dynasties governing Iran (Ghaznavids, Seljuks, Ghurids, Ilkhanids, local tentative governments and etc.) were Persian and each of them was somehow related to the nomads of the middle Asia and Ghabchagh plain. However, the dynasty that was founded by Timur had two

important and essential features that distinguished it from other dynasties governing Iran. The first feature was the militaristic nature of Timur. For this reason, the unity and integrity of the wide empire left by him for his successors collapsed immediately due to the lack of accurate and detailed program for succession and also the lack of regular political organization. (Roemer 2000:135).

The second important feature of the Timurid dynasty that is completely different from the first feature is the luminosity and prosperity of cultural/intellectual life of Iranians in the second half of the Timurid government. In this era, especially in Shahrokh era, Ulugh Beg and Sultan Hussein Bayghara, we see significant developments and progress in the field of art, architecture and literature. This conflict and difference of nature in two different Timurid eras and their deep effect on Iranian society made this era as a significant and considerable subject for research. Although, considerable information and report can be found in historical references about some commander in chiefs and agents of military royalty that worked on executive

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and court affairs, the present study attempted to use this information. However, the studies of the Timurid era did not deal with this issue in an independent and analytical way. For this reason, the present study attempted to use a descriptive-analytical method to answer the question that: what factors caused the derogation of commander in chiefs from mere military functions and accepting administrative – executive patterns in Shahrokh era? With this introduction, the present study first deals with the development of power and superiority of military commander in chiefs in the Timurid era and then the transformation of military structure and advent of commander in chief bureaucrats in the Shahrokh era.

DEVELOPMENT OF POWER AND OF MILITARY COMMANDER IN CHIEFS IN THE TIMURID ERA

Place of Military Commander in Chiefs in the Timurid Era

The empire of Timur, unlike Chingiz Khan, was a merely personal innovation, it seems that the major concern of Timur was to gain superiority for himself. His governance was completely dependent on his presence at the top. He did not allow his children and grandchildren to gain that much power or superiority to rely on him without passing a long period of internal war. He even prevented the development of another center of power. His military achievements were significant, but were not constructive at all in terms of institution. His governmental system was designed in such a way to guarantee his personal power and had no function except it. (Morgan 1994:126).

When Timur obtained power in Iran, he faced important challenges. He could provide legitimacy in Chagatai Ulus and began advance towards Iran and other conquered areas by relying on it. However, like all kings who emerged from the deserts of the middle Asia and ruled Iran and other areas of the world of Islam, he had to make the chaotic power of tribes accompany him and provide his legitimacy among the other tribes under his rule.

Timur aimed to separate his army—that was considered as the most important abutment of military government from dependence on tribes royalty and train the forces to owe him more than ever and obey him for this reason. He also attempted to control Chagatai Ulus and its military force. He always kept the most efficient commander in chiefs from the centre of Ulus, explained the expansionist policies and prevented the risk of their presence next to each other and in the center of power structure. According to the political-military background of the region that was the territory of Chagatai Ulus and had a more military nature,

it was natural that military royalty had a leading place in the structure of the newfound Timurid power.

After the relative consolidation of sovereignty in different regions by Timur, he paid attention to the old Turkish-Mongolian principle based on family participation in government and made his grandchildren manage and control some states. Thus, some family –local governments or places for the sons of Timur commander in chiefs had a full supervision on the performance of these sons of commander in chiefs. Each of the members of Timurid family in the place of rulers' interests had some army. They included some people from Chagatai tribes, different groups and also the relatives of Timur. Through this way, Timur established a region for army that relied on Transoxiana. The army of each prince was a reflection of Chagatai army. (Abbasi et al 2012: 155).

Timur established state armies to separate the people of different tribes, influencing rulers and their families from each other and used their power that could be turned into a dangerous center of power in order to achieve his goals. However, in the Timurid era, princes had no regular army for themselves, for example when Timur decided about his last assault to the west; he used the army of his son, Shahrokh, only as pioneer. (Hafiz Abru 1993: 2/880).

The Chagatai forces of states in the eras after Timur, were still present in the army of the sons of Timurid commander in chiefs with the difference that they had more settlement and peace in the regions due to the recession of world conquest at that time and were used at regional operations. (Abbasi et al, Ibid: 156) according to what was said, the historical news showed that the closer we are to the end of governance by the Timurids, the less will be the effectiveness of Chagatais and their attachment to the Timurid family. For example, in the eras after Shahrokh and during the efforts of Abolqasem Baber, Chagatai heads, such as Sheriffs, did not resist against Turkmens and some areas were conquered by Turkmens. (Samarqandi 1974: 2/2/728) the references of these periods and especially after the death of Sultan Hussein Bayghara highlight the role of local non-Chagatai forces. (Khand miri 1983: 4/376, Esferazi 1959: 2/245).

Administrative Structure of the Timurid Era

The general plan of Timurid bureaucracy was like other nomadic governments before and after that. He was the heir of two governmental systems of Turkish-Mongolian and Arabic (Islamic)-Iranian. Timur mixed these two systems and adapted to his needs. He used the secretaries and bureaucracy of sedentarized areas under his dominance to control the occupied and imposed an organized bureaucracy based on Turkish-Mongolian traditions. The

court positions and places in the Timurid government were like other nomadic governments of that era, i.e. Ilkhanids, Golden Horde, Ag Qoyunlu, and QaraQoyunlu. Thus, the expressions of Timurid bureaucracy are known and clear. Besides, the study of the function of discussed positions in Timurid references shows a considerable consistency with the data related to these places in other governments. (Abbasi et al, Ibid: 152).

Timur established a passive and dependent system instead of an active and discrete political system and attempted to suppress the origins of independent powers and their surrounding political activities. Although the Timurid bureaucracy was not regular and had no certain framework, the Timurid government was not a chaotic government. He used the flexibility of his bureaucracy to increase his personal power. In the Timurid bureaucracy, the interference between the jurisdiction of Chagatais and Iranians was considered as a point between Timur used Chagatai advocates to limit the power of Iranian bureaucracy and also the logic of Timurid bureaucracy becomes obvious well in the field of appointing positions and posts. Timur gave a lot of war forces and important positions of army to his advocates and was careful about not letting them to gain a complete dominance on any of the areas under his domination. Instead, the positions that were given to the advocates of Timur were usually military positions although they gave influence to the owners, they were not independent positions. The men to whom Timur gave the command of regional army like Berlasian, Qochin and Khorasani commander in chiefs had little influence on army and only a few of them had army under their control and command. Thus, Timur often assigned the duties of country and army to one person and in the meanwhile he rarely assigned all power of both territories to the same person. (Ibid: 177).

In the administrative structure of the Timurid, the commander in chief was at the top of all affairs. After commander in chief, the management and control of affairs were summarized in 3 courts called A'la divan, Chagatai court (Tavachi) and Yarqo court. (Amin 2011:116) here is a brief description of them.

A'LA COURT

In some references, A'la court was referred to as Saret court or Mal court and a Beigi court (head of court) was at its top place. The secretaries of this court were called Tajik minister or author. (Aka 2011:237) according to the reports of references, the most fundamental tasks of ministers in this court is to address the affairs of tax, production, increase of products, building towns, increase of incomes,

coinage, address the accounts and tax complaints. (Ibid: 239) according to Hafiz Abru, after killing Shah Mansour by Shahrokh, when Timur went to Salam gateway in Shiraz, their horse were not hidden and all of them were hot for A'la court. (Hafiz Abru, ibid: 2-307).

Counting the presents given to commander in chief was done by the members of court. (Shami, 1984:180) at the time of conquering the cities, the keys of treasuries were given to the nabob of A'la court. (Derkhand Mir, ibid: 4/4) the ministers of A'la court were aware of the total amount of cash gold in the country's treasury. (ibid: 546/3) paying the salary of employees and staffs at any sector in the capital and other states was done by A'la court. (Samarqandi 1974: 2/862). Draft, fund, allowance, presents, and gifts of Sultan and etc. were all assigned to people by the command and order of Sultan. A'la court was not only an intermediate to transfer wealth from people, but also was an organization for the permanent management of governmental properties.

There was a close relationship and link between Iranian and Chagatai officials and although this court was Persian, Chagatai commander in chiefs were involved in its affairs. A'la court was formed of different subsets like Eshraf court, Estifa court; treasury, seal office and etc. treasurer and keeper of seal were responsible to keep the written orders of ruler and had a superior position among court officials and agents. (Takestanane etc. 2005:85).

CHAGATAI COURT

It was discussed less than A'la court. The other names of this court were great court of the empire or Rurkish court. According to Menez, this court worked like the legal court of Chagatai commander in chiefs and Timurid princes. (Menez 1998: 241) however, this court was the successor of Araz court in the governments before Mongol but with more extensive authorities. This court was not under the control and supervision of minister of justice unlike previous periods. Its authorities, in addition to administrative and financial support of army, were permeated to other areas of army. In fact, organizing, supporting, and monitoring army were the most important tasks of this court. (Amin, ibid: 180).

This court was related to headquarters with extensive and appropriate tasks of a military force. It was very important for the governmental survival that was always threatened by foreign and domestic enemies. The members of this army were commander in chiefs that were called Tavachi or Beigi and were superior to other commander in chiefs in terms of rank and place and had lots of authorities and extensive

tasks as the supervisor of army. Preparing ceremonies and arranging March in the court of camp that was done on behalf of Sultan were among their tasks. The secretaries of this court were Turk and called Bakhshian and authors, but were never called minister. (Roemer2006:182-183, Aka, *ibid*:281).

The other tasks of Tavachi commander in chief were arranging the armies, providing the needed gun for the army (Hafiz Abru *ibid*: 2/121), determining the time and place of gathering the armies (Natanzi1958:227), giving the necessary warnings and message of Sultan or commanders to commander in chiefs and armies (Khand Mir, *ibid*: 4/192), arranging Qorilta and counting the armies and adding to the number of armies if needed. (Samarqandi, *ibid*: 1/993) among the Tavachi commander in chiefs of that period were Ali Sultan Tavachi, Kalan Tavachi, Amir AbanTavachi, and ArdeshirTavachi. The court of Timurid military commander in chiefs was held in this court. Natanzi says: in important and critical issues, Sultans sat in Chagatai court and suspects were taken to them, so that the charges could be addressed in the presence of Sultan. (Natanzi, *ibid*: 232).

YARGHO COURT

This court was a memorial from the Mongolian ancestors of the Timurids and was known as a court that addressed the inquest and punishments of sinners. (Razavi2009441) this court was also mentioned in Timurid Tazukat, in which two judges, one judge of Islam and another one the judge of establishment were present. Legal affairs were addressed by the judge of Islam and common affairs were addressed by the judge of establishment and then were announced to Timur. (Husseini Torbati 1963:252) the crimes that were addressed by the judges of this court included: breaking teeth, blinding eyes, cutting nose and ears, drinking wine, committing adultery, and alike. (*ibid*)Natanzi in his work referred to a court called Mazalem court. (Natanzi *ibid*: 312) and Hafiz Abru also referred to Tafahoz court (Hafiz Abru, *ibid*: 2/919) that seems to be the same Yargho court.

SHAHROKH ERA AND THE ADVENT OF COMMANDER IN CHIEF BUREAUCRATS

Bureaucracy in the Sharrokh Era

At the time of ruling by Shahrokh, the administration of financial affairs or court was the important center of power and a battlefield for hegemony. In Muizz al- ansab that reflects the administrative organization of government in the Timurid era, two independent sets of officials were mentioned. First, the commander in chiefs who were all

Turk or Mongolian and then other positions that were often assigned to Chagatais were mentioned. At the end, a list of Persian authors, Turk authors and Sadrs (religious officials that monitor and supervise appointments and religious affairs) were given. (Menez, *ibid*: 124).

As was mentioned, the identification of accurate expressions used in these authorities and their functions is a very difficult task. Although, the events related to court were registered in several historical texts, but historians are not coordinated in using names and do not show a tendency to explain the administrative structure. However, there is certain evidence that Shahrokh and his rulers had a council of commander in chiefs to whom they consulted and membership in this council was a big honor that was assigned to senior commander in chiefs and very suddenly o a Persian official or commander. (Samarqandi *ibid*: 634-717-795, Kateb1966:250) probably the term commander in chief in Muizz al- ansab refers to the membership in this council, but its formal tasks are still ambiguous. (Muizz al- ansab1988:133).

Shahrokh decided to promote more independent and newer commander in chiefs to senior and higher positions. Firroz Shah and Alikeh were two of the most important commander in chiefs in his era and were mentioned as official with undisputed power in the control of affairs namely commander in chief of court and Amir Alamra. The sons of Firooz Shah and Alikeh took their places, but AbdolRazaqSamarqandi writes: since they were young and inexperienced, Shahrookh appointed the king of Barlas who was the oldest person to control and monitor the court. (Samarqandi, *ibid*: 841).

It seems that the term “commander in chief in court” was obviously used for all commander-in chiefs who had a place in court or at least for those who were in central council. Thus, we cannot be sure about the positions of commander in chiefs in court. But it is obvious that some of them had an official and powerful place in financial affairs of government. It should be said that courts were not only an intermediate to transfer wealth from people to government, but also were organizations for the permanent management of governments’ properties, confiscated properties, the properties of captive families, properties of crops and livestock, were all brought to court and sometimes were remained under the control of it. (Menez, *ibid*:128).

Shahrokh sometimes used his authorities directly and performed his important appointments, however it is difficult o estimate his involvement in court affairs. A source that is directly originated in central court gives a chaotic image on this case. Appointments and dismissals in the main court are attributed to Shahrokh, but it can only

show usual formalities in court and in writing the history (FasihiKhafi, 1961: 3/257 and Samarqandi, *ibid*: 670).

It is obvious that the central bureaucracy system in the government of Shahrokh was a center for power where Iranian people of court and Chagatai commander in chiefs and Timurid princes had all an active role in it. The accurate recognition of coexistence between Turk and Mongolian officials inside the court is not possible that the effect of people is very different over time, these three groups were always active and passing power among them was probably due to their personal place.

In the Shahrokh era, court officials formed a professional group that transferred the specialized training and local support through family networks and local authorities to each other. The people of court also like scholars were not a class apart from the other groups of society. Marriage with the families that had local position and tendency to achieve the opportunity of progress entered new individuals in a job and the tasks and skills of people of court were overlapped by other groups. Bureaucrats were often changed in an extensively way along with rulers in the movement paths of political power but many of them were permanently related to their birth place that often enjoyed their financial support. Thus, it is possible that recruitment, training and marriage in court atmosphere were common not only among the active loops in court but also in the capital of states where the people of court were rooted, this fact explains the presence of different khafi and Semnani families in the court system of the Timurid era and the continuity of bigger local group at the same time of decline of power in some families. As court was open to Turk or Mongolian commander in chiefs, it attracted newer officials among Iranian sedentarized elites who had mostly domination on local political affairs. (Menez, 2011:162).

Transformation of the Timurid Military Structure in the Shahrokh Era

The accumulation of wealth provided by Timur in Samarqand, subsided of domestic (internal) wars in Iran and the establishment of security throughout Iran in the Timurid era especially Shahrokh led to safe and easy business ways. Granting big lands to princes and commander in chiefs made agricultural lands and villages produce agricultural crops again under the control and supervision of owners. Cities especially in big Khorasan were rebuilt and major works were carried out in the field of irrigation. Shahrokh did not have the militancy tendencies of his father and limited military operation to very important and necessary cases. He also showed more tendency to divide power in comparison to his father and for this reason, were observe more independently of states and increase of personal power among Iranian and

Turkish-Mongolian elites during his governance. These features with his serious religious tendency brought the reputation of a ruler for him who spent all his life and efforts for religion and has given the administration and control of government to officials and his powerful wife. [Goharshad]. (Aka, *ibid*: 293).

It seems that this evaluation is based on the assumption that Timur had left a perfect political unit on which government was not easy, but that was not true. Shahrokh was obliged to dominate the land under his governance through war and political management and create balance among too many centers of family, state and local power.

Military and family history of the Timurid era is under the influence of two important groups that have a close continuity to each other. One of them was the family of Timur and another one Chagatai commanders or commander in chiefs who were from the generation of senior commanders of Timur. The family of Timur and commander in chiefs had a common root in Chagatai Ulus in Transoxiana and Afghanistan that linked them with the history of Mongolian empire and attractive character of Changiz Khan. They owed their position as the governing group directly to Timur who was the victor of a territory on which they governed and had given power to them and their fathers. They remained important in the field of military power until the end of the Timurid dynasty. Every ruler had to control this groups- princes and commander in chiefs- in order to obtain and keep power in the Timurid because they were his first competitors to achieve power and most important officials of him to maintain domination on the residents of subsidiary areas. It should be said that Turk-Mongolian Chagatai soldiers formed a constant army throughout the Timurid era. Their closeness to royal family and having senior military command, neither their separation from urban society nor their certain domination on military force, distinguished them as military force. (FayyazAnush2009:69).

At the beginning of reaching to power and command, Shahrokh could attract a group of Turk-Mongolian commanders and keep by himself. They were at his service with full loyalty for many years, but at the last 20 years of his life, we see the gradual lack of experienced commander in chiefs at the control and administration of army, court and government of states. Since more positions were inherited, the age and experience of the sons of a commander in chief at the time of his death was a determining subject. Both army and court of power were mostly dependent on people rather than positions. (*Ibid*: 80).

The influence of a commander in chief, regardless of his inherited position, was obtained through his efforts.

Probably, the lack of big campaign in this field was problematic. In a government that was mostly in peace and did not develop, young men had little opportunity to gain experience and power before inheriting the place of their fathers. Since Shahrokh, unlike his father, assigned minor affairs to his subordinates and was involved only in important issues, replacing experienced officials by inexperienced people was so harmful. For this reason, the balance of power at high level of government was gradually destroyed. (Ibid: 81).

The ruling period of Shahrokh was brilliant in comparison to other periods of the Timurid era because due to the kind and pacifist spirit, his main concern was the establishment and construction of the destroyed places that had been left since the life of his father and he paid attention to the people of knowledge as much as he could. The period of his governance brought relative security and peace and he created economic prosperity, welfare peace and converted his capital, Heart, into a prosperous city as a centre of artists and scholars. It was obvious not only in Heart but also in other cities under the control of Shahrokh such as Samarqand and Shiraz due to the presence of princess governed these cities. The economic status of the countries under the governance of Shahrokh in the form of its sectors such as business and agriculture developed and enhanced the level of public welfare and scientific, culture and artistic development of his territory. (Aka, *ibid*: 261).

It should be noted that in the periods of government's stability, the domination of the Timurids caused the prosperity of cities, the Timurid rulers and subordinates not only created new religious positions and secured the business ways to provide the conditions needed by the rich in the cities that were directly under their domination, but also participated in the field of business infrastructures in city and agriculture of region. They did it in cooperation with local elites. In addition, free food was distributed in these tombs and monasteries related to them and the bathrooms and cisterns that were made in different neighborhoods, improved the life status of middle and low classes. (Ibid: 294).

Every government enters the periods of power stability, institutionalization and structuralism after the chaotic period of settlement- that is usually along with invasion and expansion. After the death of Timur and in the light of conservative and realistic character of Shahrokh, the ambitions fields of military commander in chiefs decreased and more opportunity was given to bureaucrats under the effect of power institutionalization and power of administrative-executive institutions. Chance of bureaucrats was so that some commander in chiefs and officials of military royalty entered into executive and court

affairs. In fact, political –executive transformations of the kingship period of Shahrokh and his successors weakened the status of military royalty in the Timurid era to show more realistic functions.

In the analysis of issues in the Shahrokh era, Menezbelievedthat theTimurid rulers were somehow dependent on Chagatai army and regional armies or local people were important to the same extent. According to him, Iranians were active in military area and regional armies were consisted of Iranian soldiers in most states. (Menez2011:164 and 171) according to the general process of evolutions in periods after Shahrokh, this point should be added to the opinion of Menez: at the end of the Timurid periods, Chagatais formed an important part of state army including regional forces and local tribes but the role of non-Chagatai elements gradually became more important.

The senior command of states' forces was usually given to the sons of Timurid commander in chiefs settled in them and a set of Chagatai commander in chiefs or their remaining and sometimes local commanders and grandee accompanied him in this case. (Abbasi et al, *ibid*:159).

According to the superiority of military structure in Chagatai Ulus and military royalty in this Ulus, the center of gravity of Timur's power was in Transoxiana and Chagatai commander in chiefs had too much influence in his government. But in the Shahrokh era, political superiority was given to Khorasan and the influence of bureaucracy increased. On the other hand, the cultural approach of Shahrokh and his successors in statecraft and making efforts for civility and society had too much effect on power institutionalization, structuralism and decrease of centrifugal tendencies in military royalty and wane of their power. The weakness due to analysis-orientation and share-seeking of centrifugal forces made the Timurid rulers to keep the current territory more than ever and provided less opportunity for territorial expansion. This fact added to the importance of political and court institutions and decreased the influence and power of military royalty-that were potentially considered as a threat for sovereignty. (FayyazAnush, *ibid*: 66).

However, the long period of Shahrokh's government can be considered as the period of transmission from militarism to sovereignty of bureaucracy and more cultural elements. In other words, this period can be considered as the symbol of passing from a power with military discourse to a power with military –civil structure. In the era of Shahrokh and his successors, although campaign and suppression as a political necessity was not removed, some serious efforts were made to institutionalize the Timurid Empire and value

the civil and executive aspects of government. Without a doubt, these efforts decreased the influence of military elements and stabilized the place of politicians. However, it should be considered that after the death of Timur, his newfound empire never experienced the unity of life and was always weak under the influence of share-seeking by the sons of commander in chiefs.

However, changing attitude in the Timurid era, whether due to the weak military power or due to the tendency of Timur's successors to cultural components or a combination of them, was so that some commander in chiefs and officials of military royalty referred to executive and court affairs. Perhaps, it can be considered for the first time as a kind of transformation in the history of Iran, this transformation was not something rather than the derogation of commander in chiefs from mere military functions and accepting executive-administrative patterns. It was a newfound and emerging innovation that was less common in the domination era of the states in the middle Asia.

Commander in Chief Bureaucrats

Since in Shahrokh's government, commander in chiefs played a significant and important role, it is necessary to identify them. For this reason, here is a brief description of important commander in chiefs in the Shahrokh era:

Alikeh Koleh-tash and Firooz Shah- the companions of Shahrokh- who swore to be loyal and had the highest influence in that era, have a very faded presence in the historical texts related to the Timurid era. Alikeh, the son of Adak, claimed that Timur had given Shahrokh to him. His important military activities and royal title "Kokeltash" which means Rezaee refer to a strong personal relationship and link. Since even in the news related to his death, there is nothing more than his father's name, he had probably on unknown root or Gholami origin. (Hafiz Abru, *ibid*: 1/14, FasihiKhafi, *ibid*: 3/288 and Samarqandi, *ibid*: 746).

Firooz Shah, the son of Arghoon Shah, was one of the Turkmen commanders that was almost known in the ruling period of Timur and became so much important in the involvement of succession after his death. It should be noted that when Arghoon Shah played an important role in the government of Shahrokh's enemy namely Khalil Sultan, Firooz Shah, the committed advocate of Shahrokh, was in Heart and swore to loyalty and still remained as his advocate despite the execution of his father by the order of Shahrokh in 812 AD. (FasihiKHafi, *ibid*: 3/194) Alikehadn Firooz Shah were at the service of Shahrokh in a large part of his ruling period and both of them were mentioned in Muizz al-ansab in the row of the court commander in chief and commander of Tumans at the

right side of Shahrokh's army. (Muizz al-ansab 133) Almost in all main operations, one of them was prominent in the army. (Hafiz Abru, *ibid*: 1/373, Samarqandi, *ibid*: 321).

Amir Chaharshanbed and Amir Farman Sheikh, two commander- in chiefs who swore to be loyal to Shahrokh after the death of Timur, were not rooted in Chagatai class and there is less information about their origin. (Jafari1964:295) there were two other commander in chiefs who joined Shahrokh and became members of his administrative pillars. One of them was Jalal al-Din Chaqmaq Shamsi the ruler of Yazd and the other one was Amir Ghana Shirin the ruler of Kerman. Historical references do not have a full agreement on the origin of Amir Chaqmaq. The most acceptable report is that he escaped from the territory of Mamluks to Asia Minor (Anatolia) and then joined Shahrokh before 817 AD, when he was one of the Shahrokh's forces. His brother was also at the service of Shahrokh and was killed in Azerbaijan in 824 AD. (Hafiz Abru, *ibid*: 1/542, FasihiKhafi, *ibid*: 3/247 and Mostafa Bafqi1961: 3/740). Amir Chaqmaq was the ruler of Yazd in 823 AD and remained there during the rule of Shahrokh. He had a personal link with Shahrokh's family. (MostofiBafghi, *ibid*: 3/742) the development of his supports in the field of architecture and his accompanying with Shahrokh in big campaign with the army of Yazd shows that he has had an important contribution of local taxes. (Kateb, *ibid*: 97 and Hafiz Abru, *ibid*: 1/720) Amir Ghana Shirin who was appointed by Shahrokh for the government of Kerman had a similar position, he participated in the campaign of Shahrokh to Kerman in 819 AD and was appointed as the ruler of this state in 820 AD. His ancestors remained unknown. His name was rooted in Sanskrit, but it is certain that he was Muslim. (Hafiz Abru, *ibid*: 536 and 1/631). Despite his fame and the involvement of his sons in conflicts after the death of Shahrokh, we have no information about his origin. It seems that Kerman lost its financial independence at his time. When he died, the government of Kerman was transmitted to his son. (*ibid*: 1/650).

Some of Chagatai commander in chiefs who took the side of Shahrokh after the death of Timur and then remained loyal to him, one of them was the memorial of Arla's king from Arlat tribe in Khorasan, he was belonged to a branch of Arlats related to dynasty. (Muizz al-ansab: 102-121) he became famous at the end of the Timurid era and helped Khalil Sultan to become king. He immediately changed his loyalty to Pir Muhammad, who was the selected successor of Timur, and then took the side of Shahrokh after his death. (Jafari, *ibid*: 295).

Another commander in chief who became one of the senior commanders of Shahrokh in 807 AD was Sheikh

LoghmanBarlas who was a relative of Haj Beg the head of Barlas tribe. (Muizz al-ansab ibid: 90).

The family of Ghias al-Din Tarkhan or the family of Goharshad, a family that showed a special loyalty at the early time of Shahrokh's reign, gathered around Shahrokh more than other members of Timur's family. The sons of Ghias al-Din had a significant role in most and first campaigns of Shahrokh especially during the campaign to Transoxiana in 813 AD and campaign against the sons of Omar Sheikh in Fars or campaign to Kerman to suppress Owais Sultan. (FasihiKhafi, ibid: 3/93 and Hafiz Abru, ibid: 1/412).

The high position and place of Tarkhani was also emphasized in Muizz al-ansab. Ali and Hassan Sufi were mentioned as the court commander in chief in Shahrokh's government. Muhammad Sufi was also mentioned as Tavachi and commander of Tuman in the center of Shahrokh's army. (Muizz al-ansab, ibid: 133) They were special officials for Shahrokh.

CONCLUSION

The government of Timur was an example of personal (individual) governments with military and non-bureaucratic structure especially Turkish-Mongolian states and their tradition was inherited by Timur. Since in the thought of Timur- there was no place for political-civil structure and he had spent most of his life on non-stop and relentless wars and campaigns, he did not find any opportunity to create a regular and coherent administrative organization. As we take some distance from the Timurid era, the need to a regular and coherent bureaucracy is felt more. Especially at the time of Shahrokh, due to the suppress of Timur's wars establishing security and safety throughout Iran and joining to administrative and court affairs by commander in chiefs and officials of military nobility and royalty, we see the formation of a coherent administrative organization with the combination of Turkish-Mongolian system (based on YasaChangizi) and Iranian-Islamic system and the prosperity of business, culture and art. Derogation from mere military functions by commander in chiefs and accepting administrative-executive patterns

in Shahrokh era is considered as a kind of transformation in the history of Iran in the middle ages.

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