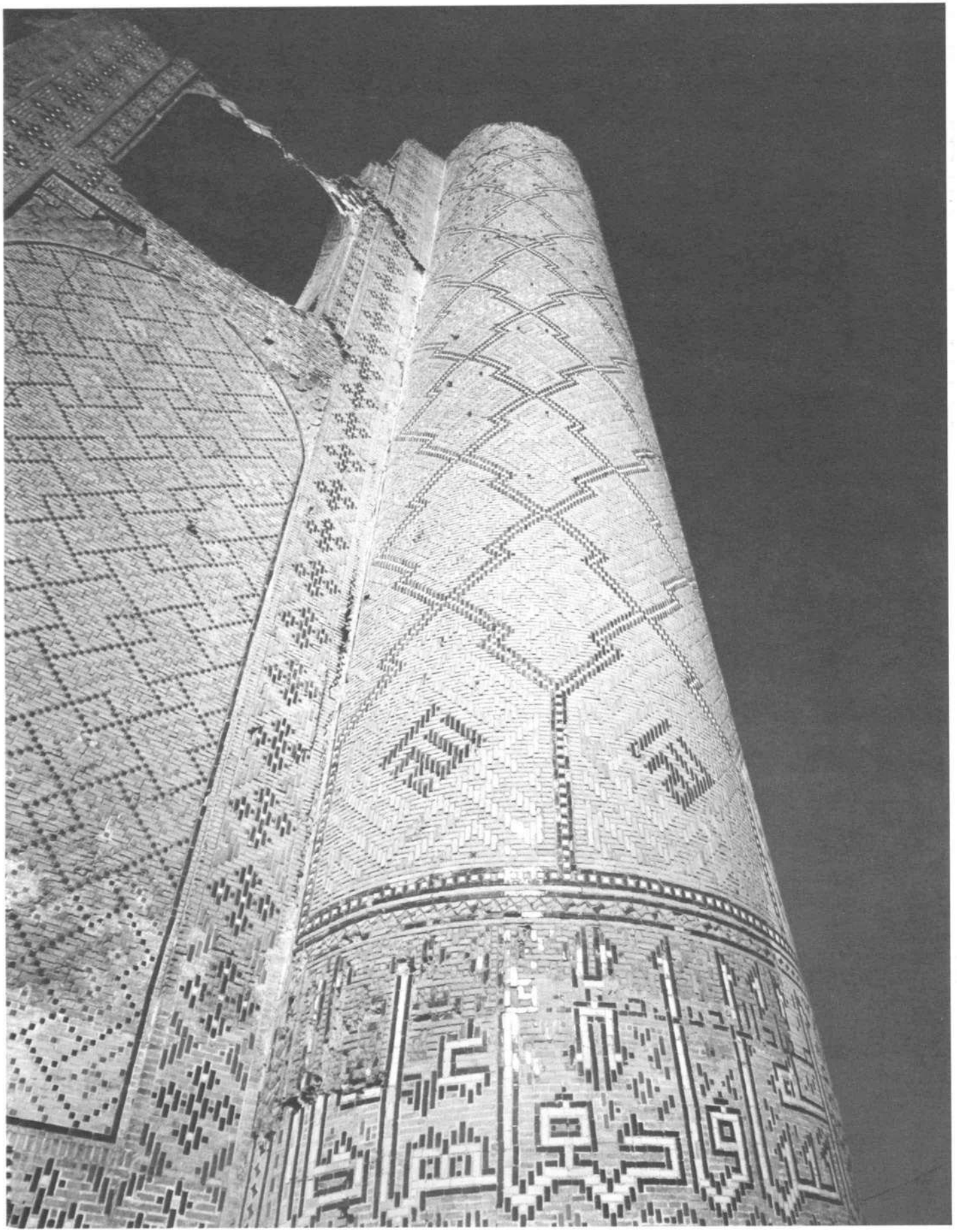
A Century of Princes

Sources on Timurid History and Art

Selected and Translated by
W. M. Thackston

A CENTURY OF PRINCES



"Bibi Khanïm" Mosque, Samarqand.

Peter M. Brenner © 1988.

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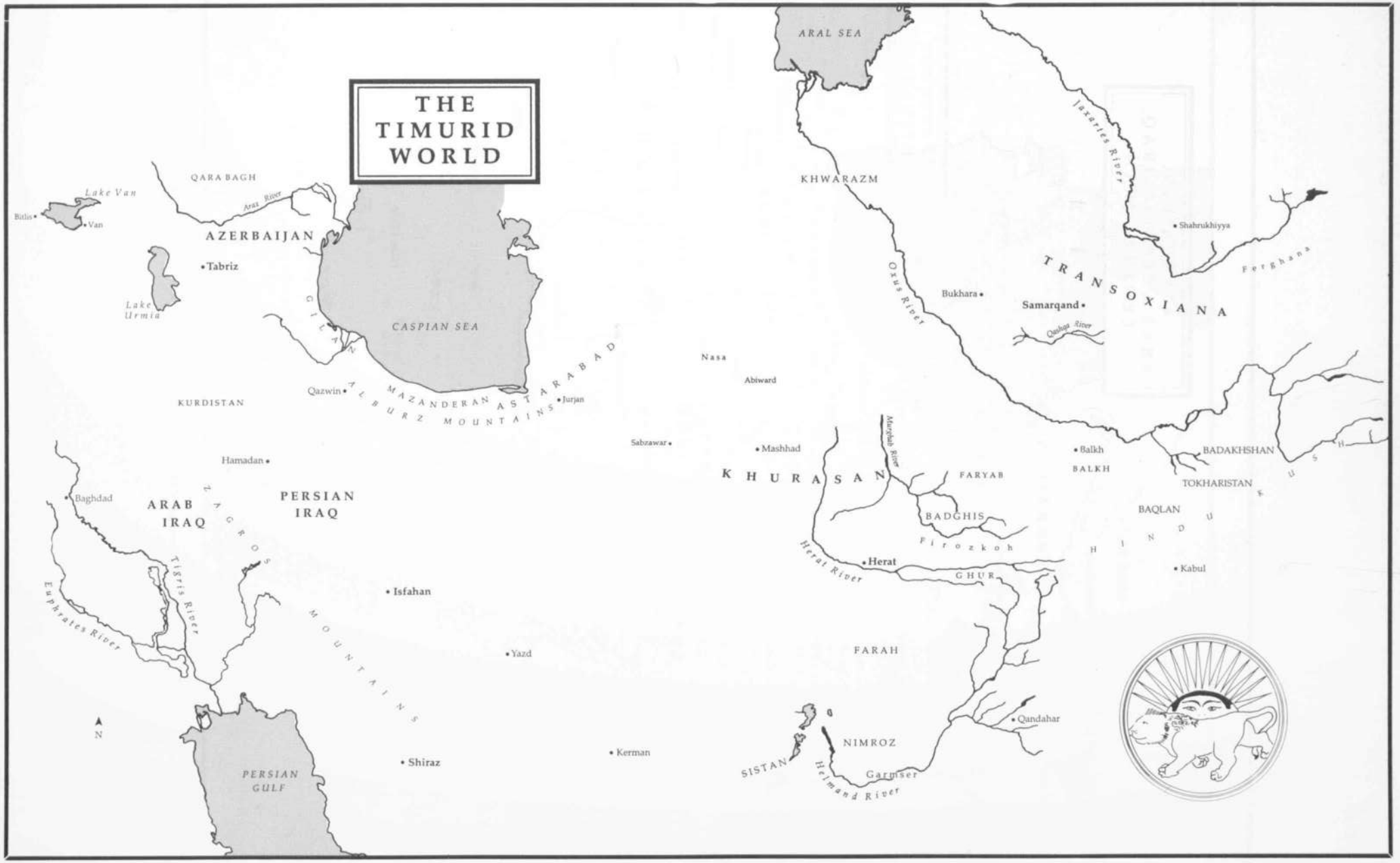
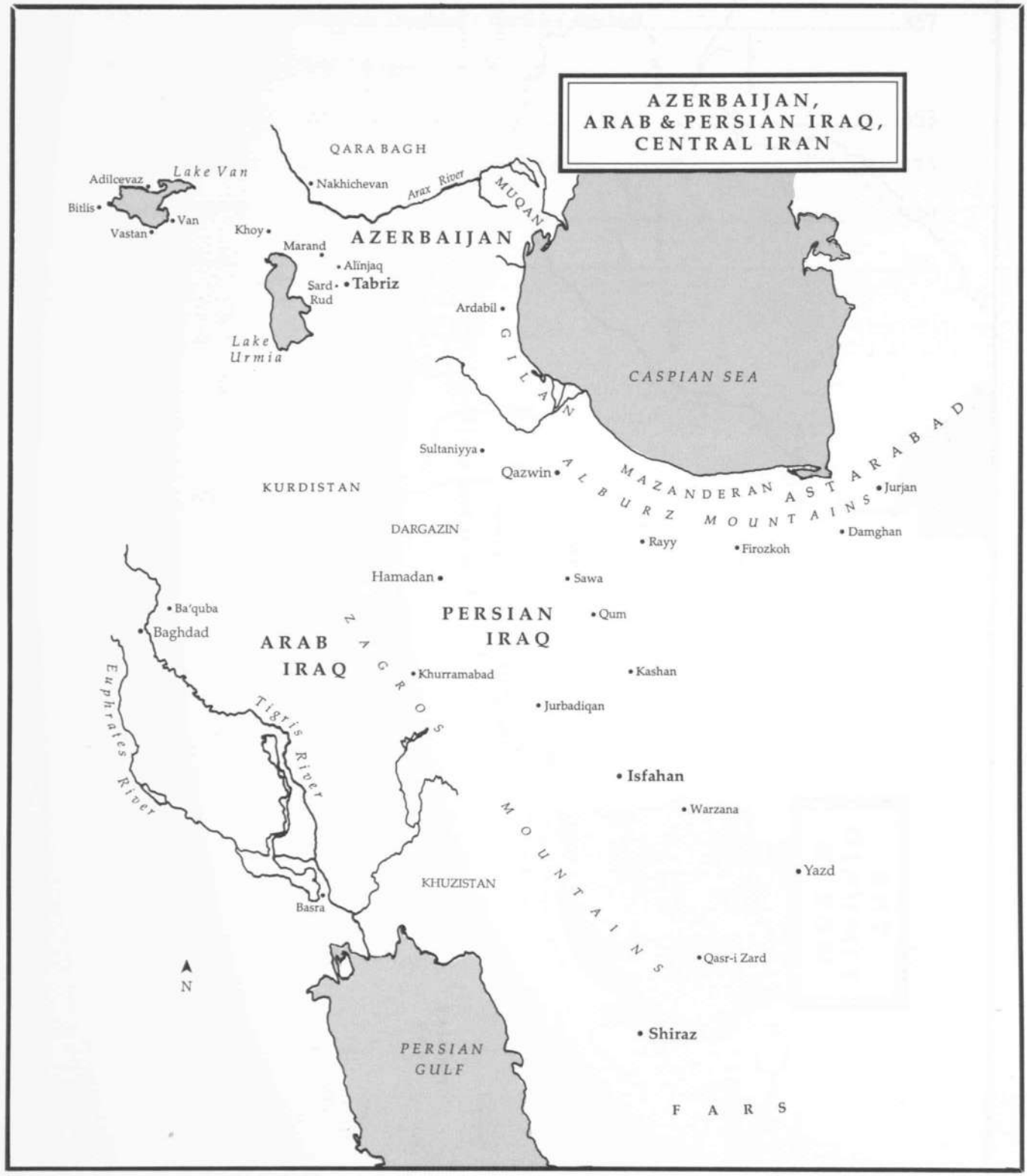
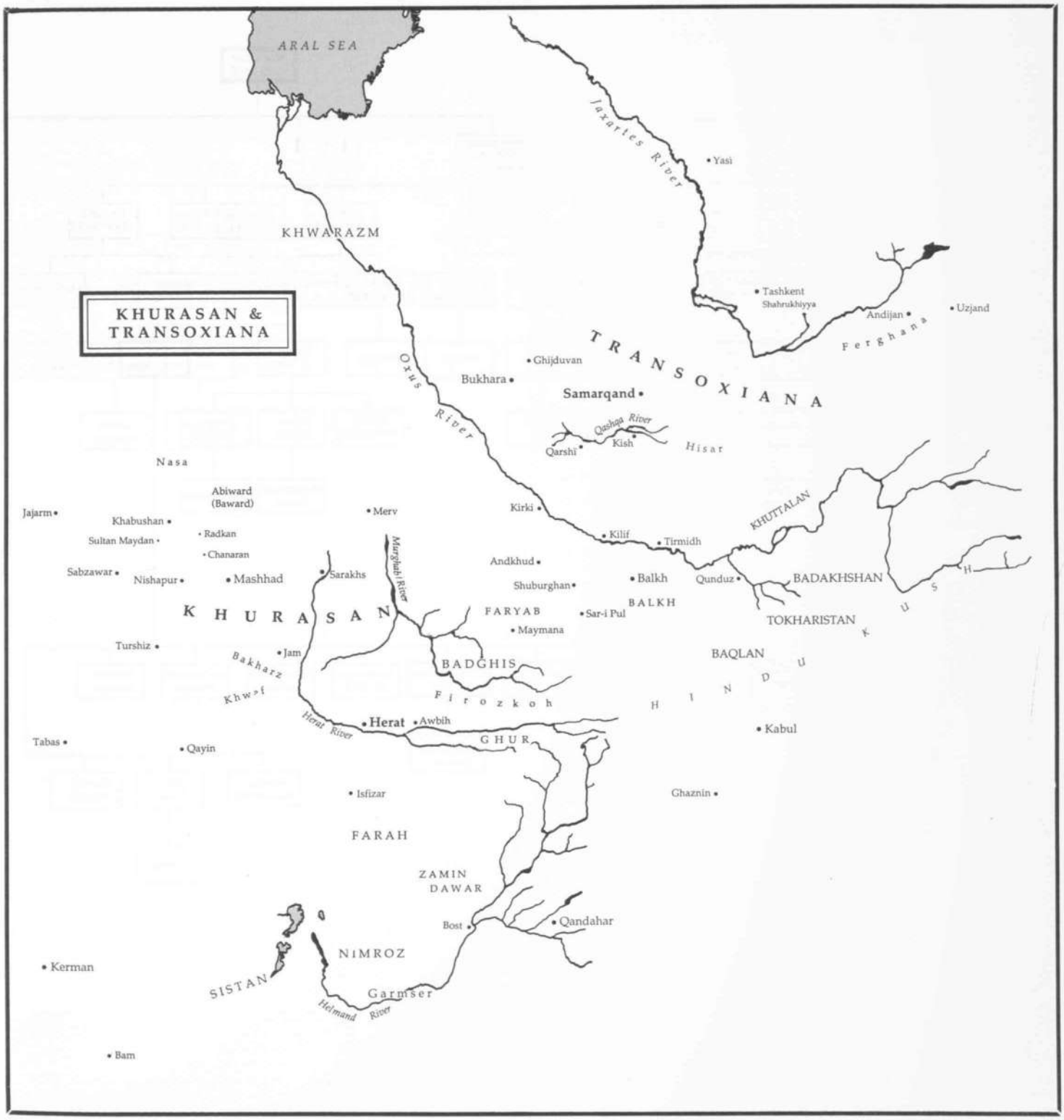
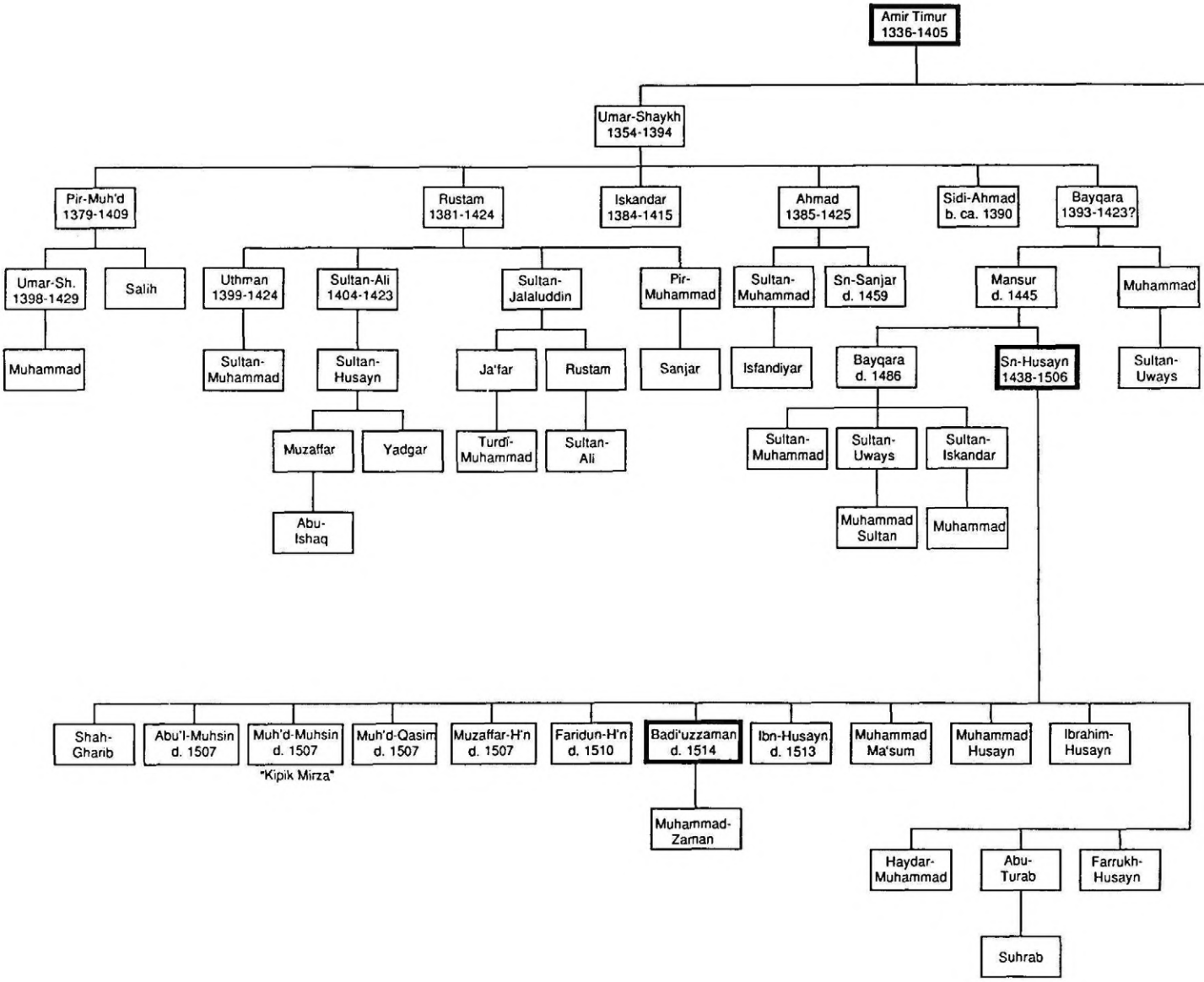

THE TIMURID WORLD
ARAL SEA
Jaxartes River
KHWARAZM
Shahrukhiyya
Ferghana
TRANSOXIANA
Oxus River
Bukhara
Samarqand
Qashqa River
QARA BAGH
Araz River
Lake Van
Bitlis
Van
AZERBAIJAN
Tabriz
Lake Urmia
GILAN
CASPIAN SEA
Nasa
Abiward
Qazwin
TABARISTAN
MAZANDERAN
ALBURZ MOUNTAINS
Jurjan
KURDISTAN
Sabzawar
Mashhad
Marghab River
Balkh
BADAKHSHAN
BALKH
TOKHARISTAN
HINDU KUSH
KHURASAN
FARYAB
BAQLAN
BADGHIS
Firozkoh
Hamadan
Baghdad
ARAB IRAQ
PERSIAN IRAQ
ZAGROS MOUNTAINS
Herat
Herat River
GHUR
Kabul
Euphrates River
Tigris River
Isfahan
Yazd
FARAH
Qandahar
NIMROZ
SISTAN
Kerman
Shiraz
Garmser
Helmand River
PERSIAN GULF
N

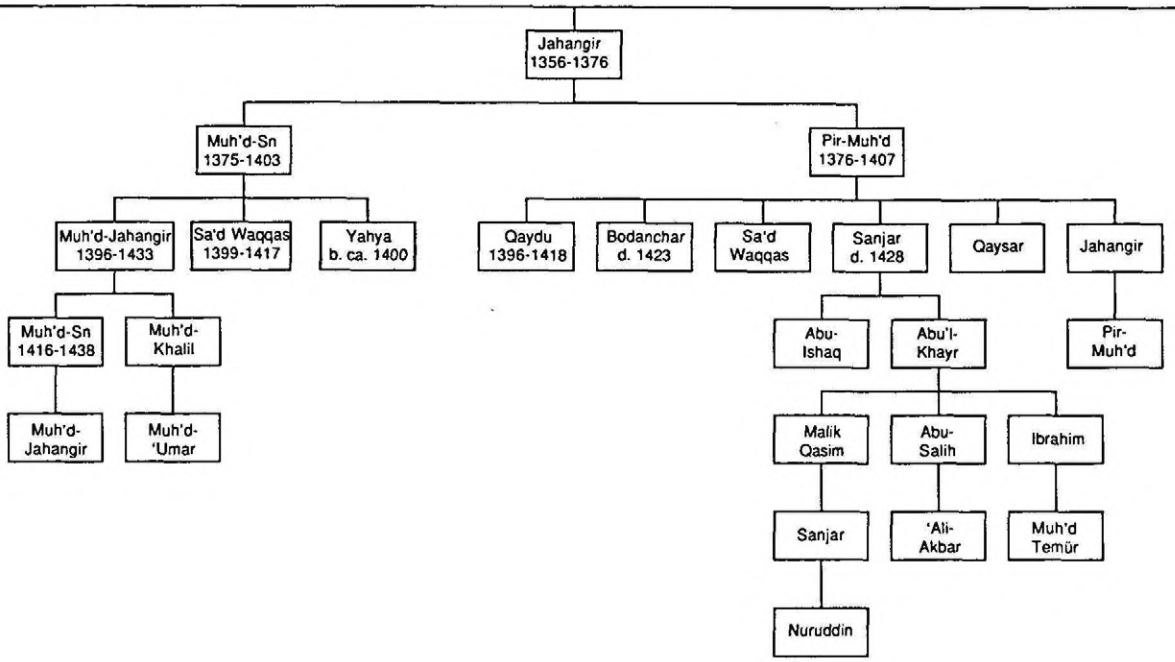

AZERBAIJAN, ARAB & PERSIAN IRAQ, CENTRAL IRAN
QARA BAGH
Nakhichevan
Arax River
MUQAN
Lake Van
Adilcevaz
Bitlis
Van
Vastan
Khoy
AZERBAIJAN
Marand
Alïnjaq
Sard Rud
Tabriz
Lake Urmia
Ardabil
GILAN
CASPIAN SEA
Sultaniyya
Qazwin
ALBURZ MOUNTAINS
MAZANDERAN
ASTARABAD
Jurjan
Damghan
Firozkoh
Rayy
KURDISTAN
DARGAZIN
Hamadan
Sawa
Ba'quba
Baghdad
PERSIAN IRAQ
ARAB IRAQ
Qum
ZAGROS MOUNTAINS
Khurramabad
Kashan
Jurbadiqan
Euphrates River
Tigris River
Isfahan
Warzana
Yazd
KHUZISTAN
Basra
Qasr-i Zard
N
PERSIAN GULF
Shiraz
FARS


KHURASAN & TRANSOXIANA
ARAL SEA
Jaxartes River
Yasi
KHWARAZM
Tashkent
Shahrukhiyya
Andijan
Uzjand
Ferghana
TRANSOXIANA
Oxus River
Ghijduvan
Bukhara
Samarqand
Qashqa River
Qarshi
Kish
Hisar
Nasa
Abiward (Baward)
Jajarm
Merv
Kirki
KHUTTALAN
Khabushan
Radkan
Sultan Maydan
Chanaran
Kilif
Tirmidh
Sabzawar
Nishapur
Mashhad
Sarakhs
Murghab River
Andkhud
Shuburghan
Balkh
Qunduz
BADAKHSHAN
HINDU KUSH
KHURASAN
FARYAB
Sar-i Pul
BALKH
Maymana
TOKHARISTAN
Turshiz
Jam
Bakharz
Khwaf
BADGHIS
BAQLAN
Firozkoh
Herat
Awbih
Herat River
GHUR
Kabul
Tabas
Qayin
Isfizar
Ghaznin
FARAH
ZAMIN DAWAR
Bost
Qandahar
NIMROZ
Kerman
SISTAN
Garmser
Helmand River
Bam

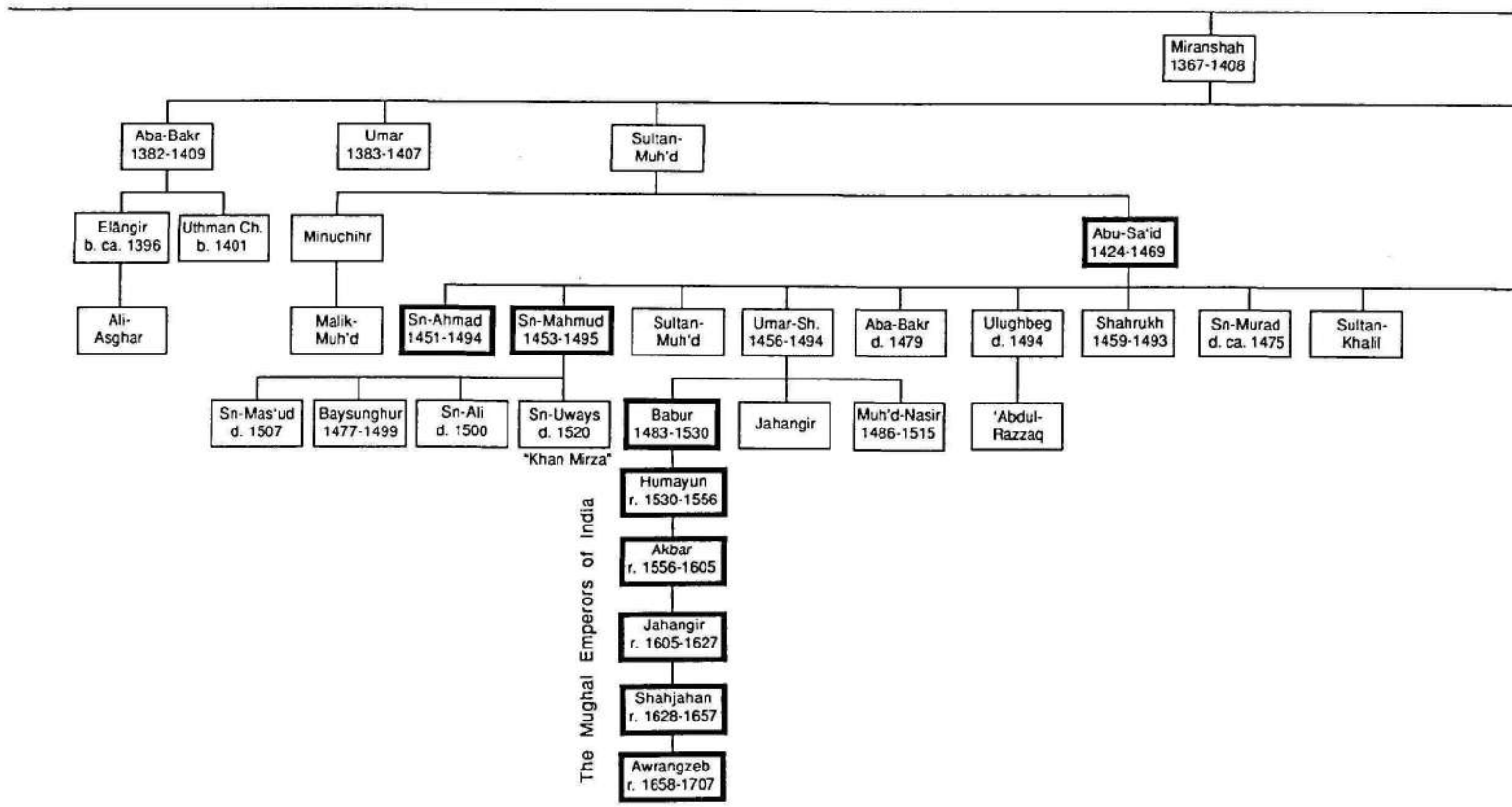
The Descendants of Umar-Shaykh

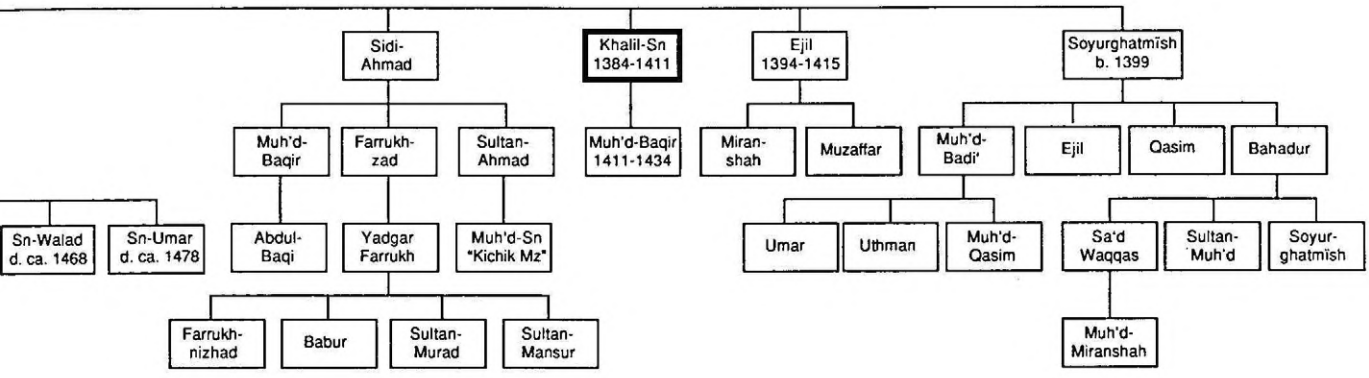


The Descendants of Jahangir

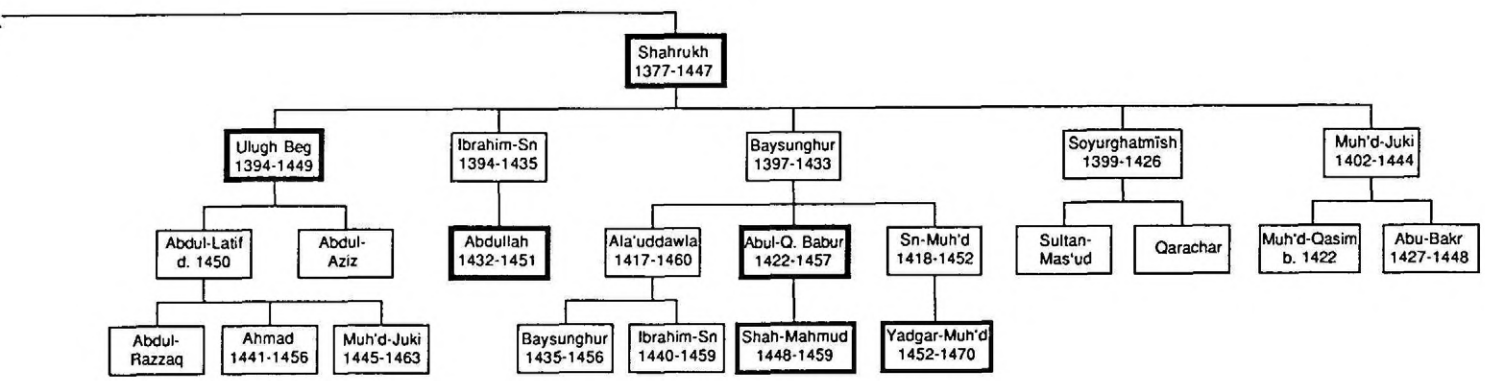


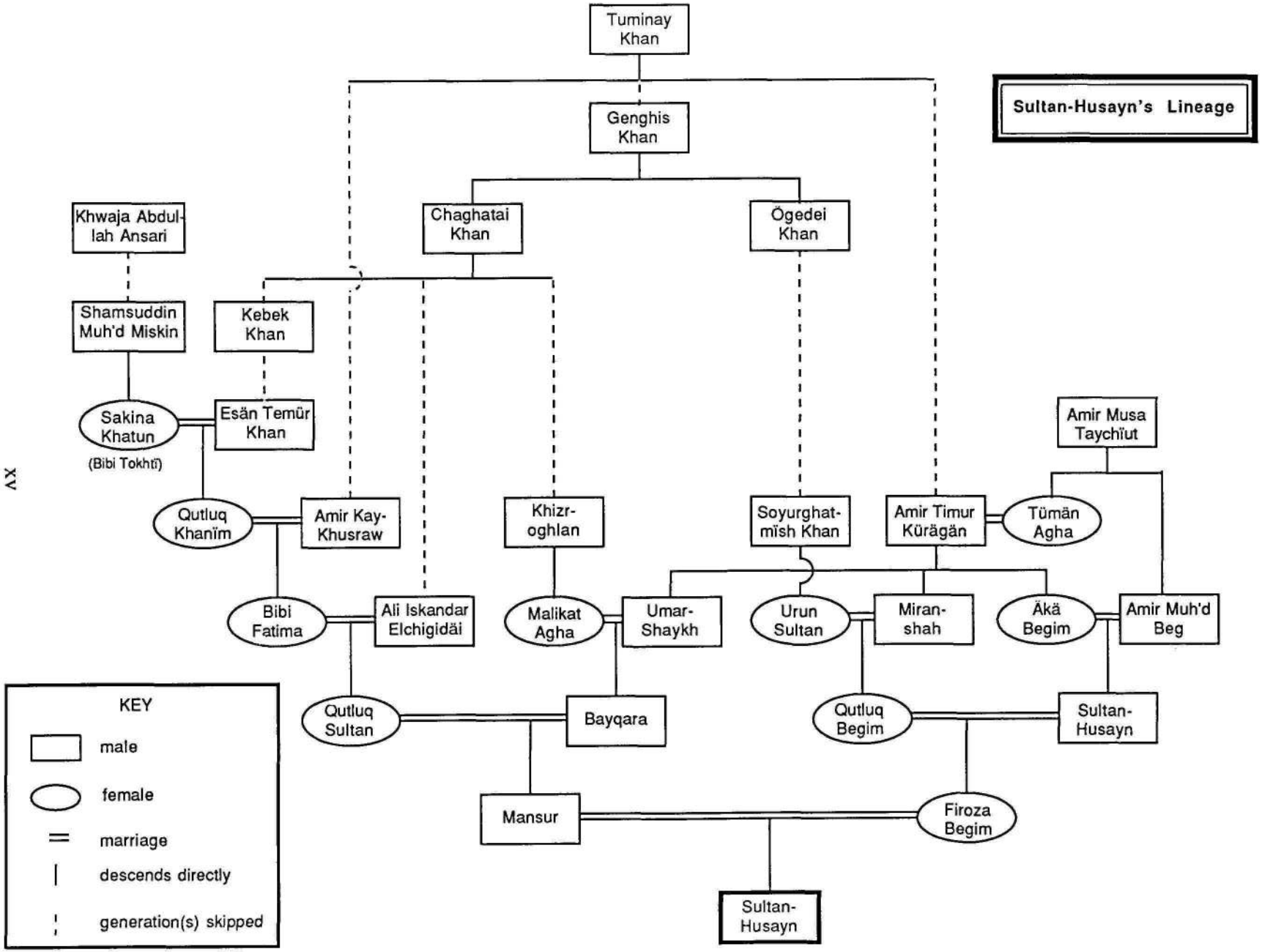
The Descendants of Miranshah

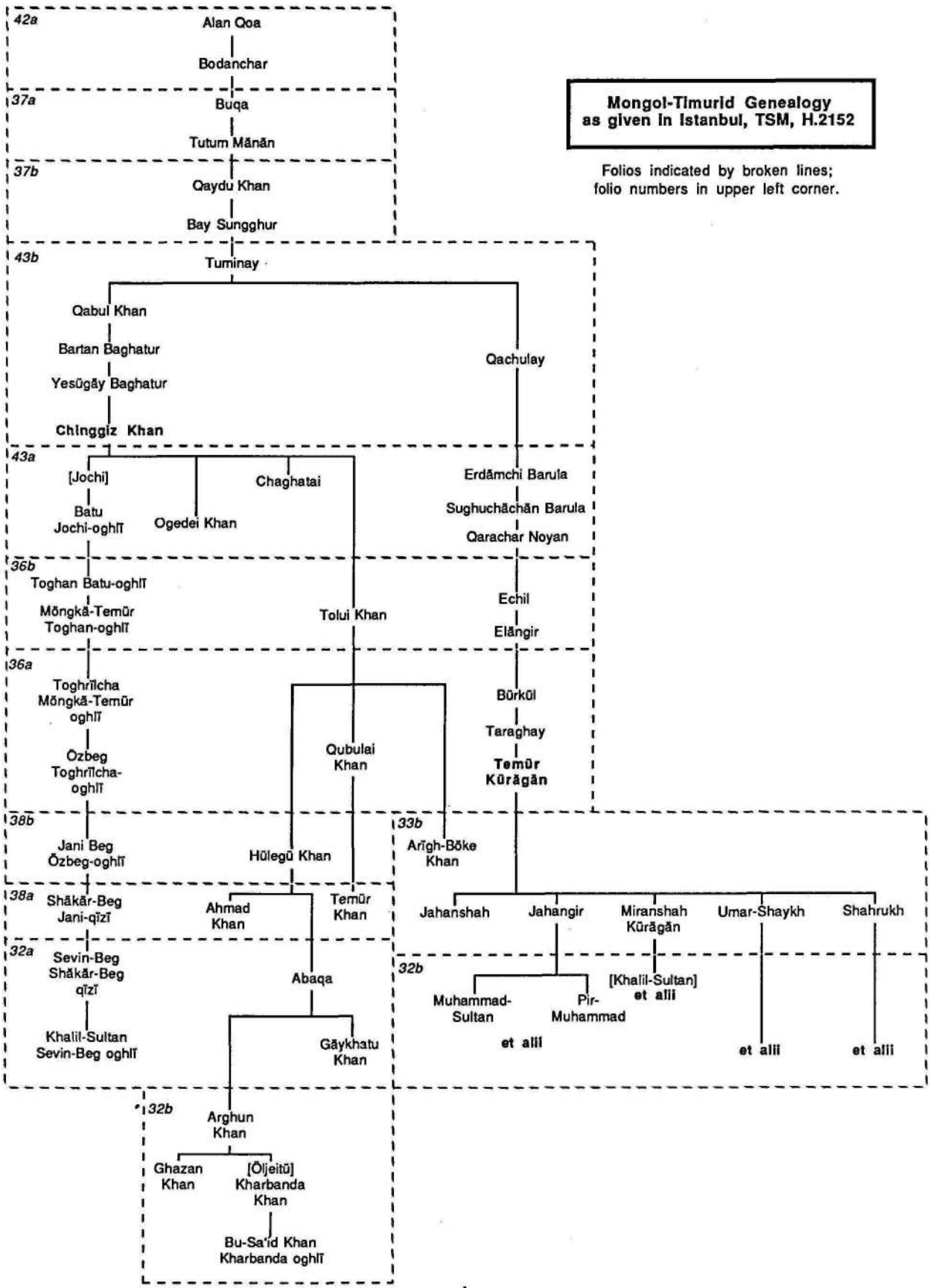



Sidi-Ahmad
Khalil-Sn 1384-1411
Ejil 1394-1415
Soyurghatmish b. 1399
Muh'd-Baqir
Farrukh-zad
Sultan-Ahmad
Muh'd-Baqir 1411-1434
Miran-shah
Muzaffar
Muh'd-Badi'
Ejil
Qasim
Bahadur
Sn-Walad d. ca. 1468
Sn-Umar d. ca. 1478
Abdul-Baqi
Yadgar Farrukh
Muh'd-Sn "Kichik Mz"
Umar
Uthman
Muh'd-Qasim
Sa'd Waqqas
Sultan-Muh'd
Soyur-ghatmish
Farrukh-nizhad
Babur
Sultan-Murad
Sultan-Mansur
Muh'd-Miranshah

The Descendants of Shahrukh




Sultan-Husayn's Lineage
Tuminay Khan
Genghis Khan
Khwaja Abdul-lah Ansari
Chaghatai Khan
Ögedei Khan
Shamsuddin Muh'd Miskin
Kebek Khan
Sakina Khatun
(Bibi Tokhtï)
Esän Temür Khan
Amir Musa Taychïut
Qutluq Khanïm
Amir Kay-Khusraw
Khizr-oghlan
Soyurghat-mïsh Khan
Amir Timur Kürägän
Tümän Agha
Bibi Fatima
Ali Iskandar Elchigidäi
Malikat Agha
Umar-Shaykh
Urun Sultan
Miran-shah
Äkä Begim
Amir Muh'd Beg
Qutluq Sultan
Bayqara
Qutluq Begim
Sultan-Husayn
Mansur
Firoza Begim
Sultan-Husayn
KEY
male
female
marriage
descends directly
generation(s) skipped


Mongol-Timurid Genealogy as given in Istanbul, TSM, H.2152
Folios indicated by broken lines; folio numbers in upper left corner.
42a
Alan Qoa
Bodanchar
37a
Buqa
Tutum Mānān
37b
Qaydu Khan
Bay Sungghur
43b
Tuminay
Qabul Khan
Bartan Baghatur
Yesügāy Baghatur
Chinggiz Khan
Qachulay
43a
[Jochi]
Batu Jochi-oghlī
Ogedei Khan
Chaghatai
Erdāmchi Barula
Sughuchāchān Barula
Qarachar Noyan
36b
Toghan Batu-oghlī
Möngkā-Temür Toghan-oghlī
Tolui Khan
Echil
Elāngir
36a
Toghrīlcha Möngkā-Temür oghlī
Özbeg Toghrīlcha-oghlī
Qubulai Khan
Bürkül
Taraghay
Temür Kürägän
38b
Jani Beg Özbeg-oghlī
Hülegü Khan
33b
Arīgh-Böke Khan
38a
Shākār-Beg Jani-qīzī
Ahmad Khan
Temür Khan
Jahanshah
Jahangir
Miranshah Kürägän
Umar-Shaykh
Shahrukh
32a
Sevin-Beg Shākār-Beg qīzī
Abaqa
32b
Muhammad-Sultan
et alii
Pir-Muhammad
[Khalil-Sultan] et alii
et alii
et alii
Khalil-Sultan Sevin-Beg oghlī
Gāykhatu Khan
32b
Arghun Khan
Ghazan Khan
[Öljeitü] Kharbanda Khan
Bu-Sa'id Khan Kharbanda oghlī

Introduction

In the years between the death of the conqueror Amir Timur in 1405 to the death of his great-great-grandson Sultan-Husayn Mirza in 1506 that comprised the "century of princes," the vast territory conquered by Timur, from Anatolia and Syria in the west to the Indus and Turkistan in the east, underwent many and varied political changes, shifts, conquests and reconquests. Timur's empire was weakened by the disunity of his successors, who fought constantly with each other, until gradually the western portions of the realm were lost to the Turcomans and the eastern and Central Asian portions fell to the Uzbeks. Ultimately central Iran and the heart of the empire, Khurasan, fell to the Safavids, and the Timurids lost power altogether. Throughout the period, however, in the midst of the political instability, the dominant Persianate literary and artistic culture remained remarkably stable, firmly ensconced, unchallenged in its supremacy and unified in its development.

The Turco-Iranian synthesis of Persian cultural hegemony and Turco-Mongolian political and military domination to which the Timurids fell heir had long been in the making and had held sway throughout the area of Iranian cultural influence since the fourteenth-century successors to Genghis Khan and the Mongolian invasion of the previous century. The successors to the Mongolian Ilkhans, short-lived dynasties conquered by Timur—the Jalayirids in Baghdad and Azerbaijan, the Injus and Muzaffarids in Shiraz, the Karts in Herat—maintained and sponsored a refined and lively literary and artistic production. The artistic milieu that had been created under the Ilkhans and their successors produced splendid examples of the arts of the book, while in literature there appeared the incomparable Persian poet Hafiz of Shiraz.

The Barlas, the Chaghatay Turkic tribe to which Timur belonged, had long been Islamicized and had adopted Sufi shaykhs in place of their former Buddhist shamans; but apparently religion rested fairly lightly on them. Ambiguously situated between the Mongolian culture of eastern Central Asia (Mughulistan) and the Islamic culture of Persianized western Central Asia, the Chaghatayids nurtured tribal memories of greatness under the Mongols. The the un-Islamicized Turks and Turco-Mongolians of Mughulistan, however, called them *qaraunas,* half-castes, for their adoption of non-Mongolian ways. Perhaps in compensation for such denigration, when Timur sought to legitimize his de facto rule over vast newly conquered areas, he consciously evoked the Mongol empire of Genghis Khan. Never using a rank more pretentious than "great commander" *(amir kabir),* Timur gloried in the Mongolian title of "son-in-law" *(küräg̈an)* he adopted when he married Saray Malik Khanïm, daughter of a Genghisid khan. Timur's repeated patronage of Genghisids like Soyurghatmïsh Khan, his son Sultan-Mahmud Khan, and Toqtamïsh Khan shows that for him legitimacy lay in investiture by a Genghisid, not through appeal to the Islamic allegiances of Per-

sians, a race despised by steppe peoples for being settled villagers and city-dwellers yet ardently admired at the same time for their cultural, literary and artistic superiority. For Timur, Genghis Khan's *törä* and *yasa* (codes) were of at least equal importance with the Islamic *shari'a,* for all the attempts by later historians of the dynasty to portray Timur as a model Muslim ruler. After Timur's death his youngest son Shahrukh eventually triumphed over his major rivals, Khalil-Sultan, who used his Genghisid descent through his mother to gather support., and Iskandar-Sultan, another grandson who claimed designation by Timur.

Later dynastic historians portrayed Shahrukh as a fully Islamicized, Persianized monarch who justified his claim to legitimate rule by appealing to the religious elements in society and resting his claims upon a show of good works, piety and dispensation of justice. The difference in emphasis is quite clear in the titles on the tombstones of Timur and Shahrukh in Samarqand. On both the marble slab covering Timur's grave in the crypt of the Gur-i Mir and on the nephrite cenotaph in the mausoleum Timur is called "great sultan and most noble *khaqan,*" with no further titles and no specifically Islamic epithets—instead, the inscription gives the lineage the Timurids claimed back to the Mongolian progenitrix Alanqoa and stresses the Barlas' claim to collateral relationship with Genghis Khan. Shahrukh's tombstone, on the other hand, placed by his daughter Payanda Sultan, has typically Islamic phraseology. Beginning with the Muslim testament of faith, it continues: "This is a garden of paradise wherein rests His Majesty the pious sultan and emperor, sultan of sultans, succor of the state, the world and religion, Shahrukh Bahadur Sultan, may God Most High cause him to dwell on the throne of His pleasure and crown him with the diadem of beneficence."[1]

Four of Shahrukh's sons well illustrate the various paths open to Persianized princes of the Timurid line. Ulughbeg became the scholar-king, ruling in Samarqand and not only patronizing but actually contributing to a standard work on astronomy; Baysunghur became the patron of the arts, sponsoring during his short lifetime the production of outstanding examples of the arts of the book; Ibrahim-Sultan was the pious governor who earned his livelihood by copying Korans; and Muhammad-Juki, insofar as he is known for anything, gained a reputation as a warrior athlete. And if Shahrukh succeeded in gaining the general support of the religious elements in Persian society, his son Ulughbeg and his grandson Sultan-Muhammad did not always enjoy such cordial relationships with the religious hierarchy, as several incidents in history show (pp. 167–68, 161). Even Shahrukh was not beyond a rebuff from the religious (p. 158).

By the end of the century a Timurid like Sultan-Husayn Mirza could justify his claim to legitimacy entirely by appeal to Islamic sentiment. In his "Apologia" (pp. 373–78) Sultan-Husayn glories in his eradication of heresies, his erection of charitable institutions, his support of Islamic learning through *madrasa*s, his patronage of Sufis through *khanaqah*s, his concern for the well-being of the peasantry and his laborious administration of the religious endowments, carefully emphasizing that "others" had impiously allowed heresies, ignored charitable institutions, impoverished the learned classes, raped the peasantry and embezzled endowments. It is interesting that, despite all this appeal to Islamicization, Babur Mirza's comments on the society of early

[1]See A. A. Semenov, "Nadpisi na nadgrobiyakh Timura i ego potomkov v Gur-i Emire," *Epigrafika Vostoka* 2 (1948): 49–62; 3 (1949): 46–54.

sixteenth-century Herat reveal that socially the Genghisid *törä* was still very much alive. Court etiquette and ritual were obviously still functioning much according to the *törä,* even if the legal foundation of legitimacy was no longer based upon Genghisidism. By Babur's time the Timurid hold on legitimacy had become so strong that warlords in Central Asia carried Timurid princes in their retinues to legitimize their activities much as Timur had used Genghisid khans to the same purpose.

A significant trend manifested during the Timurid period is the emergence of identifiable individuals. In literature the individual begins to emerge from the typologized class to which he belongs. Of course, Persian biographical works had always given the relevant information of birth, death, and works, perhaps along with some anecdotes for notables, but over the course of the fifteenth century something more is added, at first an almost imperceptible heightening of individual characteristics and traits, even of psychological motivation, a development that blossoms during the Safavid and Mughal period. *Makarim al-akhlaq,* Khwandamir's panegyric on Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i, paved the way for such full-fledged biographies as Nihawandi's *Ma'athir-i Rahimi,* a biography of the sixteenth-century Mughal grandee Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan. And Babur's autobiographical memoirs, perhaps the first true autobiography in all of Islamic literature, and certainly the first royal autobiography, was followed by his daughter Gulbadan Begim's memoirs of her brother, the *Humayunnama,* and his great-grandson Jahangir's memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri.*

Even artists and artisans emerge from the obscurity of centuries of anonymity and are recorded by name—previously, as in medieval Europe, artists and artisans were generally nameless and unnamed craftsmen, and only exceptionally were the names of artists and calligraphers recorded. The trend can be seen already in the Ilkhanid period with the emergence of calligraphers as recognized artists in their own right who signed and dated their works. Painters emerge somewhat later. During the Jalayirid period in Baghdad and Azerbaijan painters became renowned for their individual labors and had works of art attributed to them. The result of this trend is seen in Herat, where artists, artisans and calligraphers are mentioned by name in royal histories and *tadhkiras* (notices of members of a given class, region, profession, etc.).

The first portraits of individuals *as individuals* also appear in the late Timurid period. To be sure, before this time pictures purporting to be portraits of particular individuals were painted, but they were not true portraits but depictions of types—the prince, the scholar, the Sufi, the warrior. Only with Bihzad and his contemporaries do portraits begin to capture the essence of an individual with distinctive features. When looking at the portraits of Sultan-Husayn and Mir Ali-Sher, the viewer feels that he might now recognize them if he ran across them in life. In literature too the individual begins to emerge from the stereotypical class to which he belongs.

❁

The readings in this volume were selected to accompany the exhibition, "Timur and the Princely Vision" (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1989). Their aim is not to introduce the whole kaleidoscope of changing rulers and warring princes, but to provide selections from texts that are representative of the period or tell something about it—history, biography, foreign mission reports, autobiography, miscellaneous documents and

petitions, short histories of calligraphy and painting, and artful prose.

Historical selections are taken from Mir Dawlatshah Samarqandi's *Tadhkirat al-shu'ara* (1487), Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's *Zafarnama* (1425), and Khwandamir's *Habib al-siyar* (1523–24). Most of the histories contemporary with Timur have perished, although by and large their texts survive as they were incorporated into later histories.[2] One of the surviving histories, Nizamuddin Ali Shami's *Zafarnama* was utilized or incorporated into Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's more literary work of the same name produced for Ibrahim-Sultan in Shiraz, and several extracts of this latter work are given here. As can be seen in Yazdi's introduction, in which he outlines the methodology by which the *Zafarnama* was composed (pp. 64–65), the histories and chronicles produced in Timur's time were generally patronized and controlled by Timur himself and therefore, despite disclaimers, they can be viewed as entirely self-serving and self-aggrandizing.[3] Most surviving histories of the early period, like Yazdi's *Zafarnama,* Abdul-Razzaq's *Matla'-i sa'dayn* (ca. 1470), Fasihi Khwafi's *Mujmal,* Hafiz-i Abru's works, and Mirkhwand's *Rawdat al-safa,* were written either under the direct patronage of Shahrukh and his house or by men who were intimately connected with Shahrukh, and therefore a Shahrukhid bias predominates in the histories. Given for a different perspective is a translation of a little-known synopsis of the House of Timur written in 1413 for Timur's grandson, Iskandar-Sultan, who ultimately lost out to his uncle Shahrukh in his bid for control of the empire.

Few texts dealing directly with artistic production and/or methods have survived. Unique for the Timurid period is the *arzadasht* (report) translated on pages 323–28 and attributed to Baysunghur's atelier, in which individual artists and artisans are listed along with their current projects. Included here are translations of several prefaces written in the sixteenth century for Safavid albums of calligraphy and painting. They contain a great deal of information relevant to book production in the late fifteenth century, particularly for master-pupil relationships among calligraphers and painters. However, from the Timurid period itself there are no texts like Dost-Muhammad's Preface or Mirza Muhammad-Haydar's critical appreciation of calligraphers and artists from his *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writers on the arts seldom state their æsthetic criteria explicitly. There are manuals on the production of tints and paints, such as Simi of Nishapur's treatise and Sadiqi Beg's sixteenth-century *Qanun al-suwar;* but these give no hint of an æsthetic formulation for artists. Sultan-Ali Mashhadi, Majnun Rafiqi and Mir-Ali Harawi all wrote treatises on calligraphy, but none gives the slightest indication of the æsthetic criteria by which calligraphy should be judged. The tantalizing vocabulary Mirza Muhammad Dughlat uses (for calligraphers: "a swift hand," "a forceful hand," etc.; for artists: "good articulation and draftsmanship," etc., pp. 357–362) leaves the reader in doubt as to the precise significance of his terminology because there are so few parallel texts with which to make a comparison. The treatment of artists and calligraphers, even in later *tadhkiras*, is so stereotypical and cliché-ridden that it is usually difficult to gauge the relative merits of the artists under discussion.

---

[2]See John E. Woods, "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46 (1987): 83–85.

[3]An interesting contrast to sponsored histories is the account by Ahmad Ibn Arabshah, which was written totally without official patronage and is blatantly hostile to Timur. English translation by J. H. Sanders, *Tamerlane or Timur, the Great Amir* (London, 1936).

With no native tradition of theater, the Timurids nonetheless understood how to impress with court ceremony and reveled in spectacle and "ritualized theatricality." Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi speaks of the foreign ambassadors and others who "enjoyed the spectacular celebration and were staggered by such magnificence" at the gala *qurultay* outside of Samarqand in 1404. In 1456 Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän held a celebration in Herat "that was in no way defective in splendor," says Dawlatshah.[4] Princely births, circumcisions and marriages were celebrated by impressive public feasts, and deaths were commemorated by public feedings on a vast scale. During military campaigns and after battles the "carpet of revelry and enjoyment was spread." Court historians take time from their chronicles of battles, invasions and court intrigue to notice novelties like a clock with moving figurines made for Mir Ali-Sher and a representation on glass of various artisans made for Sultan Abu-Sa'id.[5]

Timurid emissaries to foreign courts particularly noticed spectacle and novelty. Both Ghiyathuddin Naqqash on his mission to China (pp. 279–97) and Abdul-Razzaq on his mission to south India (pp. 299–321) describe at great length the spectacle of court entertainment, acrobats, jugglers, singers and dancers, as well as elaborate court ritual and the splendor of throne rooms.

A text like Ghiyathuddin Naqqash's report on the legation to China, written by an artist, is revealing for the observations made of a foreign environment. Ghiyathuddin is predictably taken with the ritual of the Ming court and makes many observations about the carvings and statuary of Buddhist temples. Nowhere, however, does he mention that he has illustrated his report with drawings or that he has made drawings of what he saw, and nowhere, in fact, does he mention Chinese painting at all. Any attempt to connect Ghiyathuddin with existing Timurid chinoiserie and Chinese-inspired painting, tempting though it may be, must remain as sheer speculation.

The "imperial sumptuousness" characteristic of the age, reflected both in paintings of court ceremony and in architecture, was also manifested in the literary style of the day. Prior to the Timurids, the historians of the Ilkhanid period had reveled in the injection of the most recherché Arabicate vocabulary possible into a Persian prose whose sentences wend their way through labyrinths of subordination and parallelism.[6] Writers of the Timurid period discarded this unwieldy, often incomprehensible style in favor of a prose that is fairly simple, straightforward Persian. The simplicity of the vocabulary, however, is overlaid—"studded," as the practitioners of the style might have said—with "jewels" of jingly rhyming phrases and a liberal interspersion of poetry, the latter serving either to highlight or to repeat the prose, never to explicate or continue the narrative. The overall effect is not dissimilar to the visual effect of a Timurid book illumination—arabesques of elaborated simplicity, harmonious elegance and sumptuousness.

Rhyming epithets, the eupheuistic "gems" with which the prose is studded, are not merely common but seemingly indispensable. The Timurid army is never simply "the army": it is *lashkar-i zafar-asar* (the army that leaves footprints of triumph) or *sipâh-i pâdishâh-i muzaffar-livâ* (the army of the padishah whose banners are emblazoned with victory). When the troops set off for battle, it is not

[4]Dawlatshah, *Tadhkira*, p. 534.

[5]Khwandamir, *HS*, IV, 84.

[6]The quintessential writer of this style is Wassafu'l-Hadra, Shihabuddin Abdullah Shirazi, whose history of the Mongol empire in Persia, *Tajziyat al-amsar wa-tazjiyat al-a'sar* (The break-up of metropolises and the passing of epochs), has been compassionately characterized as "turgid."

the soldiers who move out led by the prince but the *râyât-i nusrat-âyât* (banners [inscribed] with Koranic verses of divine assistance) that are unfurled and process in such-and-such a direction. A prince's court is not simply a court: it is a court at which the world takes refuge *(dargâh-i âlam-panâh).*

Historiographic prose was also imbued with elaborate metaphor drawn from Persian poetic style. In a typical passage, Khwandamir introduces autumn with the following:

> In early fall, when the cold foe began to plunder and pillage around the fringes of the garden and orchard, and, as the frigid winds of the autumnal army began to blow, when the warmth of the summer air turned to retreat, the emperor entered the plains of Mazanderan.[7]

When they indulge in such metaphors historiographers draw upon the narrative technique of the classical Persian poets most admired at the time. To establish a mood, both Firdawsi in the heroic *Shahnama* and Nizami in the romance *Layli u Majnun* introduce episodes in the story by means of metaphorical sketches of the seasons of the year and the times of day. For instance, Nizami writes in description of dawn:

> *Shabgîr chu charkh-i lâjawardî /*
> *ârâst kabûdî-î ba zardî //*
> *Khandîdan-i qurs-i ân gul-i zard /*
> *âfâq ba rang-i surkh-i gul kard.*[8]
>
> When the imprisoner of night tinged the purple of the azure sphere with yellow, the laughing (blossoming) of the disc of the yellow rose tinted the horizons a rosy scarlet.

And in an autumnal metaphor introducing a passage in which the death of one of the major characters is to occur, Nizami writes:

> *Shart ast ki waqt-i bargrezân, /*
> *khûnâba shawad zi barg rezân. //*
> *Khûn-î ki buwad durûn-i har shâkh /*
> *bîrûn chakad az masâmm-i sûrâkh.*[9]
>
> It is a condition of the time of leaf-shedding that ruddy sap pour from leaves: the blood that is inside every branch drips out through pores.

The reader will also note that the mixed metaphor, so deplored in English stylistics, is in Persian style not considered faulty; it is unabashedly used by some of the best stylists of fifteenth-century Persian.

The devices employed by writers of historiography serve, in addition to creating an "artful" prose, to set the events at a remove and, to an extent, to mask what must have been an unpleasant reality, in which almost constant war, devastation and despotism played major roles, and transform that reality into a cool, stately image of regality and control, the image the Timurids were always careful to cultivate.

Although Persian was the major language of Timurid letters and historiography, it was not the only language used. Persian had held the highest literary status ever since it re-emerged as a court language in the tenth century, and the prestige of Persian literary culture was unassailable. However, the Timurids' native tongue was not Persian but Chaghatay Turkish. Throughout the period various attempts were made to turn this dialect of Turkish into a literary vehicle. Early in the period, under Timur and Shahrukh, Turkish scribes called *bakhshï*s wrote documents in Turkish using the Uighur script of eastern Turkistan, in a vertically oriented variant of which Mongolian is still written today. Although most of the examples of Chaghatay from Timur and Shahrukh's time are decrees, writs of fief, etc., there were also some literary manifestations, including the anonymous (and now lost) Turkish versified history of

[7]Khwandamir, *Habib al-siyar*, III, 563.

[8]Nizami Ganja'i, *Layli u Majnun*, in *Kulliyyat-i khamsa* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1351), p. 518.

[9]Nizami, *Layli u Majnun*, p. 587.

Timur's campaigns and Turkish poetry written by Haydar Khwarazmi for Iskandar-Sultan. Outstanding calligraphic examples of Turkish in the Uighur script are the lavishly illustrated Bibliothèque Nationale *Mi'rajnama* and the Mongol-Timurid genealogy in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2153, foll. 32–43). By the middle of the century, the Uighur script was abandoned in favor of the dominant Arabic script. With no native literary tradition to speak of, Chaghatay literature developed completely under the influence of Persian, accepting wholesale not only a massive amount of vocabulary but also the literary conventions of Persian—rather as Middle English developed under the domination of French.

Several examples of truly ornate, artful prose are also included. A good illustration of the extent to which Persianization in Chaghatay could be carried is Mir Ali-Sher's preface to his first Chaghatay divan (pp. 363–72). Divan prefaces offered poets an opportunity to exercise their wits and prose skills to produce a text that was as ornate, elaborate and replete with metaphor, allusion and quotation as possible. The preface to a divan was called *debacha,* the same word used to refer to the elaborate illuminations at the beginning of costly and regal books. *Debacha* means "brocade," and not only do the intricately intertwining patterns of an illumination resemble brocade designs, but also the similarly intricate verbal patterns of a divan preface are shot through with multifarious rhetorical ornamentation. As an illustration, the sample text from Mir Ali-Sher's *debacha* given below consists of approximately 70 percent Persian words (indicated by boldface):

Faṣāḥat dīvānïnïng ğazalsarāylarï ṭab' maxzanïdïn šōrïdaḥāl 'āšiqlar xirman-i jānïğa ot salğu dek, bir **ātašïn la'l naẓm silkigä** tarta almağaylar, **ägär** söz **dēbāčasïn** ol **ṣāni' javāhir-i ḥamdï** bilä **muraṣṣa'** qïlmağaylar kim **'išq ahlïn almās-i lisān šarafï vä gawhar-i bayān luṭfï** bilä **sāyir-i insānnïng durratuttājï** qïldï.

When the *ghazal* singers of the **divan** of **eloquence** hurl fire from the **repository** of **poetic nature** into the tinder of **distracted lovers' souls,** they cannot string one **fiery ruby** onto the **cord of poetry if** they do not **stud the introduction** to their **poetry** with **gems of praise** for the **Creator,** who established the **inamorati** as the **jewel in the crown** of **all humanity** through the **nobility** of their **diamond tongues** and the **pearls** of their **graceful expression.**

Equally Persianate in both vocabulary and tone is Sultan-Husayn Mirza's Chaghatay "Apologia" (pp. 373–78).

In contrast to these, in a typical paragraph of Babur Mirza's memoirs, a text in which the author makes practically no attempt to write artful prose, and which can be assumed to be much closer to Chaghatay Turkish as it was normally used by an educated speaker, the Persian vocabulary not only is of much less frequency (roughly 20 percent) but is generally limited to specifically Persianate terms like *ṣuḥbat* (convivial gathering), *ṣurāḥī* (long-necked bottle), and Islamic terminology like *naṣṣ-i qāṭi'* (binding text, absolute stipulation):

Aš tartïldï. **Bāvujūd** kim **ṣuḥbat** yok edi, aš tartïladurğan yerdä širä qoyup altun vä kümüš **ṣurāḥī**larnï širä üstigä qoydïlar. Burunlar bizning ata-aqa Cinggiz töräsini **ğarīb ri'āyat** qïlurlar edi. **Majlis**ta vä **dīvān**da, toy vä ašta, olturmaqta vä qoymaqta, **xilāf-i** törä iš qïlmaslar edi. Cinggiz Xānnïng töräsi **naṣṣ-i qāṭi'** emästür kim **albatta** kiši anïng bilä **'amal** qïlğay. Här kimdin yaxšï **qā'ida** qalğan bolsa, anïng bilä **'amal** qïlmaq keräk. **Agar** ata yaman iš qïlğan bolsa, yaxšï iš bilä **badal** qïlmaq keräk. Aštïn song atlanïp tüškän yergä keldim. Bizning ordu bilä **mīrzā**larnïng ordusïnïng arasï bir **šar'ī** bolğay edi.[10]

Food was served. **Although** it was not a **convivial assembly,** in the place where food was being served trays were put, and gold and silver **vessels** were set on the trays. In former times our fathers and forefathers **meticulously observed** the Genghisid Code. In **assemblies** and **court,** at feasts and dinners, in seating and serving, they did nothing **counter to** the code.

[10]Babur, *Baburnama,* fol. 186b–187a.

However, Genghis Khan's code is not a **binding text** according to which a person must **act absolutely.** One must **act** in accordance with a good **rule** when someone leaves one behind; **if,** however, an ancestor has done a bad thing, it should be **replaced** by a good one. After dining we mounted our horses and returned to where we were camped. Between our camp and the **mirzas'** camp was one **league.**

Chaghatay literature had a brief florescence in Herat at the end of the fifteenth century, when Chaghatay letters were actively patronized by Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i and Sultan-Husayn Mirza. The eventual fall of Herat to the Safavids, however, ended Chaghatayid domination in the area, and Chaghatay Turkish quickly disappeared from the literary scene. Although the Safavids themselves were speakers of the closely related Turcoman dialect, and many of the royal family, including the founder Shah Isma'il I, composed poetry in Turcoman, no serious attempt was ever made to make Turkish a rival of Persian within the Iranian heartland.

Babur Mirza and his followers took Chaghatay Turkish into the Indian subcontinent, and many of the Chaghatay elite composed Turkish poetry within the first and second generation, but particularly in India, where Persian had been the sole language of administration and bureaucracy since the eleventh century, the Persianate tradition was much too dominant to challenge, and by Akbar's generation in the mid-sixteenth century Babur's memoirs had to be translated into Persian.

❄

The reader will undoubtedly find the array of Timurid princes, all of whom are styled Mirza (from *amirzada,* offspring of the amir, Amir Timur), even more bewildering because of the frequent occurrence of princes who bear not only the same name (Baysunghur, Pir Muhammad) but also similar names (Sultan-Muhammad, Muhammad-Sultan, etc.). Fairly complete genealogical tables are given for reference (pp. x–xiv).

It would have been desirable to indicate in the gealogical tables the marital relationships among the Timurids, but given the problems posed by multiple marriages of both sexes, and the limitation imposed by a sheet of paper with but four directions and two dimensions, it has proved impossible. Suffice it to say that by constant intermarriage most of the House of Timur were at least double cousins to each other by the third generation. Sultan-Husayn Mirza's lineage (p. xv) illustrates the point.

Personal names and terms of Arabo-Persian origin are rendered as normally transliterated but without those encumbrances, diacritical dots and macrons, meaningless to those who do not know the Arabic script. The *e* and *o* vowels that in Iran later merged with *i* and *u* have been retained in order to reflect the fifteenth-century pronunciation (Ali-Sher, not Ali-Shir; Koh, not Kuh). Culturally important terms without English equivalents are fully transliterated and explained in the Glossary of Titles and Terms (pp. 379–87).

Names and terms of Turkic origin are written with front–back vocalic opposition indicated *(i/ï, ü/u, ö/o, ä/a).* The spelling of Turkic and Turco-Mongolian names and terms in Arabic script was far from standardized during the Timurid period. In order to avoid needless confusion a normalized spelling has been adopted throughout (e.g., Qutlugh, which is also often spelled Qutluq in the sources; and Toqtamïsh, also spelled Toghtamïsh and Tokhtamïsh).

Tamerlane's given name was Temür ("iron"), but the Persianized form, Timur, from which the adjective Timurid is derived, has been adopted throughout. All others with this name have been spelled as "Temür."

A hyphen distinguishes names compounded with elements like Sultan, Mir and Shah (e.g., Sultan-Ahmad, Mir-Ali, Shah-Husayn) from names in which those elements are titles (Sultan Abu-Sa'id, Mir Ali-Sher). Discounting the frequently occurring names in *-uddin,* the second of two consecutive given names is generally a patronymic, i.e., Shamsuddin Muhammad Ali is Shamsuddin Muhammad son of Ali.

Place names are given their generally accepted English spellings where one exists (Herat, Kerman, Delhi). Note particularly that, unless specifically stated as "Arab Iraq," throughout the text "Iraq" refers to "Persian Iraq," which is more or less equivalent to modern western Iran. "Arab Iraq" refers to Mesopotamia, and the two regions are often referred to together as "the two Iraqs" *(Iraqayn).*

Mir Dawlatshah Samarqandi

Tadhkirat al-shu'ara

Mir Dawlatshah Samarqandi was the son of Amir Ala'uddawla Bakhtishah Isfarayini, one of Shahrukh's courtiers, and nephew of the powerful Amir Firozshah. Unlike his forebears, who "passed their time as aristocrats in ostentatiousness and opulence," Mir Dawlatshah, who was of a dervish bent and had some poetic talent, "sought seclusion and contented himself with a life of spiritual poverty and rustication to acquire learning and perfection."[1] At the age of fifty he began his *Tadhkirat al-shu'ara* (Memorial of poets), anecdotes about and short biographies of 150 Persian poets, ancient and modern, which he completed in 892/1487. The judgment of Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i, to whom the work was dedicated, was that "anyone who reads it will realize the merit and talent of the compiler."

Although the book deals primarily with poets, since poets generally were inextricably bound to royal patrons, it contains valuable anecdotal information on many pre-Timurid, Timurid and Turcoman rulers. The synopses of rulers' careers and anecdotes illustrative of their characters included by Dawlatshah are translated and given here.

❋

SULTAN UWAYS JALAYIR[2]

[p. 288] It is said that one night Khwaja Salman [Sawaji] was drinking in Sultan Uways's assembly. As he departed, the sultan ordered a servant to light the way for him with a candle in a golden candlestick. The next morning the servant asked for the candlestick, and Khwaja Salman sent this verse to the sultan:

> The candle burned out last night, and today,
> if the king asks for his candlestick, I shall
> burn in misery.

When the sultan heard this line, he laughed and said, "To get a candlestick out of a greedy poet's house is a difficult task," and gave him the candlestick. That is how rulers rewarded poets in bygone times....

Dilshad Khatun was the noblest and most beautiful lady of her time. She was the wife of Amir Shaykh-Hasan Noyan,[3] to whom the rule of Baghdad and Azerbaijan fell after Sultan Abu-Sa'id Khan.[4] He was only nominally the ruler, for all affairs of state were run by Dilshad Khatun, a lady as magnificent as the Queen of Sheba. Of her splendor Khwaja Salman says: **[295]**

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[1] 'Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 108.

[2] Usually known as Shaykh-Uways (1336–74), son and successor of Shaykh-Hasan Jalayir.

[3] Shaykh-Hasan the Great, founder of the Jalayirid dynasty, died in 1356.

[4] The Ilkhan Abu-Sa'id, ruled 1317–35.

A thousand times a day the mighty splendor
of her veil shatters the spires of Sanjar's
crown.

Sultan Uways was a refined and artistic ruler, handsome, generous and quite capable in various arts. He drew pictures in the Wasiti style at which painters were astonished. Khwaja Abdul-Hayy, the most outstanding exponent of the art in his day, was his protégé and pupil. Sultan Uways's specialty was the science of music and modes. He was also so handsome that on the days he went out to ride, most of the inhabitants of Baghdad ran out into the streets to see him, struck dumb by his beauty. In ecstasy they recited this verse:

The aroma of Joseph's coat was lost to the
world: finally it emerged from your collar.

After his reputation for beauty and learning spread throughout the world, and from Rayy to Rûm was subjugated to his command, the scribe of fate penned the rescript of his deposition and the cheating opponent death played false with him. In the full bloom of youth he went from this transitory prison to the eternal gardens. As he lay dying he composed these lines, reducing friends' hearts to tears of grief and turning strangers' eyes into rivers:

One day I went from the capital of the soul
to the province of the body: I was a stranger
here for a few days. Then I went home.
I was a rich man's slave. I ran away from
my master. Finally I went before him in
shame, holding a sword and my shroud.
Though I am deprived of this world, O
companions of mine, may you live happily
in this abode after I am gone. [296]

Justly hearts of stone turn to bloody tears at the hardheartedness of this dustheap, and tears roll from the clouds' eyes over the celestial spheres' tyranny. The bud's chemise is rent in mourning for rosy cheeked ones, and the rose's ruby crown is cast to the dust in grief. Khwaja Salman wept bitterly at the foot of Sultan Uways's bier and recited this elegy:

Alas, suddenly the rose of the garden of
fortune withered during the days of youth.
Alas, he was a cavalier who hunted nothing
but hearts on the steed of success.

This occurred in the year 775 [A.D. 1374].

Among the great poets who flourished in Sultan Uways's time and who were contemporaries of Khwaja Salman were Ubayd Zakani, Nasir Bukhari, Khwaju Mir Kirmani, and Mawlana Muzaffar Harawi.

❋

SULTAN AHMAD JALAYIR

It is told that Sultan Ahmad, the king of Baghdad, was a great admirer of Khwaja Hafiz, but no matter how often he invited him, and no matter how much favor and patronage he showed him, Hafiz had no desire to leave Fars for Baghdad and contented himself with a patch of his native soil rather than taste the honey of foreign cities. He sent this *ghazal* in praise of Sultan Ahmad to Baghdad:

I praise *(aḥmadu)* God for the royal justice
of Ahmad son of Shaykh-Uways son of
Hasan Ilkhani.[5]
Khan son of khan, king of kings of imperial
lineage, whom it is fitting to call the soul of
the world.
If the moon rises against you, an Ahmadi
miracle and divine favor will cut it in half.[6]
Lineage, excellence and affection: all pertain
to you. Away with the evil eye, for you are
both soul and beloved. [341]
The bud of pleasure has not bloomed for me
among the roses of Fars. Praise be to the
Tigris of Baghdad and fragrant wine.

[5]It should be Ilkani, not Ilkhani. See *CHI*, VI, 5.

[6]The line is full of puns: Ahmadi refers obliquely to Sultan-Ahmad but principally to the prophet Muhammad (the Ahmad), whose miracle of splitting the moon in two by pointing is referred to.

Shake loose your Turkish locks, for in your ascendant are royal fortune and Genghis Khan's position.

Khwaja Hafiz himself told many humorous stories, and many anecdotes are told about him. It would seem incumbent to include something of Khwaja Hafiz's humor in this volume:

It is related that when Sultan Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän subjugated Fars in the year 795 [1393] and put Shah Mansur to death, Khwaja Hafiz was still alive. Someone was sent to summon him. When he arrived [Timur] said, "By the gleaming sword I have subjugated most of the inhabited quarter of the globe. I have devastated thousands of towns and provinces in order to make prosperous Samarqand and Bukhara, my homeland and capital. And you, you little pipsqueak, would sell our Samarqand and Bukhara for one 'Shirazi Turk's Hindu mole' when you say, 'If that Shirazi Turk would but steal our heart, for the Hindu mole I'd give Samarqand and Bukhara.' "

Khwaja Hafiz kissed the ground in servitude and said, "Sultan of the world, it is just such extravagance that has reduced me to this state."

The Sahib-Qiran was pleased by this humorous reply and, far from punishing him, rewarded and showed him favor.[7]

Sultan Ahmad was the son of Sultan Uways Jalayir, after whom he acceded to the caliphal throne in Baghdad, having seized the kingdom from his brother Sultan Husayn. He also controlled Azerbaijan and possessed splendor beyond description. His rule extended to the borders of Rûm. He was a talented ruler, a patron of the arts and of a poetic disposition. He composed good poetry in Arabic and Persian [342] and was proficient in many crafts such as painting, illumination, bowmaking, arrowmaking, inlay *(khatambandi)*, etc., and wrote the Six Pens.[8] This verse is by him:

The more I see you the more I desire you: in my desire for your countenance evening becomes a morning of felicity.

In the science of music and modes he was a master, and several books in this science were composed by him. Khwaja Abdul-Qadir was in his retinue and, it is said, was his pupil. Even today many compositions of his are current among entertainers and singers. However, despite such accomplishments, he was a murderous and untrustworthy man. He ate opium, and from time to time his mind suffered derangement; for no fault whatsoever he humiliated noble people. On the slightest pretext he reduced people to extremities, so it is no wonder that his subjects and army despised him and his amirs and commanders continually wrote letters to the Sahib-Qiran Timur Kürägän until, in the year 791 [1389], he led his army to Baghdad to exterminate Sultan Ahmad. Before [Timur] reached there Sultan Ahmad composed this poem and sent it to him:

Why should we humbly submit to the cruelty of fate? Why should we worry over every insignificant thing?
Let us leave ocean and mountain and pass by. Let us put land and sea beneath our wing, like the phœnix.
Either let us place our foot on the neck of the celestial sphere in triumph, or let us bravely endeavor to be highminded.

When [Timur] realized the contents of this poem, he was grieved and said, "I wish I could compose poetry so that I might compose a decisive reply. Perhaps one of my sons or grandsons [343] can answer Sultan Ahmad." He wrote to Miranshah, or, as is also said, Khalil-Sultan Bahadur, [who] sent the following response to Sultan Ahmad:

Submit humbly to fate and do not turn away. A great thing cannot be considered insignificant.

[7]The story is entirely apocryphal. The generally accepted date of Hafiz's death is 792/1390 (Rypka, *HIL*, 264).

[8]The Six Pens *(shish qalam)*, the six classic styles of Arabic calligraphy.

Why do you head for Mount Qaf like the phœnix? Be small like the wren and shed your wings and feathers.
Put from your mind impossible thoughts lest a hundred thousand heads roll on account of your own head.

When Sultan Ahmad read this he realized that in relation to Timur's mountainous army his own was but a molehill, and that he was nothing more than a gnat struggling against the hurricane of Timurid fortune. Acting upon the dictum, "To flee from him who cannot be resisted is one of the customs of the apostles," he bade farewell to Baghdad and went to Rûm (Anatolia), and the kingdom of Baghdad fell into Timur's hands. He assigned Khwaja Mas'ud Sarbadar, a nephew of Khwaja Ali Mu'ayyad, to the governorship of Baghdad and appointed Khwaja Ali Tusi as head of fiscal affairs in Baghdad. [Timur] himself withdrew under a favorable ascendant, but after his withdrawal Sultan Ahmad received assistance from the Cæsar of Rûm and moved against Baghdad. Khwaja Mas'ud, having insufficient force to resist, left the city to him. Taking advantage of Timur's preoccupation with Toqtamïsh Khan, the ruler of the Qïpchaq Steppe, Sultan Ahmad ruled another few years in Baghdad. He did battle and made truce several times more with Timur, the details of which will not fit into this volume.

In 808[9] Sultan Ahmad was martyred by Qara Yusuf the Turcoman, who had been one of his father's herdsmen, and the title of sultan fell away from the House of Jalayir as the Turcomans came to power. An account of the origin and history of the Turcomans will come later, God willing.

❁

SHAH MANSUR MUZAFFAR

In his book *Jawahir al-asrar,* Shaykh Adhari gives a *qasida* by Mawlana Sharafuddin Rami that includes all the rhetorical devices and embellishments of poetry. There is no necessity to copy it in this volume. Mawlana Sharaf was the King of Poets of Iraq during Shah Mansur b. Muhammad's reign. He was from Tabriz, and his divan is not to be found in this region [Khurasan], although it is well known in Iraq and Azerbaijan. All of his *qasidas* and occasional pieces are solid, rhetorically ornate and written with talent. He composed a quatrain from which the name of his patron, Khwaja Fakhruddin Muhammad al-Mastari, can be derived. It is as follows:

The world is insignificant in the face of your generosity. Pride *(fakhr)* and dignity of religion *(din)* are among your titles.
You are a mine of good qualities *(mahamid)*, and so splendid is its essence that the dagger disappears from the diamond *(almas)* of your mind.[10] [345]

Shah Mansur ruled over Fars and Iraq after Shah Shuja'. He was a courageous and noble padishah. The Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän led his army to Fars to attack him. Shah Mansur did not have the power to resist and wanted to flee. The day he was passing through the gates of Shiraz an old woman said to him from a rooftop, "You bastard Turk, you have ruled the kingdom for a long time, and now you are abandoning the Muslims to the hands of a foreign army. Where do you think you're going?" Shah Mansur was affected by the old woman's words and turned back. With twelve thousand men he went out and did battle with Amir Timur. Several times he broke the Sahib-

[9] According to Fasihi (*Mujmal,* 202) he was executed after the battle that took place on 18 Rabi' II 813 (August 20, 1410). A chronogram by Khwaja Abdul-Qadir given by Fasihi also establishes 813 as the year of his death.

[10] *Fakhr* and *dïn* of course give Fakhruddin. When the "dagger" *(alif)* is removed from *maḥāmid,* it becomes Muhammad. *Almās* is the beginning of al-Māstarī; the final solution is elusive.

Qiran's center and flank, and he nearly defeated the amir's army completely, but God did not give him the victory. In his *Zafarnama* Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi relates that four times Shah Mansur brandished his sword over the Sahib-Qiran, and Qumäri Inaq and Adil Akhtachï had to hold their shields over his head.

Later the heroes of the invincible army surrounded Shah Mansur, and he perished in that battle. The Sahib-Qiran grieved over the loss of Shah Mansur and said, "I have fought forty battles and have contended with champions and warriors, but never have I seen anyone to equal Shah Mansur in bravery."

After Shah Mansur was killed the sultanate of the Muzaffar dynasty came to an end, and Fars and Persian Iraq passed to the control of Amir Timur Kürägän and his noble sons. That was in the year 795 [1393].

One is taken away, another is put in his place. The world does not remain without someone to govern.

❋

AMIR TIMUR KÜRÄGÄN

As for the mighty Sahib-Qiran, sultan of sultans, axis of truth and religion, Amir Timur Kürägän:

A hundred centuries of time go by before fortune hands the reins of rule to a lord of the conjunction like you.

The learned and historians are agreed that in the time of Islam, nay from Adam's era until this very moment, no lord of the conjunction of Solomonic power like Amir Timur Kürägän has set foot from the abyss of nonexistence into the world of being. The obstinate of the world bowed their heads to his authority, and crowned heads put the ring of servitude to him in their ears. The standard of his reign was raised like the sun over the regions of the east, and in a short time he had to the farthest reaches of the west under the shadow of his protection.

Tell me who of the kings of the world has given his horse fodder from Tiflis and water from Oman! [360]

An account of his career would not fit into the records of humanity. How then can this memorial volume contain them?

His Highness was born and grew up in the area of Kish.[11] He was the son of Amir Taraghay, a great amir of the Barlas [tribe], than whom there are none more noble or high-ranking among the Chaghatay nation. Amir Taraghay was the grandson of Amir Qarachar Noyan, who was a cousin of the great amir Genghis Khan. With his son Chaghatay Khan Genghis Khan sent Amir Qarachar Noyan to govern Transoxiana, Turkistan and dependencies. For a long time the autonomous rule of the Chaghatay nation was in Qarachar Noyan's powerful hands. He was the brother of Amir Taghachar, who took Syria and Egypt in the time of Hülägü Khan. Genealogists of the Turks say that Amir Timur Kürägän's line and Genghis Khan's line met in Alan Qoa Khatun, who was married to one of the grandsons of Imam Ali Zaynul-Abidin, and from her sprang this noble family.[12]

The felicitous birth of the Sahib-Qiran was in the year 736 [1336] in the pleasant plains of Kish. From his youth the signs of greatness and splendor of rule were apparent on his world-adorning brow.

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[11] Also called Shahr-i Sabz, now in Uzbekistan.

[12] Both the marble slab covering Timur's grave and the nephrite cenotaph in the mausoleum in the Gur-i Amir in Samarqand record the legend that Alan Qoa conceived "from a light" that was "one of the descendants of the Prince of the Faithful Ali b. Abi-Talib" without specifying which descendant. Ali Zaynul-Abidin, the Fourth Imam of the Shia, died in 94/712–13.

Above his head a high star of brilliance shone.

Amir Taraghay always had the Sahib-Qiran manage his property (*tahammul-i ma'āsh*) during his youth, and he was constantly occupied with administering the *yasa* and assuming authority. Things that common people do he never did, and people were amazed by his acumen, discrimination, perspicacity and intelligence.

They say that when Sultan Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän was seven years old he once went with his father to stay in the house of one of his relatives, a man of great wealth and riches **[361]** upon whom fortune had smiled. He had seventy slaves, Turks and Hindus, and from that it can be estimated what other wealth he possessed. The host complained to the Sahib-Qiran's father, saying, "God has given me vast wealth, but I am unable to control it all. My slaves do not respect me, and my sons are worthless. For these reasons I fear that my property will diminish."

The Sahib-Qiran interrupted and said, "Father, give your sons a share of your property, and then do not interfere in their affairs and let them be. Put your Turkish slaves in charge of the Hindus to have under their command. Appoint one slave as overseer to every ten[13] slaves, and secretly have the seven overseer slaves who are together in charge of the seventy keep watch on each other, and do not let them speak to one another very much."

The man immediately said to Amir Taraghay, "By God, this child of yours will be the emperor of the earth. One can see in his words that this child is the sheer power of the Lord of the Universe." Then he had pen and ink brought and right there obtained a letter from the Sahib-Qiran to the effect that, when the phœnix of his fortune had the expanse of the horizons beneath its wing, neither would anyone tax him, his sons or his progeny or would he or his sons be taken to task for their offenses. His clan are the *tarkhans*, and until this day they are *tarkhans* in Turkistan. Many such instances of the Sahib-Qiran's perspicacity occurred in his youth.

In the year 771 [1369–70] His Highness Sultan Sahib-Qiran sat successfully enthroned in the Khanid capital and, having passed beyond taking tolls and tribute, had Amir Husayn b. Qazaghan put to death at the gates of Balkh.[14] Amir Husayn had fled to the top of a tower. A bailiff who had lost a camel and gone up the tower to look for it caught Amir Husayn and took him straightaway to the Sahib-Qiran.

A camel went to the top of a minaret and cried out, "I am hiding here. Don't give me away!" **[362]**

In the year 797 [1395] with ninety thousand soldiers he attacked Toqtamïsh Khan in the Qïpchaq Steppe and vanquished the khan. While pursuing him northwards he reached a place where, according to the sect of the great Imam Abu-Hanifa of Kufa, the nighttime prayer is incorrect because in that region the true dawn breaks while twilight still lingers.[15]

Then he set out against Rûm. He took tribute from the Cæsar of Rûm and reduced the Ildïrïm of Rûm to wax.[16] Syria he darkened with the dust of his Turkish horsemen, vilifying the House of Yazid

[13]Text has "three," surely an error for "ten."

[14]Amir Husayn was actually a grandson of Qazaghan, who founded a line of Turco-Mongol princes in Transoxiana.

[15]Dawlatshah has confused the two campaigns against Toqtamïsh Khan. In the campaign of 793/1391 Timur pursued Toqtamïsh far to the north; the final battle of the 797/1395 campaign was fought in the northern Caucasus. See *CHI*, VI, 72f.; Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, I, 380.

[16]The Ildïrïm (or Yıldırım, "thunderbolt") of Rûm was the sobriquet of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I, whom Timur defeated at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402.

and destroying the grave of Mu'awiya.[17] The Plenipotent of Egypt gave him tribute, and the Sharif of Mecca accepted to pay homage. The infidels of Georgia were deafened by the noise of his invincible army's drums, and Hindustan turned into a Turkistan with the encampment of his triumphant forces. With Indian prisoners and slaves Khurasan became a Hindustan, and from Delhi to the Qïpchaq Steppe and the farthest reaches of Khwarazm, and from the borders of Kashghar and Khotan to Syria, Egypt and the Maghreb came into his grasp by the glittering sword. For thirty-six years he ruled in most of the inhabited quarter of the globe by the spread of friends and conquest of enemies. He was kind to his subjects and overthrew those he conquered.

On the 18th of Sha'ban in the year 807 [February 19, 1405] in the city of Utrar in Turkistan, while leading his army to Cathay, he heard the summons, "O thou soul which art at rest, return unto thy Lord, well pleased with thy reward, and well pleasing unto God,"[18] and the parrot of his great spirit, breaking the bonds of its sensual cage, set out for the eternal city. He was seventy-two years, one month and eighteen days old.

The palace of his rule had four stable pillars, i.e., the four princes who issued from his loins, Jahangir Sultan, Umar-Shaykh Sultan, Miranshah Kürägän, and Shahrukh Bahadur Ghazi. May the magnificent grandsons and progeny of the Sahib-Qiran and of these four pillars of governance rule the world until resurrection, and may the shade of the heaven-scraping parasol of this padishah of Islam remain over the heads of this awesome and magnificent dynasty forever, through the prophet and his glorious family. **[363]**

Sultan Timur, a king like no other, in seven hundred thirty-six came into existence.
In seven hundred seventy-one he emerged; in eight hundred and seven he bade the world farewell.

Among the shaykhs of Sufi orders, ulema, learned men and poets who flourished in the time of Sultan Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän were: Amir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, who died at an advanced old age and is buried in Khuttalan; the ulema Amir Sayyid Sharif Jurjani and Mawlana Sa'duddin al-Taftazani al-Nasawi; and the poets Mawlana Bisati Samarqandi, Khwaja Ismatullah Bukhari, Mawlana Lutfullah Nishapuri, and Haydar Bari (may God have mercy upon them).

❁

MIRANSHAH

As for Prince Miranshah Kürägän, in the days of the Sahib-Qiran Timur Kürägän's reign he was padishah of Khurasan for seven years. Thereafter [Timur] gave Khurasan to Shahrukh Sultan and Tabriz and Azerbaijan with its appendages to Miranshah Mirza. For several years he ruled independently in Azerbaijan. He was a handsome prince with a talent for poetry and mild mannered. Concerning his looks and position the poets have composed the following:

People have said that you are a second Joseph. Having seen you well, I [know that] in truth you are more beautiful than that.

However, one day he fell from his horse, and his mind became disordered. Despite the treatment the physicians gave him, it was useless, and his mental disorder increased until it became melancholia and reached the level of insanity. **[369]** He continually kept company with low-lifes and tormented his amirs and deputies, to whom he refused audience. He was so disrespectful of grandees and nobles that

[17] Damascus was taken by Timur in 1401. The House of Yazid and Mu'awiya are references to the Umayyad caliphs (r. 661–750), whose capital was Damascus.

[18] Koran 89:28.

he removed Khwaja Rashid's body from his tomb in the Rashidiyya at Tabriz and had the bones buried in the Jews' cemetery.[19] He ordered his wife Khanzada, whom Amir Timur Kürägän favored highly, to be bound, and he tortured and tormented her. Khanzada managed to escape from him and went to the Sahib-Qiran in Samarqand, where she showed him her bloody shirt and told the father about the son. The amir wept and spoke to no one for a week. He gathered his army and set out for Azerbaijan, the reason for the dispatch of the army being this very case. That occurred in Jumada I 795 [March 1393].

Three excellent and virtuous men who were Prince Miranshah's intimate companions, Mawlana Muhammad Kakhki Quhistani, who was extremely knowledgeable in astronomy and the esoteric sciences, Mawlana Qutbuddin Nayi and Abdul-Mu'min Guyanda, all three of whom were learned men, [Timur] ordered executed because Prince Miranshah's mind had been deranged by association with them.[20] Accordingly, the three were ordered hanged in Qazwin. At the time of execution Mawlana Muhammad Quhistani said to Ustad Qutb Nayi, "You held precedence in the king's assembly. You go first here too." Mawlana Qutb replied, "You damned heretic, you have brought things to such a pass, and still you don't leave off your witticisms!" At the time of execution Mawlana Muhammad recited the following verse:

The end of the affair is far away, heretic.
Whether you go or not, it is not in the hands of free will.
If, like Mansur, they carry you to the foot of the gallows *(pay-i dar)*, stand manly and firm *(pay dar)*, for the world does not last forever *(paydar)*.

His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran, after having Prince Miranshah's companions executed, did not see [the prince] for two months and transferred the rulership of Azerbaijan to [Miranshah's] son Prince Abu-Bakr. [370] He also entrusted care of the father to the son and conferred the title of sultan upon Prince Abu-Bakr, who looked after his father. The father was nominally the ruler, but the affairs of the kingdom were absolutely in Abu-Bakr's hands. Miranshah Kürägän passed some time in this manner, but in the year 809[21] he was killed by Qara Yusuf the Turcoman.

Amirzada Abu-Bakr Bahadur was a good-natured prince, handsome, brave and high-minded. It is said that his sword weighed seven maunds. After Miranshah was killed, he was defeated by the Turcomans and fled to Kerman. He was killed in 810 [1407–8] at the age of twenty-two.[22] Miranshah ruled nine years in Khurasan and eleven in Azerbaijan.

❁

SHAHRUKH

It is told that Sayyid [Ni'matullah Wali] was of a high spiritual degree, and presents and gifts were constantly being sent him by rulers and worldly people, all of

[19]Rashiduddin Fazlullah (ca. 1247–1318), court physician, historian and *sadr* to the Il-khans, author of the voluminous world history *Jami' al-tawarikh* and builder of the Rab'-i Rashidi (the Rashidiyya) in Tabriz.

[20]According to Fasihi more than three were put to death: Shamsuddin Muhammad Kakhki Quhistani, Qutbuddin Nayi (the flute player), Habib Udi (the lutanist), Ardashir Changi (the harpist), Abdul-Mu'min Guyanda (the singer) and Khwaja Yahya Narrad (the backgammon player) were all executed in 802/1399–1400 (*Mujmal*, 143).

[21]810 according to Mirkhwand (*RS*, VI, 559). Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 179) gives the date of the battle with Qara Yusuf, 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da 810 (April 21, 1408). Khwandamir (*HS*, III, 570) gives 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da 809 (May 2, 1407) as the date of Miranshah's death.

[22]Khwandamir (*HS*, III, 571) gives 811. Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 185f.) records him as still alive at the beginning of 811.

which he accepted and [374] then sent to the deserving.

Once Shahrukh asked the sayyid, "I hear that you partake of suspect morsels.[23] What is the justification for that?" Sayyid Ni'matullah quoted this line in reply to the prince:

> If the whole world is ground to mincemeat, how can a man of God eat other than what is licit?

Shahrukh was not pleased by this answer, and in order to test [the sayyid], several days later he ordered his steward to go and seize a lamb by force from an old woman, not to pay for it and to bring it and have it cooked. To carry out this order, the steward went outside the city, where he saw an old woman coming down the road with a lamb over her shoulders. Immediately he cracked his whip, snatched the lamb from the old woman and took it to the kitchen to have it prepared. The sultan invited the sayyid, who partook of that meal along with the sultan.

"You said that you could eat only licit food, whereas I ordered this lamb taken unjustly from an old woman," said the sultan, telling the sayyid the whole story.

"Sultan of the world," said the sayyid, "order an investigation into this, for God must have a [hidden] purpose herein."

The sultan ordered the old woman brought and asked her, "Where were you taking this lamb? How did you get it?"

"I am an old widow woman," she related, "and have a flock of sheep I inherited from my husband. I also have a son who took a few sheep a week ago to market in Sarakhs. I had received some distressing news about him when I heard that Sayyid Ni'matullah Wali had come to Herat from Kerman. I vowed that if my son came back to me in safety, I would take a lamb to the sayyid. That very day my son arrived safely, and I was so happy I put a lamb over my shoulder and set out for town. Your steward took the lamb from me unjustly, and no matter how much I pleaded, it was of no use."

Sultan Shahrukh, realizing that God [375] esoterically preserves his saints from illicit and suspect things, apologized to the sayyid and never thought of testing him again....

The sayyid died in 827,[24] during Shahrukh's reign, in the village of Mahan, a dependency of Kerman. His hospice and *khanaqah* are frequented by the great and by the poor, and it is a flourishing, much visited and pleasant holy site. [The sayyid's] age was more than seventy-five when he responded to God's invitation and was elevated to the station of the blessed and pure.

As for the felicitous *khaqan*, the Shadow of God upon the earth Shahrukh Bahadur Kürägän, he was a king crowned by divine success, propitious fortune and great good luck. He constantly practiced justice and had complete compassion toward the elite and common alike. The peace and freedom from want that the peasantry enjoyed during the days of his reign have never been known in any other epoch from the time of Adam until today. His conduct was praiseworthy and he followed the divine law, snatching the ball of propriety from all other sultans. For fifty years his banner of world rule waved, and he caused the realm of Islam to flourish. From the region of Khotan and Kashghar to the Qïpchaq Steppe and the realms of India, from Mazanderan to Darband and the realm of Georgia, and from Fars to Basra and Wasit were all under his reign. It is said that in the first campaign to Azerbaijan there were 30,000 cameldrivers [to haul the booty] in the victorious Shahrukhid armies: one can judge his other riches therefrom. His-

[23] *Luqmahā-yi shubha-āmēz*, i.e., food whose origin or manner of acquisition is suspect in terms of the religious law.

[24] Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 267) gives his death date as 22 Rajab 834 (April 5, 1431).

torians, especially Mawlana Fazil Jarda, have related that three hundred princes, all of whom were worthy to rule, were gathered at Shahrukh's court. [376] Of His Majesty's mighty sons and grandsons and great relatives it is certainly hoped, nay it is absolute certainty that this Chosroës, [Sultan-Husayn] a Jamshid in fortune, a Faridun in ambition, a Bahram in dignity, who is heir to the deeds of the great of this fortunate house, may attain—nay, has attained—many times over the good fortune of those past sovereigns.

Shahrukh Sultan, through perfect religious observance, purity of innate nature and good moral character, reached the station of sainthood and was aware of things unseen. Saintly miracles are related of him, one of which is as follows.

One morning at dawn in Rayy he was busy with his devotions when suddenly he cried out, saying, "Qara Yusuf the Turcoman died last night!" The date was recorded, and ten days later the news of Qara Yusuf's death arrived.

Another instance is as follows. This humble author's father was one of Sultan Shahrukh's confidential servants, and he related the following:

By God's decree a dreadful year of drought befell Khurasan, especially the capital Herat. It reached such proportions that from the beginning of winter until the middle of spring not a drop fell from the sky to the earth:

The sky was so miserly toward the earth that
neither crops nor groves wet their lips.
Ancient springs dried up; the only water left
was the tears of orphans.

The Emperor of Islam and the great ones of the time were perplexed by this calamity and, instead of rain, poured moisture from their eyes. One night I beseechingly raised my hands in supplication to the Court of the Almighty, saying, "Send us rain, O thou who helpest those in need!" At dawn the next morning I was still sitting awake when suddenly a drop of rain fell against the window of the house, followed by torrents of rain. I bowed my head in thanks and thought, "O Lord, is anyone in this court awake to have witnessed the first drop of rain?" Ecstatic, I set out at dawn for the Emperor of Islam Shahrukh Bahadur. When I entered the king's pavilion, before I could bow my head and make obeisance, he said, "Ala'uddawla, I was awake when the first drop of rain fell. Were you awake or not?" I began to cry [377] and fell at the king's feet. He asked me the cause of my weakness, and I told him the story. He recited this hemistich:

Even from our hut there is a way to the
king's court.

Without doubt a king who passes his days in justice and equity and in maintaining the Muhammadan law will find grace in the sight of God. More than this will not fit into this memorial volume.

Shahrukh Bahadur Sultan was born on the 14th of Rabi' I 779 [August 20, 1377] in Samarqand. He lived for 71 years. For seven years during his father's lifetime he ruled Khurasan, and for forty-three years after Timur Kürägän he reigned autonomously over Iran and Turan and the lands of India and the Turks. In the month of Dhu'l-Hijja 850, late in the morning of Nawroz [March 13, 1447] he died in Fasha Rud, a dependency of Rayy.

Shahrukh, that king as puissant as fate,
refuge of Islam, he who wielded a lion's
claw in the jungle of kingship,
Pitched his tent in paradise above in Dhu'l-
Hijja and said, "Throughout the world THE
SWORD remains of us as a date."[25]

Five exalted princes were born of that highness, all of whom were pearls from a royal sea and manifestations of divine grace: Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, Ibrahim-Sultan, Baysunghur Sultan, Soyurghatmïsh Bahadur, and Muhammad-Juki Mirza. There were also two other jewels from the royal mine, Yarudï and Khan Oghlan,[26] who went from the cradle to the grave in infancy. These padishahs had

[25]*Shamshïr* (sword) = 850.

[26]Muhammad-Yarudï's name is garbled in the text, and Khan Oghlan is given as Jan Oghlan (see Fasihi, *Mujmal*, 154; *Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 137).

nearly twenty princes who were elegant cypresses in the meadow of leadership, nay souls for the body of the realm. The sun would turn dark in envy of their beauty and the universal intellect was incapable of comprehending their worth, but in a short time inauspicious fate attacked those meritorious sultans [378] and sentenced them to the prison of the grave. Today nothing but a memory remains of those renowned, all-conquering heroes. "Might is God's. Wherefore take example, O ye who have eyes."[27]

Where are the mighty kings Hushang, Jamshid and Isfandiyar?
All have dust and clay for pillows, and happy is he who planted only seeds of goodness.

It is related that at the end of his life Shahrukh led his army to Iraq to attack his grandson, Sultan-Muhammad son of Baysunghur. When Sultan-Muhammad was defeated, Shahrukh Sultan blamed the sayyids, grandees and ulema of Isfahan [for Sultan-Muhammad's rebellion] because they had salaamed Sultan-Muhammad. In Sawa he issued an order for the execution of Shah Ala'uddin, a great Husaynid sayyid, Qazi Imam, and Khwaja Afzaluddin Turka, one of the great ulema of Isfahan, and at Gawharshad Begim's instigation those great men were unjustly and cruelly put to death.

It is said that twice the rope around Khwaja Afzal's neck snapped. He cried out, "Tell Shahrukh that this torment of ours will not last more than an instant, but do not destroy the good name you have acquired over more than fifty years." No matter how hard men of influence tried, it was of no avail as Shahrukh refused to consider an appeal. After eighty days Shahrukh Sultan died, and some say that when those oppressed men despaired of their lives they cursed Shahrukh Sultan and Gawharshad Begim, saying, "O Lord, as he deprives our children of hope, make his line extinct!" The gates of heaven were open, and those innocent injured men's prayers were answered, for that mighty padishah's line was ended and the sultanate reverted to its original locus.[28] (O God, may the sultanate continue until the day of resurrection the rightful property of this heir.)

Although the Shahrukhid era and his progeny have passed, [379] the mighty offspring of the great Timurid family remain powerful in Iran and Turan.

What if one rose fades, when everything is made verdant by you? Your countenance is sufficient for us as a souvenir of the rose.

Among the shaykhs, great ulema and poets who flourished during Shahrukh's time were: Shamsuddin Muhammad al-Hafizi al-Bukhari known as Khwaja Parsa, Khwaja Sayinuddin Turka Isfahani, Mawlana Fazil Husayn Khwarazmi, Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, and the poets Shaykh Adhari, Baba Sawda'i, Mawlana Ali Shihab, Amir Shahi Sabzawari, Mawlana Katibi Turshizi, and Mawlana Nasimi. The works and divans of all these are known throughout the inhabited quarter of the globe.

However, there were four skilled men in the capital Herat who had no peers anywhere during their time: Khwaja Abdul-Qadir Maraghi in the science of modes and music, Yusuf Andigani in recitation and singing, Ustad Qiwamuddin in geometry, design and architecture, and Mawlana Khalil the painter, who was a second Mani.

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[27]Koran 59:2.

[28]Dawlatshah wrote these words during the time of Sultan-Husayn, a descendant of Umar-Shaykh; for that reason the Shahrukhid line is denigrated.

BAYSUNGHUR

[Qasim al-Anwar], [385] whose origins were in Azerbaijan, was born in Surkhab, Tabriz, of which region he was among the great sayyids and sharifs. During his youth he was a disciple of Shaykh Sadruddin Ardabili and for a time was trained [in Sufism] by him. He underwent much spiritual exercise in Sufism and spiritual poverty and [386] was well trained. Thereafter he set out with the shaykh's permission for Gilan, where he lived for a time training dervishes. When his fame had reached all corners of the earth, he set out for Khurasan and stayed for a while in Nishapur. However, the Zahiri ulema of Khurasan protested his presence, and he went to the capital Herat. The people of Herat trusted him completely and gave him their allegiance. He was a powerfully attractive man, and every skeptic who came before him departed a believer. When most of the nobles and princes of Herat had become his disciples, self-interested people told the emperor of the age, Sultan Shahrukh, that it was not prudent to allow this sayyid to stay in the city. As most of the youths had become his disciples, there was a danger that corruption might occur. The emperor ordered the sayyid expelled, but no matter how many times the amirs and ministers of state took the emperor's order to the sayyid, it was useless: Amir Sayyid Qasim would say, "For what crime does Shahrukh expel me from a Muslim realm?"

In the end it was determined that the sayyid would have to be forcibly ejected from the area, but no one had the courage to carry it out. Prince Baysunghur said, "I will set this sayyid on the road by means of refinement and wit. There is no necessity for harshness." He rose and went to the sayyid, with whom he had a pleasant conversation, during the course of which the matter of the sayyid's leaving was broached.

"Your father is the emperor of Muslims," the sayyid said. "For what reason does he expel me?"

"My lord," said Prince Baysunghur, "why do you not act upon your own words?"

"Which words?" he asked.

" 'Qasim, cut short your speech, arise and go forth: cast sugar to the parrot, carrion to the vulture,' " [quoted the prince].

Amir Sayyid Qasim applauded the prince and immediately had a pack animal brought, the nobles [of Herat] helping, and set out for Balkh. For a time that region was the recourse of elite and common, but once again he returned to the capital Herat, [387] where he stayed for a period of time.... [390]

The felicitous birth of Prince Baysunghur was in the year 802.[29] He possessed both beauty and perfection, good fortune and propitious luck; in patronage of the arts and artistic ability he was renowned throughout the world. During his time calligraphy and poetry gained currency, and artisans and literati, hearing of his reputation, entered his service from all regions and areas.

It is related that forty calligrapher-scribes were engaged in his *kitabkhana*, with Mawlana Ja'far Tabrizi at their head. [The prince] favored artists and loved poets. He strove to create opulence and rewarded his comrades and companions with exquisite objects. After Chosroës Parvez none of the sultans of the ages lived in such luxury and refinement as Baysunghur Sultan. He composed and understood poetry well in Turkish and Persian and wrote the Six Pens of calligraphy. Here is a line by Mirza Baysunghur:

> Baysunghur is a beggar in your lane: a beggar in the lane of beauties is a king.

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[29] All other sources are agreed upon 799 as his date of birth. Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 140) gives 21 Dhu'l-Hijja 799 (September 15, 1397).

It is related that during Baysunghur's time Khwaja Yusuf Andigani [391] had no equal in all the world in recitation and singing. Khwaja Yusuf's Davidic voice pierced the heart, and his Chosroic melody augmented the agony of passion. Sultan-Ibrahim b. Shahrukh in Shiraz several times asked Baysunghur for Khwaja Yusuf, but he refused. Finally he sent 100,000 dinars in cash for Prince Baysunghur to send him Khwaja Yusuf. In reply Sultan Baysunghur sent this line:

We do not sell our Joseph. You keep your black silver.

Among Ulughbeg Kürägän, Baysunghur Bahadur and Ibrahim-Sultan many witticisms and much correspondence were exchanged—more than could be put into this volume. However, treacherous time and cruel fate assassinated that successful prince in the full bloom of youth, and the wardens of fate and destiny had no mercy on his youth. One night, having had too much wine, he was overtaken by the heavy sleep of annihilation in response to the command of the Lord of Lords. The people of Herat supposed his death was due to a stroke.

They say that death is a novel form of sleep: that heavy sleep seized us.

Half drunk, the prince crept into the mastaba of the earth, to rise again with a heavy head on the morn of resurrection along with the throng suffering from the hangover of resurrection and to request from the cupbearers the pure wine that cures a hangover. The hope is certain that the Merciful Judge will forgive his sins, which can be washed away only by the dew of compassion. The dreadful death of Baysunghur Sultan occurred in the capital Herat in the Bagh-i Saped in the year 837 [1433].[30] He was thirty-five years of age.

The poets who were in Baysunghur Bahadur's retinue during the time of Shahrukh Sultan were: Baba Sawda'i, Mawlana Yusuf Amiri, Amir Shahi Sabzawari, Mawlana Katibi Turshizi and [392] Amir Yaminuddin Nazlabadi. Baysunghur's properties and fiefs during Shahrukh's reign were six hundred Kepeki *tümäns* in the provinces of Astarabad, Jurjan, Dihistan, Tus, Abiward, Nasa, Khabushan, Simnan, Kashan in Persian Iraq, and Shabankara in Fars.[31] The poets composed many elegies for Baysunghur, but Amir Shahi surpassed them all with this quatrain:

At your funeral time itself wailed; tulips spilled the blood of their eyes into their laps.
The rose rips the collar of its crimson cloak; the dove puts black felt around its neck.

*

[267] The literati have been unable to collect [all] Amir Khusraw's poetry,[32] since they have rightly contemplated that the sea cannot be contained in a vessel, and divine knowledge cannot fit into a word. Sultan Baysunghur Khan exerted much effort, and the poetry of Amir Khusraw he achieved in collecting amounted to 20,000 lines. Thereafter [another] two thousand lines of Khusraw's *ghazals* that were not in the [Baysunghurid] divan were found somewhere. Realizing that to collect these poems was an impossible task and an unrealizable hope, he abandoned the search. In one of

[30]The date of his death, 7 Jumada I 837 (December 20, 1433), is given by Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 272).

[31]Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 219) records the fiefs Baysunghur was given in 817/1415.

[32]Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253–1325), author of a divan, a *Khamsa* (quintet) in imitation of Nizami's *Khamsa*, and numerous versified histories.

his essays Amir Khusraw says, "My poetry is less than 500,000 and more than 400,000 lines." His *Khamsa* is 18,000 lines, while Shaykh Nizami of Ganja's is 28,000. It is amazing that in some poetry there is longwindedness and in others there is brevity; in either case, elegance and eloquence are the goals.

Prince Baysunghur preferred Khusraw's *Khamsa* to Nizami's, while his late highness Ulughbeg Kürägän did not agree and was a proponent of Shaykh Nizami. Between these two learned princes there was on occasion heated debate over these [conflicting] claims, and they compared the two *Khamsa*s line by line. If there were such partisanship these days, the minds of critics, who are the assayers of the market of literary excellence—long may they live—would have found a method of preference and removed all doubt.

*

Amir Shahi was born and grew up in Sabzawar. His name was Aq Malik son of Malik Jamaluddin Firozkohi, and his ancestors were grandees of the Sarbadar,[33] his mother being Khwaja Ali Mu'ayyad's sister. During Shahrukh Kürägän's reign, when the Sarbadars were on the wane, he went to Prince Baysunghur, who patronized him and got released some of his ancestral property **[481]** that had been sequestered by the state during the Sarbadar interregnum. Amir Shahi was a close companion to the prince.

It is said that Malik Jamaluddin, Amir Shahi's father, stabbed one of the Sarbadars to death on a hunting outing.[34] One day Prince Baysunghur was on a hunt in the Kahdistan meadow in Herat. It happened that the prince and Amir Shahi were left alone together, the other riders having charged off after the animals. The prince turned to Amir Shahi and said, "Your father took just such an opportunity to destroy his enemy and died in a manly way."

Amir Shahi said angrily, "It is written: '*wa-la taziru wāziratun*,'[35] which is to say that a son who does not engage in his father's labor cannot be counted among his father's friends." After this he eschewed the service of sultans and took an oath never to serve them again so long as he lived.

*

[484] It is said that for a time Baysunghur Sultan used the pen name Shahi, but seeing that that pen name had been accepted as Amir Aq Malik's and become famous from east to west, he abandoned it. What the destiner of pre-eternity has written cannot be changed. Some are given kingship in form, others in content.

*

[178] Mawlana Shamsuddin Tabasi was one of the most learned men in Khurasan. Although he was the cadi and son of the cadi of Tabas, he resided in Herat. Along with his great learning, he held a high position as a poet and was a man of good character and mien.

Baysunghur ordered Mawlana Shamsuddin's divan to be copied by Mawlana Shamsuddin the calligrapher, who was known among calligraphers as Shams Baysunghuri. [The prince] said many times, "To have this type of poetry and this sort of calligraphy, both of which are God-given talents, by these two men named Shams is a rare coincidence."

❁

[33]The Sarbadar dynasty ruled in Sabzawar, 1337–79.

[34]According to Fasihi, in 799/1396–97 Amir Shahi's father stabbed Amirzada Muhammad-Sultan in Damghan (*Mujmal*, p. 140).

[35]Koran 53:38: "A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another."

KHALIL-SULTAN

Prince Khalilullah reigned in Samarqand after the death of Amir Timur Kürägän. He was a handsome prince, of good character and of refined nature. He threw open the treasury that Amir Timur Kürägän had amassed throughout his reign from the taxes on Iran and Turan and, like the April rain, nay like the mines of Badakhshan and the sea of Oman, scattered silver and pearls over soldiers and civilians. The learned received patronage in his time and in describing their situation sang: [395]

In your time no one can distinguish the ground from gold, so much has your generous hand trod wealth under foot.

In the same vein Katibi says:

Dirhems from your hand cover the earth by the trayful. Of your generosity there are jewels covering the heavens by the shieldful.

In the end, the treasure that the Sahib-Qiran had amassed by the sword Sultan-Khalil gave away to the shield. For four years in Samarqand and Transoxiana he ruled. Finally Khudaydad Husayni, Khudaydad Jätä, Berdi Beg and other officers rebelled against him, the reason for which was as follows. He had fallen in love with and married Shad Malik Agha, one of Amir Hajji Sayfuddin's concubines, and she interfered in the affairs of state. The officers refused to stand for it, and in 811 [1409] they seized Prince Khalil and bound him in golden chains. They cut off Shad Malik's ears and nose and sent the prince to be imprisoned in Shahrukhiyya Fortress, and the rebellious officers reigned autonomously in Samarqand. Prince Khalil-Sultan composed this quatrain in his prison:

Yesterday such soul-increasing union; today such world-burning separation.
Alas that fate one day writes one thing in the register of my life, another day another.

When the news of the ingrate officers' take-over and Prince Khalil's imprisonment reached the hearing of [396] Shahrukh Sultan, he gathered a huge army and set out from Herat for Samarqand. When the Shahrukhid victory-bearing banners crossed the Oxus, the rebels lost heart and, abandoning Samarqand, fled toward Turkistan, pillaging the possessions of the people of Samarqand.

It is related that when Shahrukh Sultan regained Samarqand, he went into the Timurid treasury, which was kept in the Kök Saray and citadel of Samarqand. Finding the treasury as empty as the minds of idiots and as void as the hearts of the ignorant, suddenly the Mirza's staff struck a minted dirhem. He picked it up, put it in his pocket and left the treasury, saying to his companions, "With this dirhem we have our share of our father's legacy."

It is said that Prince Khalil-Sultan composed this *ghazal* when he was imprisoned and sent it to his uncle Shahrukh:

O bestower of gifts, O grantor of desires, we can bear no more of this separation.
Ill luck has become our neighbor and sung out, "Welcome!" Good fortune has departed, saying, "Adieu!"
May my life be sacrificed to the aroma of the breeze that comes to us from our beloveds' region.
As sorrowful and happy ones pass from the monastery [of this world], do not sorrow over tribulation or rejoice over good fortune. [397]
The brand of the world left Kaus Kay's breast; when was Kay-Qubad gleeful over bad luck?
If Khalil is imprisoned in the six directions of separation, one day the spheres will release you.
God's decree has given me into the hands of the lowly: it is wrong to complain to people of God's decree.

When Shahrukh Sultan read this composition by Prince Khalil, he wept and made it his sole ambition to reduce those ingrates to beggary. Amir Shahmalik, one of Shahrukh's great officers, intentionally

fomented disagreement among that group. He killed Khudaydad Jätä and Khudaydad Husayni, and himself went into exile. The kingdom of Transoxiana came under Shahrukh's subjugation, and Sultan-Khalil, released from prison, was honored to kiss the carpet of his uncle's good fortune. Shahrukh Sultan, insofar as was possible, had compassion upon the deposed prince and took him with himself, crossed the Oxus and gave the rule of Samarqand to his son Prince Ulughbeg. He assigned Amir Shahmalik to [Ulughbeg's] retinue to govern the region. That was in the year 811 [1409]. Shahrukh then took Sultan-Khalil to Herat, gave him the governorship of Rayy, Qum, Hamadan and Dinawar up to Baghdad and sent him off with banners, kettledrums and *naqarakhana*, and high-ranking officers accompanied him for several stages. Sultan-Khalil ruled as his uncle's viceregent for two and a half years and died in Rayy on the 18th[36] of Rajab 814 [November 5, 1411] at the age of twenty-eight. As he lay dying he recited this verse: [398]

In ignorance I said, "No one can draw our bow." Death came and drew, and our notions were all wrong.

Khwaja Ismat Bukhari was a high-born, worthy man of learning descended from Ja'far ibn Abi-Talib. His forefathers were great men of learning in Bukhara, and his father Khwaja Mas'ud was one of the leading men of the city. Khwaja Ismat, despite his high lineage and position, was a notable poet in *qasida, ghazal, mathnawi* and *qit'a*. During Sultan-Khalil's time Khwaja Ismat received great patronage and was highly respected by the prince, to whom he was a constant compartion and comrade. The envious imagined that the khwaja had an eye for the prince, but his heart was free of any such thought. Sultan-Khalil was taught poetics by the khwaja, and when Prince Khalil was deposed, Khwaja Ismat composed this *ghazal* in longing for the prince's court:

Would that you had ordered my execution by the sword of separation so that my enemies might not have seen me abject on such a day.
Tell the gardener to plant me at the foot of the garden wall if I think of the cypress and lily without remembering him.
When will my cavalier again strut forth so that I, like a madman, may cast myself in his path, covered with dust and blood? [399]
From the veins of both eyes I rain my heart's blood, for in separation from him every hair on my body is a bloody lancet.
Ismat, when will the monuments of Khalil's era come again so that I may smash these idols I wrongly worship?

...[400] The learned have admired Khwaja Ismat's *qasidas*. He composed this *qasida* on Sultan-Khalil's divan:

It is a shoreless sea that holds the world in its embrace—the diver of the universal intellect can never comprehend its essence (pearl).
The moon is a reflection of the rays from its gilt *lawh*; the sun is a reflection of its illuminated pages.
The depiction of angelic, tulip-cheeked beauties has locked the houris of paradise in their palaces in shame.
Hot spins the sun on the *lawh* of the celestial sphere in order to put a seal on the pages of this register.
It takes black from the night and golden ink from the moon; the azure sphere makes leather for it from Taurus's hide.
From the succession of black and white and night and dawn the Maker's craft has produced a binding for its two sides.
When the rulings are made, red is drawn from sunset's reflection using a silver compass lent by Gemini's sphere.
You would say Jupiter showed his countenance in the dead of night when the golden dots shone from around the lines.
All who have seen it have scattered rubies *(yaqut)* from the pupils of their eyes *(ibn-i*

[36]The 16th according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 207).

muqla) over the raw silver of its amber-scented geometric lines.[37]
Every word is a pearl of the treasure trove of meaning: other than a moneychanger *(sayrafi)*,[38] who could establish the price of this gem? [401]
Every charming line that was confirmed *(muhaqqaq)* in beauty is a commentary *(ta'liq)* on its illuminated pages.[39]
To acquire merit the intellect has memorized every novel meaning that manifests itself therein.
Every string of pearls versified forms an ordered whole in the thread of the *mastar*.[40]
Salman borrows from the light of the *qasidas*; with the spirit-nourishing *ghazals* Sa'di has come to life again.[41]
Khaqani has been inspired by the rhetoric of the poetry; Anwari is eclipsed by the brilliant *(anwar)* metaphor.[42]
Nizami's spirit is gladdened by the *mathnawis*; Ibn-i Yamin praises it for the singlets and occasional pieces.[43]
Perplexed by the marginalia, the pen moves; I am amazed at what images he has in his head.
I said, "Let me enter in thought and contemplation, let me learn the beauty of his hidden meanings."
As I stood astonished at what I saw, a voice informed me of the master of this refined poetry, saying,

"This is a treasury deposited by mighty ones, a compilation of marvels by a poet king."
When Sultan-Khalil came to the throne, the fire of sedition was quenched by his blade and dagger. [402]
A Leo-attacking Jamshid, by the blow of whose mace the convex heaven is made concave.
The sphere was split apart by the arc in order to achieve union with his circular dart.[44]
O commander, to all who have seen your exalted might the nine spheres appear as insignificant as dust.
All who have rolled the dice of opposition to you have been imprisoned by grief on the playing board of pain and calamity.
No enemy has found a way to escape your dagger—unless death leads him to his fate.
If the sea holds up its palm *(kaff)* in indigence *(beguhari)*,[45] you enrich it instantly from the cloud of generosity.
Scented nostrils derive from you the scent of the musk sack of whose aroma time is glad.
Be there dust upon the head of anyone who has rubbed his forehead in service at your threshold and then takes refuge with another!
You place a crown of acceptability on the head of every beggar, who then spurns Darius and Cæsar's opulence.
The abundance of meanings comes from the effulgence of praising you, otherwise what would be the use of repeated words? [403]
Given a choice, any would elect to die but still not abandon your service.
For as long as God allows the seven climes to acquire the sun's light
May your essence remain at the zenith of rule; may fortune smile and the throne of felicity tower.

❁

ULUGHBEG

His late Highness Ulughbeg Kürägän was a learned, just, victorious and high-

[37]Puns on the famous calligraphers Yaqut al-Musta'simi (died 1299) and Ibn Muqla (died 940).

[38]A pun on the calligrapher Abdullah al-Sayrafi (fl. 1310–44).

[39]With puns on *muhaqqaq* and *ta'liq*, both calligraphic styles.

[40]A *mastar* is a cardboard sheet strung with thread used by copyists to make horizontal writing lines on the page.

[41]Salman Sawaji (ca. 1300–1376), Persian poet renowned for his *qasidas*; Sa'di (ca. 1215–ca. 1290), one of the most famous poets of Persian, renowned especially for his *ghazals*.

[42]Khaqani (1121–1199), poet known for the brilliance of his rhetorical devices; Anwari (ca. 1125–ca. 1170), a poet known for particularly abstruse panegyric.

[43]Nizami (1141–1209), the poet par excellence of the metrical romance; Ibn-i Yamin (1286–1368), known for his single lines and *qit'as* ("fragments").

[44]'Arc' (or 'bow,' *qaws*) is also Sagittarius; 'dart' (or 'arrow,' *sahm*) is also the constellation Sagitta.

[45]*Kaff* means both 'palm of the hand' and 'foam' (on the surface of the sea); *bēguhari* is 'indigence' but literally means 'pearllessness.' According to legend pearls are made from April raindrops falling into oysters, which then sink to the bottom of the sea and produce pearls.

minded king. He attained an exalted degree in astronomy and was quite adept at understanding poetry. During his reign scientists were given the greatest respect, and in his time the position of the learned reached exalted heights. In geometry he pointed out the subtlest things, and in cosmography he unlocked the secrets of the *Almagest*. The learned and wise are agreed that in the history of Islam—nay from the time of Alexander until this moment—there has never reigned a king so wise and learned as Ulughbeg Küräg̈an. At the arithmetical sciences he was perfectly adept. Along with the wise men of his age, such as Qazizada Rumi and Mawlana Ghiyathuddin Jamshid [Kashi], he set down observations of the stars. When those two great ones died before the work was completed, the sultan set his whole mind to the completion of the task and finished the observations. What he produced [is known as] the *Zij-i sultani*,[46] which he put out in his own name. Today that table is current among and credited by scientists, and some prefer it to the Ilkhanid *Zij-i Nasiri*.[47] [404]

In Samarqand he had built a superb *madrasa*, more beautiful and ornate than any other building. Today there are more than a hundred students in residence in that *madrasa*.

During his father Shahrukh Bahadur's reign he ruled autonomously in Samarqand and Transoxiana for forty years, maintaining praiseworthy principles of government and dispensation of justice. It is said that during his reign a *jarib* of land with an income of four *kharwar*s was taxed at 4/6 *fulus*, which would be 1/6 of a silver dirhem.

When justice rules over a king, a gazelle can eat its fill next to a ferocious lion.

It is told that Mirza Ulughbeg's memory was prodigious. He recorded by date every animal he put into the field and every prey those animals caught. This information he wrote in a ledger, on what day it was, in which place and what prey was caught by which animals. When the book was accidentally lost, the librarians searched high and low but could not find it. Ulughbeg said to the fearful librarians, "Don't worry. I remember all the information from beginning to end." He asked for a book, and as he dictated the dates the scribes wrote down the date and information until the ledger was finished. By chance after a time the original ledger was found; the two were compared, and, with four or five exceptions, they found no discrepancies.

Many such stories are related of the prince's keen mind, such as the following by Shaykh Adhari:

In the year 800 [1397–98] in Qara Bagh, in the company of my uncle, Amir Timur's storyteller, I was introduced to Prince Ulughbeg, who was then a child. For several years I played with the prince in the exuberance of youth and told him delightful and entertaining stories. As is the custom of children, he was very much at home with me. Then, in 852 [1448], when the monarch conquered Khurasan and was encamped at Isfarayin—and by that time the dawn of white hair had enflamed the night of youth [405]—I hastened to his service.

He saw me from afar in dervish garb, and after the customary greetings and polite preliminaries were dispensed with he said, "Dervish, you look like our old companion and playmate. Aren't you our storyteller's nephew?"

Amazed at the monarch's sharpness of mind and flawless memory, I said, "Yes, I am." He told stories of Qara Bagh and the Georgian campaign and the remarkable things that had happened in that region. I responded to what I could remember."

There are more such stories of the monarch's memory than could possibly fit into this volume.

[46]Entitled *Zij-i jadid-i sultani*, Ulughbeg's tables of the latitudes and longitudes of the fixed stars were early translated for use in Europe (a Latin translation was made by Hyde in 1665).

[47]The astronomical tables generally known as the *Zij-i Ilkhani* compiled by Nasîruddin Tusi (1201–1274).

After Shahrukh's death Prince Ulughbeg Kürägän led his forces from Transoxiana to Khurasan seeking the kingdom he had inherited. Prince Ala'uddawla resisted him, but in the vicinity of Tarnab, a dependency of Badghis, a battle took place, and Ulughbeg Kürägän won and subjugated all of Khurasan. He had 90,000 soldiers, and during that campaign a devastation of which traces can be seen today was wrought upon Khurasan.

In Ramadan 852 [November 1448], when Ulughbeg was consolidating Khurasan, Abu'l-Khayr Khan laid siege to Samarqand.[48] Ulughbeg's soldiers, seeing limitless booty, wanted to take all the booty home and ran away in legions. Ulughbeg Kürägän saw no alternative to withdrawal. When he set out for Iraq and was returning via the Ab-i Rawshan bridge, which is a dependency of Juwayn, Amir Yar-Ali, son of Sikandar b. Qara Yusuf [Qaraqoyunlu] who had been imprisoned for years in the Tiratu Fortress near Herat, escaped, rebelled and seized Herat. This event too served to weaken Ulughbeg Kürägän. He gave Balkh and its dependencies to his son Abdul-Latif and himself crossed the Oxus.

In return for the honors and favor he had bestowed upon his younger son Abdul-Latif, Abdul-Latif was seduced by the devil to rebel against his father, and Ulughbeg was forced to engage in combat with Abdul-Latif for three months along the banks of the Oxus. During this, the Arghun folk, who are Turcomans of Turkistan, raised Sultan Abu-Sa'id as padishah and, breaking away from Ulughbeg's army, went to Samarqand and besieged the city. This was clear proof of Prince Ulughbeg's weakness. [406] Not knowing what to do, he set out for Samarqand, but soon Abdul-Latif crossed the Oxus headed for Samarqand. In Sha'ban 853 [September 1449], a battle was fought in the vicinity of Samarqand between father and son in which Abdul-Latif was the victor. Ulughbeg sought refuge in the Samarqand Fort, but Miranshah the Qorchï, who had been his protégé, showed his ingratitude by refusing him entry into the fort. Perforce he fled to the borders of Turkistan, leaving Abdul-Latif to take the throne of Samarqand.

Since his own appointees in Shahrukhiyya would not allow Ulughbeg to enter, he was about to take refuge with Abu'l-Khayr Khan when, thinking there might still be some affection left between father and son, he went to his knavish son in Samarqand. Appearing without warning before his ruthless son in Ramadan of that same year, at first he was warmly received, but the devil took command of the son and made him want to kill his father. On the banks of the Such River outside Samarqand that just and learned padishah was martyred. Some seven months later the Final Executioner took his revenge, and [Abdul-Latif] drank from the same goblet he had given. *Sic semper tyrannis.*

A patricide is not worthy of kingship. Even be he worthy, he will not last six months.

In his book *Hadayiq al-anwar* the great Fakhruddin Razi tells that there was no one more noble in royal families than Sheroë, who was Sheroë son of Parvez son of Hurmuz son of Anushirvan son of Qubad son of Firoz son of Yazdigird son of Bahram Gor. Bahram's lineage went back to Ardashir Papakan, whose lineage went back to Kay Qubad, whose lineage went back to Faridun, and Faridun's lineage went back several generations to Gayomarth, who Persian genealogists say was the father of mankind. That great

[48] Abu'l-Khayr Khan (died 1468) of the Shaybanid Uzbeks, who by virtue of Mongol descent through Genghis Khan's grandson Shiban (which was changed to Shaybān by analogy with the Arab tribe Shaybān) claimed the right to legitimate rule. Eventually the Uzbeks succeeded the Timurids in all of Transoxiana.

prince [Sheroë] did an ignoble deed [407] and killed his father. After six months he went to hell of the plague. In the Abbasid caliphal dynasty the most noble was Mustansir, who was Mustansir b. Mutawakkil b. Mu'tasim b. Rashid b. Mahdi b. Mansur b. Ali b. Abdullah b. Abbas. With many generations of caliphs behind him, Abbas's noble lineage went back to the Bani-Hashim, who were among the most high born of mankind. Mustansir also killed his father and did not live six months thereafter. Thus it is obvious that one should not boast of noble lineage but rather of fear of God. Abdul-Latif's story proves the same. He was Abdul-Latif b. Ulughbeg b. Shahrukh b. Timur Kürägän, and Amir Timur's forefathers were grandees and sultans. This infamous prince was reared in Shahrukh's favor, and Shahrukh loved him more than any of his other children and grandchildren. Despite this honor, favor, noble lineage and descent, he too, like the other infamous two who have just been mentioned, gained ill repute for all time and reproach by all. This verse is appropriate to him:

If you realize how hideous evil is, you will
do nothing that is not good.

Ulughbeg lived for fifty-eight years. He ruled in Khurasan for eight months and in Samarqand for forty years during his father Shahrukh's time. The chronogram for his death has been versified thus:

Ulughbeg, an ocean of knowledge and
wisdom, defender of the prophet's faith,
Drank the cup of martyrdom from Abbas,
and the date is ABBAS KILLED [him].[49]

[408] Another is as follows:

Sultan mighty as the spheres, happy
Ulughbeg, on the eighth of the month of
Ramadan was martyred.
On the night he was killed a tumult arose,
and the date is RESURRECTION EVE.[50]

Among the learned, religious dignitaries and poets who flourished in Ulughbeg's time were Mawlana Ala'uddin Shashi, Khwaja Hasan Attar, and the poets Khwaja Ismatullah Bukhari and Mawlana Kamaluddin Badakhshi.

❋

ISKANDAR B. UMAR-SHAYKH

Prince Iskandar, son of Umar-Shaykh Bahadur b. Timur Kürägän, snatched the ball of precedence from his peers in nobility of character, manliness and generosity. After the death of the Sahib-Qiran, he took possession of Fars and Persian Iraq. He was a convivial prince of good nature. He formed a well trained army and took Fars from his brother Pir-Muhammad Mirza. In Ramadan 807 [March 1405] he did battle at the Khardara Bridge with Qara Yusuf the Turcoman's generals Ma'sum and Bistam. After that he led his troops against his brother Rustam in Isfahan. He besieged the city, and Rustam Bahadur fled to Azerbaijan. Iskandar took Isfahan and executed Khwaja Ahmad Sâ'id[i], the cadi of Isfahan. On the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja 813 [December 31, 1410] the Iskandarid power over Fars and Persian Iraq reached its zenith.

He was always proud of his splendor and daring and boastfully recited heroic verses, even composing his own:

What importance can the Gog [and Magog]
of worldly events have for me, who am like
Alexander's dam in splendor?

When Shahrukh heard reports that his own brothers and family had been dispossessed, that Iskandar was intent upon taking the capital, and that the roar of au-

[49] *'Abbās kusht* = 853.

[50] *Shab-i qiyāmat* = 853; 8 Ramadan 853 = October 25, 1449.

tonomy was affecting the balance of his mind, in 814[51] Shahrukh Bahadur Küräg̈n took his army to Persian Iraq to attack Prince Iskandar. Prince Rustam took refuge with Shahrukh Sultan, and Iskandar Mirza was defeated in the environs of Isfahan. In the end he was taken prisoner by Shahrukh and, through the machinations of Gawharshad Begim, Shahrukh Sultan gave his approval for both the prince's eyes, which were the envy of the black-eyed houris, [417] to be stripped of the garb of sight, like the eyes of the narcissus. That occurred on Friday, 2 Jumada I 817 [July 20, 1414].

Among the learned and poets during Sultan-Iskandar's time in Persian Iraq and Fars were Mawlana Mu'inuddin Natanzi, who was the most learned man of his age and wrote a history of Iskandar, and Mawlana Haydar, who wrote beautiful poetry in Turkish and Persian and composed a Turkish imitation of Nizami's *Makhzan al-asrar* dedicated to Prince Iskandar.

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BAYQARA B. UMAR-SHAYKH

It is related that when Prince Bayqara was ruling in Balkh, he ordered a prize of five hundred dinars for a eulogy Mawlana Burunduq had composed for him, but the secretary wrote down two hundred dinars. Therefore Mawlana Burunduq composed this poem and sent it to the prince:

Vanquisher of enemies, rewarder of friends,
that conquering king who holds the world
Granted me *besh yüz altun* (500 gold pieces): the sultan's favor to his slave is great.
Three hundred disappeared, and now two hundred appears on my chit.
Perhaps I misheard, or perhaps the secretary made a mistake—
Or perhaps in Turkish *besh yüz altun* means two hundred. [419]

When the magnanimous Prince Bayqara Bahadur read this fragment, he laughed and applauded the mawlana, saying, "In Turkish *besh yüz altun* means a thousand dinars," and ordered a thousand dinars in cash to be handed over to him at that very assembly. During the same assembly the mawlana composed this line:

One would say that the effulgence of the shah's mind is the Oman Sea; one would say his jewel-raining hand is the April cloud.

The exalted Sultan Umar-Shaykh Bahadur was the apple of Timur's eye, and none of Timur's offspring received the favor he did. At first he gave him the rulership of Ferghana, which is called Andigan, and he was so brave and daring that he destroyed the foundations of the Mughul khans and defeated Qamaruddin. The Mughuls submitted to him and ceased raiding the borders, never drawing an easy breath for fear of him. He controlled that area for a time, but the Sahib-Qiran, perceiving greatness in him, appointed him to Fars up to the borders of Basra and Khuzistan. That exalted prince, who patronized his friends and defeated his enemies, was mortally wounded by an arrow during a battle for a fortress in Khuzistan when the army of Anatolia had invaded. The Sahib-Qiran was sorely grieved by his loss and, reciting this quatrain to describe his state, wept bitterly:

You have been driven before me to the arena of death, and a hundred wounds have been inflicted upon my heart.
I said, "You, who would have been my heir in any legal code, have departed and left me your heir." [420]

Timur appointed the prince's sons to his position, assigning to each of the princes a governorship, as has been pre-

[51] A mistake in the text; Shahrukh's campaign set out in Rajab 816 (October 1413; see Khwandamir, *HS*, III, 588; Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'*, II, 143).

viously described regarding Prince Pir-Muhammad, Prince Iskandar and Prince Rustam.

Prince Bayqara Bahadur was unique among the sons of Umar-Shaykh: he possessed a beauty that Joseph never dreamed of and a bravery of which Rustam never heard in his seven labors. The following lines describe that prince's perfection:

> You are a Rustam in battle, a Hatim at banquet. The heavens give you reins and goblets so that you can stir up an ocean [of generosity] when it places a goblet before you, and so that you can wreak vengeance upon the sun when it puts the reins into your hands.

After the death of his brothers, Bayqara Mirza rebelled in Fars and, raising a valiant army, was determined to rule autonomously and to make conquest. He was truly generous, manly and brave, and the learned have reported that in the Timurid House there appeared no prince so handsome, of such good conduct or so brave as Bayqara Bahadur. On the 2nd of Sha'ban 810,[52] Shahrukh Sultan took his army to Fars to repel [Bayqara], who wanted to do battle with his uncle; however, his officers refused and turned away from him. He went via the wilderness towards Kuch and Makran. For a time he wandered in the wilderness until in the vicinity of Garmser and Ghur once again he rebelled against Shahrukh, who was constantly wary of him. In 819 he came willingly before his uncle, and Shahrukh Sultan sent him to Transoxiana, where, with Shahrukh's consent and Ulughbeg's connivance, that excellent prince was poisoned.

It is also said that it was not so and that the person who was sent to Samarqand was not Prince Bayqara, who was killed in Shahrukh's camp. **[421]** It is reported that when Prince Bayqara was brought before Shahrukh Sultan, he asked, "Are you not Bayqara?" He denied it. A person who masquerades as a sultan can be killed, and feigned ignorance, which is an affectation of poets and liars, was adopted by that prince for the sake of prudence. That person was indeed Prince Bayqara, but [Shahrukh] employed this ruse lest he be accused of killing his own nephew.[53]

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UMAR B. MIRANSHAH

Prince Umar b. Miranshah Kürägän assumed the rule in Rayy and Firozkoh after the death of his father. He was a prince who was of good strategy and brave. He subjugated Astarabad and Jurjan. When he rebelled against his uncle Shahrukh Sultan, he mustered an army from Jurjan and Astarabad and set out to do battle with Shahrukh Bahadur. He was defeated in battle in the province of Jam in 809 [1407].[54]

It is related that as Sultan Umar was going to fight Shahrukh, he went to visit Shaykh Muhyiddin al-Ghazali al-Tusi in Islamiyya, Tus.

"Shaykh," he said, "I implore you to say a *Fatiha* for me so that God will grant me victory over Shahrukh."

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[52] *CHI* (VI, 101) gives 817. According to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 222), Shahrukh set out from Herat against Bayqara on the 17th of Jumada II 818 (August 24, 1415), reaching Shiraz on the 3rd of Ramadan (November 6), where Bayqara was admitted for audience on the 5th of Ramadan (November 8) and ordered to leave Persian Iraq for Garmser and Qandahar.

[53] Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 252) reports that in 826 Bayqara was discovered in Badghis and was brought to the royal camp for questioning and then executed. Khwandamir (*HS*, III, 596) says that he was sent to Samarqand in 820 and was never heard of again.

[54] Khwandamir (*HS*, III, 565): battle fought at Bardawayh, Jam on 9 Dhu'l-Qa'da 809 (April 17, 1407). Umar was wounded in battle, died in Herat on the 25th and was buried at Fakhruddin Razi's tomb in Herat. See also Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'*, II, 53.

"My prince," the shaykh answered, "this is something I will never do, for Shahrukh is a just, God-fearing man, and you are reckless and daring. Moreover, he is like a father to you. To ask for his defeat and your victory is counter to both dervishdom and the divine law. I will never do it."

Prince Umar was offended by the shaykh and looked upon him in anger, saying, "How do you see me, shaykh?"

"I see you," he said, "as a creature less than any in strength, more than any in ignorance, equal to all in mortality and least of all at resurrection."

The prince wanted to torment the shaykh but thought, "I have something more important to do than to torment him. If God gives me victory then I will know for certain that the psychic power of dervishes has no effect, since things will have turned out in reverse. If I am defeated, then why should I worry over the truth he has spoken?" He rose and left the shaykh.

The shaykh's disciples and friends said, "Shaykh, if God gives victory to this man, we [424] will not be able to remain in Khurasan."

"God's pleasure is more than Khurasan," he said. "It is more than eighteen thousand worlds. If we cannot stay in Khurasan, we can go to Iraq. However, one cannot escape from the snare of hypocrisy and God's wrath."

What a happy time when dervishes could speak the truth to sultans in this fashion and fear no reprisal—not like today, when the gates of advice and words of truth have been completely closed.

❁

IBRAHIM-SULTAN B. SHAHRUKH

In the days of Prince Ibrahim-Sultan b. Shahrukh Bahadur, Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi was the foremost among the learned men in Iraq and Fars. The prince constantly sought his excellent company and had complete trust in him. [427] He besought the mawlana to write a memorial volume for Timur, and Mawlana Sharaf composed that book in his old age at the prince's request and called it the *Zafarnama*. The learned are of one accord that in that history the mawlana has achieved true eloquence, and the deeds of the family, grandsons and offspring of the Sahib-Qiran will remain until doomsday through that great man's glorious efforts. Truly, none of the literati has ever written in a purer style, though they may have labored more. The *Zafarnama* is a singular collection, free of excess verbiage and pleasing to poetic natures.

It is said that it took the mawlana four years to finish the history. Ibrahim too spent great sums. From sultans' libraries in various countries he gathered the history that the clerks and journal keepers of the great amir's time had recorded and, relying on trustworthy and aged men who were in positions of authority during Timur's days, he researched and edited and, with God's assistance, the history was completed in all truth and trustworthiness.

Prince Ibrahim-Sultan b. Shahrukh was appointed to the sultanate of Fars in Rajab 819 [September 1416]. He was a virtuous and talented prince who patronized the arts, an exceptional administrator and religiously observant. Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali composed the following in praise of him:

> In the days when destiny was apportioned,
> two Abrahams were given:
> By one Azar met his defeat, by the other
> Muhammad's religion was [maintained] in
> orthodoxy.[55] [428]

During his father's lifetime Prince Ibrahim was renowned the world over for his excellence and talent and for the

[55] In the Islamic version of the Abraham legend, Abraham overturns the idols of his father, Azar the idolmonger. Ibrahim = Abraham.

graceful insight and subtle intellect he possessed.

It is well known that he wrote the records of Fars in his own hand, and his calligraphy was so good that he copied the writing of Qiblat al-Kuttab Yaqut al-Musta'simi, sent it out and sold it, and not one keen-sighted critic was able to tell the difference.[56] Even today remain the inscriptions he wrote on buildings, mosques and schools in Fars, and to this day scrolls and exercises adorned with his writing are to be found among calligraphers.

Nonetheless, in the full bloom of youth that happy prince was stricken with chronic diseases, and treacherous fate and the unjust celestial spheres drew the line of annihilation through the daybook of that exalted prince's life: in the year 834 [1430–31] he charged the steed of life from the arena of this world....

He departed, and in the revolving world
there remained on the page of time as
memorial of him the grace of his calligraphy
and the grace of his nature.

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[56]The story is given by Mustafa Ali (*Manaqib-i hunarwaran*, p. 26): "Among the nobly-born Timurid and Persian princes there was Ibrahim-Sultan son of Shahrukh Khan, who in 817 was appointed to the rulership of Fars and who, in addition to his high station in the arts pertaining to poetry and calligraphy and the rules of penmanship, held an exalted position in beneficence to his subjects. During his time he copied a specimen of Yaqut Musta'simi's calligraphy and, adding [Yaqut's] own signature, sent it to the bazaar, where no one was able to distinguish [it from Yaqut's own], so sublime was the penmanship. Since it was thought to be Yaqut's, it was weighed in jewels and was bought for gold and silver. What marvelous calligraphy, what flawless writing whose jewels of letters could not be distinguished from Yaqut's words, and whose blossoms of letters were found to be worth rubies and emeralds *(yaqut)*." [Translation mine.]

ISKANDAR QARAQOYUNLU

Iskandar was the son of Qara Yusuf, the son of Qara Muhammad. The [Qara-qoyunlu Turcomans] were originally from the Ghazqard mountains of the farthest reaches of Turkistan, but long ago they went to Azerbaijan and Bitlis. They were pastoral nomads, and Sultan Uways [439] Jalayir made them his herdsmen and shepherds. Qara Muhammad rebelled against [Sultan-Uways's] son Sultan Ahmad of Baghdad and seized Tabriz. The Turcomans were once defeated by Sultan Ahmad, who built a tower of their heads on the Khoy plain. Qara Yusuf destroyed that tower and ordered the heads of his kinsmen buried. On the site he had a hospice *(langar)* constructed, and Sultan Ahmad was killed by Qara Yusuf, who gained ascendancy.

Amir Timur Kürägän drove Qara Muhammad and Qara Yusuf from Azerbaijan many times, and they always fled into Anatolia. As long as the Sahib-Qiran's shining blade was being wielded, those brigands' seditiousness was kept at bay, and they were continually defeated, fleeing into Syria and Anatolia. However, after Timur's death, Qara Yusuf rebelled and, as has been mentioned, put Miranshah Kürägän to death. Sultan Shahrukh Bahadur repelled [Qara Yusuf], who was killed during the struggle.

After Qara Yusuf's death, his son Iskandar raised the banners of unmerited rule, and he was daring and audacious enough to engage Shahrukh Sultan in battle. He defeated Shahrukh's right and left flanks, but in the end "truth triumphed over falsehood," and [Iskandar] fled in defeat to Anatolia. That was on Wednesday the 19th of Rajab 824 [July 20, 1421]. Shahrukh Sultan offered the rule of Azerbaijan to all of his sons and great officers, but none would accept it out of fear of Iskandar b. Qara Yusuf, and therefore that region was left in chaos when [Shahrukh] returned to the capital.

Someone has composed the following to describe the situation:

'Skandar struck our army and ran; our king took a kingdom and fled.

In short, between Shahrukh Sultan and the sons of Qara Yusuf and the Turcomans strife continued for many years. **[440]** After Shahrukh Bahadur twice more led his army against the Turcomans, finally Iskandar was totally defeated in 839 [1435–36] and took refuge in the Alïnjaq Fortress near Nakhichevan. Sultan Shahrukh named Jahanshah b. Qara Yusuf amir of Azerbaijan and ordered him to besiege the Alïnjaq Fortress. Qubad, one of Iskandar's sons who had fallen in love with one of his father's concubines, rewarded his father for his evil and, in league with the slavegirl, stabbed him to death. By Shahrukh's order and edict, Azerbaijan was given to Jahanshah, of whom and whose sons more later, God willing.

❋

MUHAMMAD-JUKI

It is related that Mawlana Ali [Shihab Turshizi] went to Qandahar in attendance upon Sultan [Muhammad]-Juki, who assigned the mawlana a tent next to his own in the *rikabkhana*. One night, out of longing for the capital, the prince recited:

Now that the zephyr passes raining musk, alas for a life that is spent without the face of the beloved. **[444]**

Immediately the mawlana ran before the prince and said, "O lord of the world, the line does not go like that."

"How does it go then?" asked the prince.

"Like this," he said:

Now that the zephyr passes raining musk, alas for a life that is spent in Qandahar.

The prince said, "Truly that is how it is." Soon, however, he decamped and returned to the capital Herat, and all were saved from the putrid air of that abode of affliction.

Prince Muhammad-Juki Bahadur son of Shahrukh Sultan was a brave prince, dignified, wise and grand. He always enjoyed his father's favor, and [Shahrukh] always had in mind to make him his heir apparent, but for reasons of state he never declared it openly. The happy prince was always occupied with the canons of rule.

The following describes his prowess in archery:

Your arrow is like a bird that can snatch a seed like a mole on the cheek of a Negro during the dark night of injustice.

It is related that four emissaries from foreign lands—one from Anatolia, one from Syria, one from Hurmuz, and one from Shirvan—once gathered at Shahrukh's court. On a holiday these four emissaries were present, and the king set out for the place of holiday prayer. However, before discharging the prayer, he stopped to watch the target practice that was going on. Squad after squad the princes, archers and renowned youths who would have unloosed the bond between Gemini with the points of their arrows, and who could have snatched a feather from Aquila with their darts, poured onto the field, but their swift chargers were as incapable of performing as the fortune of the ill-starred, and their silvery-shafted arrows fell to the ground. **[445]**

No one hits the target of fate contrary to the dictates of destiny.

The banner of the prince of the planets was high, and to miss the prayer would have been unseemly.[57] However, royal honor seized fortune by the hem, and he

[57] I.e., it was about noon, and if he lingered much longer he would miss the holiday prayer.

cried out to Prince Juki, "Come in." The prince reared his bejeweled, prancing steed.

The first arrow from his thumb ring hit the target and split it in two.

A great roll came from the kettledrums, and a shout from the bowmen arose to the heavens. The emperor of the face of the earth was so overjoyed that he bestowed kisses upon the bowed eyebrows of that darling of the arched celestial sphere and, as was befitting to the occasion, recited:

The two *mihrabs* of your eyebrows are my intended *qibla*: my dust-covered face is always in prostration to you.

Prince Juki was given the province of Khuttalan, the homeland of the Haytals, and it was decided that one of the nine horses that [the emissaries] had brought to Shahrukh's court, along with a saddle studded with rubies and turquoise, be given to Prince Juki. That was in 833 [1429–30], and today the remnants left by that exalted prince in Herat and other places hold a high place in the regard of archers.

Through the false affection of fate and the tyranny of fortune, the prince was stricken during his youth with chronic disease and was confined to bed for a time. Finally the illness became so severe that he had to be taken to Sarakhs, where he died in 848 [1444–45] at the age of forty-three. **[446]**

His princely progeny were, like their forefathers, patrons of the great of their time:

Two eyes of the realm without envy or guile, Muhammad-Qasim and Sultan Aba-Bakr.

They were at the apex of exaltedness, but in its usual manner the chameleon chessboard sent in the crooked queen of death, aided by the knight of the celestial spheres, to attack those Shahrukhid princes, and in a short while they were knocked from their positions as knights, turned into pawns and ground into the dust by the checkmate of annihilation.

Small wonder that roses blossom from the dirt, for so many with bodies like rose petals have gone to sleep in the ground.

Prince Muhammad-Qasim died a natural death, but Prince Aba-Bakr was caught in the web of Ulughbeg's intrigue. Unsuspecting, the prince joined [Ulughbeg], who in the end, worried over revolt despite repeated oaths of loyalty, had him executed in 852 [1448–49] in the Samarqand citadel in the Kök Saray prison. It is said that Prince Aba-Bakr sent this quatrain to Mirza Ulughbeg at the time of his execution: **[447]**

At first you trapped me in your net: in a hundred ways you wooed and charmed me. When you knew that you had me, you acted like a total stranger.

Ulughbeg regretted his deed, but there was nothing to be done. For many nights he wept and wailed over this tragedy, saying:

To realize when it is too late is to bring the panacea of all *ills* after Suhrab is dead.

❁

SULTAN-MUHAMMAD

As for the royal prince Sultan-Muhammad b. Baysunghur, ...he was a prince of noble nature, talented and a connoisseur of poetry. He was manly, brave and handsome. After Baysunghur's death [Baysunghur's] post, fiefs and rank were given to Prince Ala'uddawla, whom Gawharshad Begim favored. Sultan-Muhammad and Babur-Sultan were left with nothing but name and title. Since Sultan-Muhammad had attained the rank of *saffdar* and *bahadur,* and the aura of fortune was obvious on his world-

adorning brow, Shahrukh wanted to elevate him to the rank of sultan and appoint him ruler over a section of the kingdom. The generals and ministers of state were all in accord with this, but Gawharshad Begim disagreed, saying, "Sultan-Muhammad is an impetuous youth. Do not give him an opportunity to revolt." In the end the Emperor of Islam [Shahrukh] granted [him the rulership] and, with the great generals exerting themselves [on his behalf], Sultan-Muhammad was appointed to the governorship of Qum, Rayy, Nihawand and its appendages up to Baghdad. With his grandfather's appointment the prince became the ruler of that region, where he reigned for three years in all seriousness of purpose.

In the end, out of youthful impetuosity and the desire to rule independently, he rebelled openly against his grandfather and attacked Hamadan, the governor of which, Hajji Husayn, he put to death. After that, he took his troops and conquered Isfahan too, putting the governor, Amir Sa'adat b. Amir Mirkhawandshah, in chains. When Shahrukh learned of his rebellion, he conferred with his generals, who did not consider it politic for the Emperor of Islam to take on one of his own grandsons in battle. They said that no one was more competent to rule Persian Iraq than Sultan-Muhammad and it was imprudent for the emperor to be upset, for to attack his own offspring would detract from the honor of the kingdom. The prince should be sent a robe of honor and he should be given Iraq. [457] Mirza Shahrukh approved of this plan and was about to carry it out, but Gawharshad Begim would not give her approval, for she patronized Mirza Ala'uddawla, who was the heir apparent after Shahrukh. She did not know that it is useless to struggle against God's destiny. Time and again the sultan said to his lady, "I am old and weak.

The flame of white camphor has dawned in my musky black hair: youth has departed, the era of old age has arrived.

The kingship will inevitably be inherited by my children, what difference do two or three days make one way or the other?" And he would recite this line from the *Divan* of Amir Khusraw:

Let me die today in your presence so that you may be shamed by me: tomorrow when the command comes, what obligation will you owe, my soul?[58]

Gawharshad Begim once again turned the emperor from the path of beneficence and kindness, and he set out unwillingly for Iraq to attack Sultan-Muhammad. To maintain appearances, he had it look as though he were going to attack Isfandiyar b. Qara Yusuf in Baghdad, and therefore it was known as the Baghdad Campaign, of which someone has said:

The drums of fortune must be sounded up to the gates of Baghdad: for the people's afflicted eyes rue must be burned.

In the year 850 [1446] the Emperor of the Face of the Earth set out from the capital Herat for the two Iraqs, and at the same time Sultan-Muhammad was besieging Shiraz. When he heard that Shahrukh had encamped at the River Rayy, he left Shiraz. Prince Abdullah b. Ibrahim-Sultan, who was the governor of Fars, escaped his cousin's occupation. Sultan-Muhammad fled via the vicinity of Kushk-i Zar toward Kurdistan and Baghdad, and Shahrukh advanced to Qum and Sawa. As has been reported, he ordered the grandees of Isfahan executed and determined that his winter quarters would be at Fasha Rud, Rayy. Sultan-Muhammad composed this *ghazal* in complaint of his brothers and of his own situation and sent it to Shahrukh.

[58]Khusraw Dihlawi, *Diwan*, p. 190, *ghazal* 559, line 6.

I, like a dust mote, have turned my face
from the sun because of the cruelty of fate
and the torment of my brethren.
I had the sultan's protection. I did not cease
in battle. I dispersed my servants in every
direction.
Rustam son of Dastan did not wage war
with Afrasiyab as I did with Hajji Husayn
for Hamadan.
In Iraq I wanted to test my servant. The king
imagines I attacked Isfahan.
For the sultan I constantly wield the sword
in Iraq; I have made my breast a shield for
Khurasan.
Jahanshah attacked me, and his army came
from ambush: I ground that army into the
dust.
Others indulge in pleasure; our hope is the
battlefield. I have lived in manliness, not
like them.
Offspring of Sultan Baysunghur Khan am I:
in the field of battle I have always paraded
on a fleet-footed steed.
I have the name Muhammad for the sake of
the Ahmad's religion: I have devoted my
life to the King of Men.[59]

By God's destiny, as has been mentioned, Shahrukh died at Rayy, and the nobles and princes mostly supported Sultan-Muhammad, who [459] reigned in complete independence, bringing under his sway all of Persian Iraq, Fars, Kerman and Khuzistan up to Basra and Wasit. After Sultan Ulughbeg Kürägän gained victory over Prince Ala'uddawla, Gawharshad Begim, the *tarkhans* and most of the Shahrukhid generals and ministers, turned to Sultan-Muhammad in fear of Ulughbeg. Prince Ala'uddawla, who was left with no hope from any quarter, also sought his protection. The sun of Sultan-Muhammad's fortune began to rise and, as can be imagined, he had mercy on all. He kept Gawharshad with all honor in his retinue and reconfirmed the generals and ministers in the posts they had held under Shahrukh.

[59]The King of Men (*shah-i mardan*), epithet of Ali b. Abi-Talib.

The Chosroës of the face of the earth sat
deservedly upon the throne of sultans over
the realm of Iraq.

When his realm was secure and consolidated, pride and conceit, which are the traits of Adam's children, seized the skirt of that paragon of felicity, and he began to quarrel with his brother, Sultan Abu'l-Qasim Babur Bahadur, who had seized the throne of Khurasan. It was impossible to resolve the disputes, no matter how the advisors and generals tried. In 853 [1449] Sultan-Muhammad set out from Iraq with his mighty army to attack Khurasan, and in the environs of Farhadjird, a dependency of the province of Jam, a pitched battle occurred between the two brothers.

If a needle fell from a cloud, the only room
for it would be on the tip of a sword.
Arrows pierced plates of armor like a
nocturnal breeze attacking a dew-coated rose
petal. [460]

In the end the Iraqi army gained victory over the warriors of Khurasan, and Sultan Babur fled to Dihistan and Nasa while Sultan-Muhammad attained the rule and acceded to Shahrukh's throne in Herat.

That winter he spent successfully in Herat, but when spring came Babur Sultan seized power once again with much assistance from the Jalayirs, Turcomans and the army of Astarabad. Once more Sultan-Muhammad attacked his brother, and Hajji Muhammad Qanashiri[n], who was the son of a Shahrukhid general and had attained high rank during the reign of Sultan-Muhammad, hastened with his troops from Mashhad against Babur Sultan. Babur Sultan did battle with Hajji Muhammad at Mashhad, defeated his troops and killed him.

When Sultan-Muhammad learned of Hajji Muhammad's death, he lost heart and began to worry that he was following a bad strategy. Taking a group of select warriors, he galloped posthaste toward Babur and, at noon on Thursday, the last day of Safar 854 [April 13, 1450], at-

tacked his brother the day after Babur had put Hajji Muhammad to death and was confident of his victory. With his 700 men he defeated Babur's army of 30,000 and put Babur to flight. Incalculable booty remained on the ground, which those few men were unable to appropriate. By chance Prince Ala'uddawla, who had been appointed by Sultan-Muhammad to the governorship of Ghur, Garmser and Yäkä Öläng, seized the opportunity to go to Herat and take the Shahrukhid throne. Sultan-Muhammad had left his *uruq* in Radkan at the time of the attack in the care of the great minister of finance Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad. [461] When everything was in chaos and the news of Prince Ala'uddawla was heard, the people of the *uruq* plundered each other and were devastated. When Sultan-Muhammad learned of the devastation of the *uruq*, he left Mashhad-i Zar and went to Radkan, finding nothing of his *uruq* and his riches left. Also hearing the news of Prince Ala'uddawla's seizure of the Herat throne, he hesitated, with no alternative but to withdraw to Iraq via Chahar Ribat and Yazd.

During Sultan-Muhammad's absence Prince Khalil b. Jahangir had taken the province of Fars, put the great shaykh Abu'l-Khayr Jazari to death and rebelled against Sultan-Muhammad. In the vicinity of Istakhr Sultan-Muhammad defeated him in battle. Once again he held power in Iraq and Fars, and the old enmity between him and Babur Sultan arose. In 855 [1451] he set out once more for Khurasan to fight his brother. When he reached the border of Firozkoh and Damghan, and Babur Sultan was in the vicinity of Sultanabad, the nobles of Samarqand attempted to make peace between them. He deceived his brother with words of peace, but then he broke his pact and, headed for Khurasan, camped in Juwayn. From Juwayn he went to Isfarayin, where some of the amirs objected, saying, "Lord of the World, it is an unholy thing to break one's pact. This should never have happened; however, now that it has happened, it would not now be prudent for you to go to Babur Bahadur. It would be better for us to go to Herat. When you have taken Herat, where all of Babur Sultan's women and children are, of necessity Babur's men will come to your side in droves."

Sultan-Muhammad did not approve of the plan and shouted at the amirs, "Never say these words in my presence again. The people suspect I am afraid of Babur. I swear that if Babur has 100,000 armed men, I will beat him with a hundred horsemen." When several of the amirs countered these words, he flew into a rage—for he was a sharp-tongued, foul-mouthed man—and cursed them in the foulest language. It is said that once, when he was drunk, he urinated on the beard of Shaykhzada Qush-Ribati, who was one of his amirs and protégés. [462] The amirs despised him and wished him dead.

On Sunday the 13th of Dhu'l-Hijja 855 [January 6, 1452], in the vicinity of Chanaran, which is near Isfarayin and a dependency of Shaqan, a battle was fought between Sultan-Muhammad and Babur Bahadur. Sultan-Muhammad's officers all deserted him, and the ingrate Shaykhzada exercised hypocrisy and showed his cowardice. The late Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad b. Firozshah served his master faithfully and did his best on his behalf. Babur Sultan had Sher-Ahmad, the governor of Astarabad, executed. In the end defeat was Sultan-Muhammad's lot, and the prince, after much valiant effort, fell prisoner to Abu'l-Qasim Babur Bahadur through the treachery of his ungrateful officers.

O world, I do not know what your custom is. It is not of love but of vengeance that for the sake of these transitory five days you have such enmity for your brethren.
To raise one's standard to the spheres is not worth killing a brother.

A wise man said that kingship is sweet but barren. Barren the wise man may have called it, but if you are healthy, kingship is infirm.

The veil of vanity fell over Babur's foresighted gaze and severed his family ties, and the water of his compassion was overwhelmed by the fire of his wrath: he gave his consent to his brother's execution, and the executioner of divine wrath with the merciless sword [on which is inscribed,] "When your time of death comes neither can you postpone it for an instant nor can you hasten it," dispatched Prince Sultan-Muhammad to the gallows of annihilation. [463]

Comrades, the world is a strange abode, so flee from this inconstant place.
You see how the great are humbled in this world. If that is how the great are treated, what of the small?

Chronogram:

Shah Sultan-Muhammad, whose blood Mars shed during Dhu'l-Hijja, greeted in salutation and praised the MOON-FACED ONE[60] who gives the date.

It is related that one day before the battle Sultan-Muhammad camped and gathered his comrades and warriors for a speech of encouragement at the Nu'man waterfall in Isfarayin. "Be brave," he said, "and do not forget what you owe me." Of one accord three thousand youths lifted their turbans from their heads and said, "May our heads be sacrificed for you." The next day they abandoned the prince miserably and fled. It is said that of that army, save the blood of the prince that was spilled, there was not so much as a bloody nose. Hence it is known to those of keen observation and insight that there is no reliance upon the allegiance and flattery of the hoi poloi.

Give your ersatz overlordship to God so that he can grant you true mastery. The seigniority the common people give you they take back as quickly as a loan. [464]

The learned men and poets who were outstanding in the time of Sultan-Muhammad b. Baysunghur were Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi the scholar and Mawlana Hasanshah, Wali Qalandar and Badi'i Samarqandi the poets.

❁

ALA'UDDAWLA

Prince Ala'uddawla b. Baysunghur was a handsome prince, good-natured and noble in character. During Shahrukh's reign he had control of his father's posts, and for many years he ruled from the Baysunghurid throne. After his grandfather's death he became the Shahrukhid viceroy in Herat [466] and, opening Shahrukh's treasury that been amassed over the years, gave money away to the soldiers and subjects like the spring breeze casting dirhems over the heads of orchard denizens.

It is said that the Shahrukhid treasury squandered by Ala'uddawla amounted to twenty thousand tümäns in minted silver, not counting the golden vessels, jewels and other luxurious objects. In the end, the only recompense he received for such generosity was ill fortune, as the great never see anything but frowns from the faces of their contemporaries: kings may bestow upon their favorites thrones, but never fortune; and emperors can increase their servants' salaries, but not their lives.

What need has he of wealth who was created fortunate, and what can he do with prosperity?

If kings were kings by means of wealth and treasure, then a rich king should rule forever; however, there is no treasure better than the support of godly people, and anyone fortunate enough to possess

[60] *Mahrukhi* (moon-faced one) = 855.

that treasure will enjoy both this world and the next.

Seek might from fortune, not from your father's legacy. Realize that your daily sustenance is from God, not from sown fields or fruit trees.

Sultan Ala'uddawla, as has been mentioned, was defeated by Ulughbeg Küräğän's onslaught and was besieged for a time. After that, humbled and humiliated, he was spurned by his brothers, and wherever he turned fortune turned its back on him.

Every day a different station, every night a different place—melancholy heaped on my head by separation. [467]
Unfortunate are those who voyage across the ocean of the world, like shipwrecked sailors in every sea.

Sometimes in Ghur, sometimes in Sari—neither help nor friendliness from anyone.
Sometimes wandering in the desert, sometimes destitute on the road to Iraq.

The heart of a mountain would have melted at the harshness of that noble prince's misfortune, and a cloud would have felt compassion for the brazenness with which that sad prince's star fell. The stone mountain with its echoing tongue and the cloud with its dewdrop tears would have recited this verse:

Neither does my fortune show a friendly face nor is there any hope of kindness from a friend when I cry out.
O Lord, thus I suffer the agony of being a lover: may no one in the world ever be so afflicted.

Alas, such is the cruelty of fate, and such is the cunning of the treacherous celestial sphere, upon which there is no reliance for fortune. He is happy who passes courageously through its treachery.

O heart, take the world as you would have it; repose therein for a thousand years like Noah. [468]

Seize every treasure and every horde kings have amassed.
With your gold and silver buy every slave there is in Bulgar, Rûm and China.
Cut robes for yourself of all the silk and satin in Rûm and Shushtar.
Bite the apples of the cheeks and taste the lips of elegant, graceful squint-eyed Turks.
Sit with intimate friends and close comrades and drink filtered wine.
Your wealth is like a fly, and you are like a spider: spin a spider's web around the fly.
Alas, on the day of death you will have a hundred regrets.
Sa'di, your body is like a cage, and your spirit like a bird: one day break the cage and let the bird fly away.[61]

In short, the allotment from the celestial vat to Ala'uddawla's goblet was always painful dregs, and in the end, out of malice on the part of his brother Sultan Babur, instead of the collyrium of good fortune, his world-seeing eye saw the needle of ill luck. However, God looked upon him with favor and safeguarded the pupil of his eye from being permanently blinded. For a time he pretended to be blind, and in the end he fled from Mashhad and never again depended upon his brother or any other living creature. He went to the Qïpchaq Steppe, where he lived unknown and unheard of for several years.

After Babur's death in 861 [1457] he returned from among the Uzbeks and Qïpchaqs to Khurasan, [469] and his son Ibrahim-Sultan took over the governance of Khurasan. Once again, just as before, he was humiliated by his audacious son. For a few days that year he led a patchwork government at Nawroz, beleaguered on one side by Jahanshah the Turcoman and on the other by Sultan Abu-Sa'id.

Finally he set out in the company of his son for the mountains of Ghur and Gharjistan. There were several disputes between father and son in Sijistan, but in the end they agreed to fight Sultan Abu-

[61] Given in Sa'di, *Kulliyyat*, p. 864f., with a great deal of variation.

Sa'id, by whom they were defeated in Kulan, a dependency of Badghis. In his flight Prince Ala'uddawla reached Rustamdar, and that respected but deprived prince prayed day and night that he had suffered reversal of fortune enough and was ready for death. In 863,[62] near Rustamdar, he departed this world.

❁

ABDULLAH B. IBRAHIM-SULTAN

Prince Abdullah b. Ibrahim-Sultan b. Shahrukh Sultan Kürägän was a noble and handsome prince of good character. After his father's death he ruled in Shiraz and Fars. After Shahrukh's death Sultan-Muhammad [b.] Baysunghur drove him out of Fars, so he took refuge with his uncle Ulughbeg Kürägän, who received him warmly, gave him his daughter in marriage and took him to Samarqand.

After the murder of Abdul-Latif b. Ulughbeg, the rule of Samarqand passed into Abdullah's hands. Like the spring cloud raining down upon the inhabitants, he scattered Ulughbeg's treasury, which Abdul-Latif had been too parsimonious to touch. It is said that he gave away a hundred thousand tümäns, from which one can guess what other wealth was there. **[480]**

Do not bother for treasure among these ruins. When spiritual poverty is the currency of your life, you can heap dust upon the head of treasure.

Spiteful fate, which rewards the mean and puts down the noble, cast the stone of adversity into that prince's path. Sultan Abu-Sa'id rebelled against him and, with assistance from Abu'l-Khayr Khan, gave him battle in 854 [1450] in Samarqand. Sultan Abdullah was martyred at the hands of Sultan Abu-Sa'id.

[62] 865/1460 according to Khwandamir, *HS*, IV, 19f. and Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'*, II, 1231.

ABU'L-QASIM BABUR

As for Prince Abu'l-Qasim Babur Bahadur, **[485]**

His pen was the key to the treasury of generosity, his sword effected the realm of existence.

In his time the banners of world conquest reached their heights. His army was well equipped, with more brave and daring young men than Alexander ever saw in his dreams of world dominion or Faridun ever heard of.

What Shahrukh gathered through labor and striving in forty-five [years],
Weapons, pack-animals, horses and slaves—whatever can be given a name,
The heavens presented to the hero-born Babur on a platter.

God gave him authority and, despite his being younger, bestowed upon him superiority over his brothers. Nonetheless, he was a prince who loved dervishes, a military man who favored the downtrodden, who knew what was in men's hearts, whose generous hand effaced misery and whose pure heart was chosen by the best and the virtuous. However, because he was a king who was religious, a mystic, inoffensive and easy to obey, his ministers became independent, and the subjects suffered on that account.

A tyrannical but brave king is better for a realm than a just but weak and tractable one.

It is related that when Shahrukh died in Rayy, **[486]** Prince Babur, who was in the Shahrukhid camp, set out for Astarabad. Amir Hinduka Nawyaqut, who did not have a very exalted position during Shahrukh's reign, was in Astarabad at that time and hastened to join Prince Babur's retinue. Gaining high position and advancement, Amir Hinduka, in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Those who have preceded shall precede; these

are they who shall approach near,"[63] became commander-in-chief, and since he was an aged and experienced warrior, the prince acted upon his advice. Once he said to the prince, "Sultan of the world, your brothers and cousins are independent in their lands, wealth and armies have fallen into their hands, and the offspring of the great of this ruling house are in their retinues. If you listen to my words, the kingship will probably come to you. Otherwise, these people will deprive you of it."

"What is the best way?" the prince asked.

"First," he replied, "patronize base men of no family, for the sons of the great will not bow to you. Second, be generous to a fault so that people will hear of your generosity and flock to you. Third, do not apply punishment too strictly and do not burden the people; thereby they will feel secure with you. Fourth, do not forbid the army to pillage and plunder so that your interests may be furthered through their ignoble greed. When your interests are foremost, your kingship is assured. Beware, beware lest you ignore these ignoble means or act counter to these infamous principles, for such things are done out of exigency."

When the prince realized that Hinduka was speaking to establish the foundation of his fortune, he accepted his advice and acted upon it, and his rule was firmly established. However, when such innovation and such principles had been allowed to take hold, it was not possible to eschew them all at once. The Muslims passed some time in dismay because of Hinduka's evil policy—and in truth his superficial policy was totally erroneous, for God has based continued rule upon justice, not upon the whim of a soldier, and has created rulership and good name in the spread of compassion for his servants, not in building up a bulging treasury. [487]

In short, Prince Babur ruled successfully for eleven years, and everywhere he turned fortune appeared propitious: his generals spoke of emperorship, and his officers were the foundation of his rule. Had Hatim Ta'i been alive he would have laid down his claim to generosity and liberality. After the death of his brother Sultan-Muhammad, he set out for Fars and Persian Iraq, which regions he subjugated, and in most of the land of Iran the *khutba* was read in his name. Wherever he turned he could not be resisted, and all obeyed his command.

However, during his reign Iraq slipped from the hands of the House of Timur, and the Turcomans occupied that region in 855 [1451]. This occupation was caused by the bad planning of Prince Babur, who, after the death of his brother Sultan-Muhammad, hastened ill armed to Iraq. Jahanshah and his son Pir-Budaq seized the opportunity, and Prince Babur had no chance to oppose the Turcomans. He withdrew from Iraq, over which they became rulers. After that, Prince Babur amassed a huge army to drive off Jahanshah and the Turcoman army, but while he was marching to Iraq and Azerbaijan, Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän took his army from Transoxiana in 857 [1453] and killed Pir-Darwesh Hazaraspi and his brother Mirza Ali, the governor of Balkh. Prince Babur canceled his campaign against the Turcomans and took his forces toward Samarqand via winter camp at Sultanabad, Jurjan, to strike at Sultan Abu-Sa'id. Crossing the Oxus at Panj Ab in 858 [1454], he surrounded Samarqand, and there were battles and skirmishes for over two months. When midwinter came Sultan Babur agreed to a truce because the weather was cold, many animals were being lost and the soldiers were suffering. The elders made a peace settlement between Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän and Babur Bahadur, and Prince

[63]Koran 56:10.

Babur returned to Khurasan. On that trek Babur's men suffered greatly, returning home hungry and naked. This was a blow to Babur's fortune, and thereafter he made no campaigns, passing his days in luxury and pleasure. [488]

Sultan Babur's generosity encompassed common and elite alike, his compassion and humility could not be gainsaid, he had a poetical nature and composed gems of verse. This *ghazal* is by him:

In our time one of the ancient cavaliers is wine. And he who boasts of popularity is the reed.
This sultanate, which we got by being a beggar, neither Dara nor Kay-Kaus ever had.
Drink wine and give a draught to suffering me: a wine-bibing rascal is better than a Hatim Ta'i.
Wine is the touchstone: bring wine: what separates the sheep from the goats is this wine.
Do you know why the arched eyebrows of beauties are black? Because the smoke from people's hearts twines around their ears.
Our heart girdled by that tress holds the blackness of infidelity and all it entails.
Babur, your bitter moan has reached the beloved's ears: Layli is aware that Majnun is in this quarter.

One of the many stories told of Babur's generosity is as follows. When Babur Bahadur subjugated Fort Imad, which housed the principal treasury, purses full of valuable jewels were brought to him. He gave one of them to one of his elite corps. Khwaja Wajihuddin Isma'il Simnani, his vizier, said, "Lord of the world, first open the purse. It may contain a king's ransom in jewels."

"Khwaja," the king replied, "I am told that [489] there are precious gems in this purse—nothing more. If I open it, I will be dazzled by the beautiful jewels and will regret what I have said. It is better to put into practice this verse:

Better to close our eyes to the candle of his face: since there is no use, let us not see and not burn [with regret]."

The great and wise have said that the best conduct among humans is generosity and liberality, for such demeanor covers a multitude of sins.

Liberality, I have read, is the conduct of leaders—nay, I am wrong, it is the character of prophets.

However, generosity is a two-edged sword: if carried to excess it leads from the rank of humanity down the road of devilishness. "Those who squander are the brethren of devils." In any case, the straight and narrow path is the golden mean, which is the choice of the wise and learned.... [490] ...

When the sun of Babur's fortune had reached its zenith, it began to decline. Just as people had grown fond of his rule and tongues moved in thanksgiving for his liberality, while he was yet young and successful, the prince transferred from the procession of life to the howdah of the other-worldly caravan, and all wept and wailed over his loss, reciting the following:

O slow-moving celestial sphere, you have done a hard thing: you have destroyed the kingdom of Iran by the death of the shah.
You have pulled down a sun from its zenith and dashed it to the ground.
It is no small thing, for indeed when you move you shed blood, plunder possessions and uproot faith.

However, since Shah Babur was a dervish at heart, a monotheist and mystic, he had little attachment to this treacherous dustheap and departed like one of God's saints.

Lovers who die knowing melt like sugar before their beloved.

As he lay dying he told everyone that he was about to go, made his last will, commended his son [491] Shah-Mahmud to his officers and ministers, pronounced the testament of faith, and died with these words on his lips:

My soul has joined God, and I am going
after my soul; although the way is difficult,
I am traveling light.
Upon departure my beloved smiled at me
and left. Having seen that face, I am going
smiling.
The cold wind of death makes me hasten to
go, but I am so weak I go rising and falling,
like the zephyr.

His body was borne by his amirs and laid to rest in the shrine of Imam Riza, near the Imam's tomb, in Shahrukh's *madrasa* under the dome on the *qibla* side.

If you live with humility for two days in the
world, when you depart you will reside in
the bosom of paradise.

May God make that prince happy in the afterlife. The date of his death has been versified as follows:

Shah Babur was a king by whose justice
Nushirwan's justice was obliterated. [492]
Since he was firmly rooted in generosity and
liberality, the date of his death was FIRM.[64]

Another, clearer chronogram is:

Suddenly with divine power fate dashed
Babur Khan's crown to the earth
In eight hundred sixty and one of the
apostolic date on the six-and-twentieth of
Rabi' II [March 23, 1457].

Among the great, the learned and the scholars who were renowned during Babur's time are Shaykh Sadruddin Muhammad al-Rawasi al-'Akkasi, Mawlana Muhammad Jajarmi, and the poets Mawlana Tuti of Turshiz, Khwaja Mahmud Barsa and Mawlana Qambari Zihtab of Nishapur.

❁

JAHANSHAH QARAQOYUNLU

Amir Jahanshah b. Qara Yusuf was a victorious and prosperous king, but he was an untrustworthy and evil-tempered man who jailed his commanders on any pretext—and his jail was an eternal prison. As has been mentioned, in 839 [1435–36] Shahrukh gave him the rulership of Azerbaijan, [517] and after the death of Shahrukh and defeat of Sultan-Muhammad b. Baysunghur he gained ascendancy over the two Iraqs, Azerbaijan and most of the land of Iran. From the sons of Shahrukh he usurped the two Iraqs, where he ruled autonomously for thirty-five years.

During his time the Turcoman ascendancy waxed, and he attained a high degree of conquest and victory. The learned hold that in the whole history of Islam no more godless king than he has ever appeared: he had little regard for Islam and indulged in debauchery and ungodliness.

After the death of Babur Bahadur in 861 [1457], he had designs on Khurasan and Astarabad. He did battle with and defeated Prince Ibrahim b. Sultan Ala-'uddawla outside of the city of Astarabad. In that battle most of the renowned amirs of the Chaghatay nation were killed by Jahanshah, and that was a mortal blow to the Chaghatay nation. Jahanshah took the throne of Herat by force and ruled in Khurasan for nearly eight months.

During that time, in accordance with the Koranic phrase, "Say the truth has come and falsehood is vanquished," the breeze of fortune began to blow from the source of aspiration, and Sultan-Husayn Bahadur, who today graces the throne of the caliphate, set out from Marw-i Shahijan and led his army via Nasa and Baward to Astarabad, where he did battle with Amir Husayn Sa'dlu,[65] a kinsman of Jahanshah and governor of Astarabad. Dealing him a blow similar to that which Jahanshah had dealt to the Chaghatay nation, he took revenge on the Turcoman forces. Most of Jahanshah's renowned warriors and commanders were dispatched to

[64] *Rāsikh* ("firm") = 861.

[65] Sa'dlu, for the Sā'atlū of the text.

annihilation by that renowned prince's ruby-dripping, glittering blade, and he caused Husayn Beg and his kinsmen to pass beneath the sword of execution in revenge for the Chaghatay amirs. Therefore this exalted prince was justified in reciting these lines from the *Shahnama* to boast of his achievements:

Had I not gone to Mazanderan and crushed
skulls with my weighty mace, [518]
Who would have disemboweled the White
Dev? In whose arm would there have been a
hope [of accomplishing this]?

Thus Sultan Abu'l-Ghazi [Sultan-Husayn] became a dam between Jahanshah and the kingdom of Iraq. Because of this Jahanshah suffered a fall, and weakness appeared in him. He withdrew from Herat and set out for Iraq and Azerbaijan, perforce having to make a truce with Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän. He withdrew, and Sultan Abu'l-Ghazi was left in power in Astarabad. Jahanshah passed through Damghan, disregarding the deaths of his kinsmen and followers, and Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Bahadur Kürägän regarded him as nothing.

What might and fortune, what power and
status has God bestowed upon the king's
aura!

Indeed it is incumbent upon rich and poor alike to pray for the continued good fortune of this exalted monarch, for were it not for his efforts, who of the royal family could have repulsed the evil and corruption of the Turcomans? ...

When Jahanshah the reprobate reached the two Iraqs, the people stood in less dread of him. Out of greed and lack of compassion an enmity sprang up between him and his son Pir-Budaq, who rebelled against his father and set out from Shiraz for Baghdad. Jahanshah also headed for Baghdad to deal a blow to his son and laid siege to the city for a year and a half. During the siege he wrote these lines to his son:

My son, turn from the way of opposition.
Lay down your sword, for I am the sun.
[519]
I am the king: the kingdom of the caliphate
is mine. You are my offspring: rebellion is a
sin in you.
Usurp not our ancient post, for usurpation is
not allowed in our religion.
My son, if you are worthy of kingship, lead
not [your troops] against your father.
Draw not the sword lest you be shamed.
Have you no shame before me? Be ashamed
of yourself!
Have you not heard what the sword Suhrab
drew against Rustam suffered from the
world?
Do not brandish the sword against one like
me: see my might and be not brash.
If my soldiers put their feet into their
stirrups, they are as numerous as the sands
of the desert.
The mountains quake when I move; the
celestial sphere rises when I stand up.
Although you are not without wisdom in
your youth, this is not from youth but from
madness.
No matter how clever a child is, even
though a prophet he is still small.
When will this degree of skill come to you?
From my father to me, from me to you.
[520]

Pir-Budaq's reply to his father was as follows:

Heart and fortune are happy to encounter
you. May you long have glory, prosperity
and fortune.
I am not that child that you first saw. I am
mature, and kingship is proper for the
mature.
It is not polite to call me a child when fate
has put me in a great position.
Both my fortune and I are young: do not
attempt to fight with two young ones.
It would be foolhardy for you to contend
with me for kingship.
Do not draw your sword against your son:
do not put a blemish in your precious pearl.
You are experienced in rule, do not speak
immaturely: I was born of you, not you of
me.
An ancient root is the basis of the orchard; a
young tree is an ornament for the garden.
My land is not less than yours; my army is
not fewer than yours.
The realm of Baghdad was perfected by me.
Why should I give it up for a silly whim?

How can you demand the throne of me? I will not give it up. Take it if you can! [521]

Pir-Budaq was young, brave and noble, while Jahanshah was experienced, crafty and wily.

Although a young buck may be brave, it is no match for an old lion.

The confrontation between father and son reached a point where agreement was impossible, and Jahanshah, out of spite, tormented his underlings, subjects and soldiers for a long time in the heat of Baghdad. It went so far that the soldiers' infants died in their cradles, and people crept into subterranean chambers. Inside Baghdad too, as the siege continued, there was famine and the stores of the citizens and citadel were depleted. Helpless, Pir-Budaq agreed to a truce.

During the truce Muhammadi, another of Jahanshah's sons, began to worry that Pir-Budaq would escape and rise to power again and so talked his father into agreeing ex silencio to Pir-Budaq's death. At noon on Tuesday, the 4th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 871 [June 7, 1467], that schemer, with a group of Jahahshah's amirs, entered Baghdad with the intention of killing his brother. They entered the palace while Pir-Budaq was taking his noon rest and martyred that mine of nobility and generosity.

Curse this perishable world, that for the sake of two unstable days
A father could take his son's life, or that a son could rejoice over his father's death.
And know that one who takes his brother's life is an Angel of Death, not a sibling. [522]
Evil is not unknown to kinship: Ibn Ziyad was a kinsman of Husayn....[66]

[66]Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad, governor of Kufa when Husayn ibn Ali, the prophet Muhammad's grandson and distant relative of Ibn Ziyad, was killed near Kufa at Kerbela in 680.

Since Pir-Budaq was a pillar of Jahanshah's kingdom, the assassination of his son—particularly of such an eldest son—became the cause for the decline of Jahanshah's rule in the world and religion. That unholy deed caused fortune to turn against him, and out of greed and acquisitiveness, despite the vast extent of his realms, he had designs on Diyar Bakr, the ancestral home of Amir Abu-Nasr Hasan Beg [Aqqoyunlu]. He marched his army there, but Amir Hasan Beg took him by surprise on his return. Without warning he attacked Jahanshah in a mountain pass near Diyar Bakr and killed him and most of his sons, amirs and ministers. The smoke of defeat rose from the House of Qara Yusuf, [523] and the time of Turcoman glory came to an end. That was in the year 872 [1467-68].

Jahanshah lived to the age of seventy, ruling thirteen years in suzerainty to Shahrukh Sultan in Azerbaijan and reigning autonomously for twenty-two years after [Shahrukh's] death in the two Iraqs, Azerbaijan, Fars and Kerman as far as Hurmuz.

The world does not give kingship to anyone without having its day of reckoning in the end, like Jahanshah. Lordship over the world consists of being happy and content. Happy the heart that makes its living in this craft.

Let us assume that fate makes you prince of Rayy: in the end it will roll up the scroll of your life.
Let us assume that you have more wealth than Solomon. The world was not faithful to him: why should it be to you?

❁

SULTAN ABU-SA'ID KÜRÄGÄN

In the year 861 [1456–57] in the Bagh-i Zaghan in Herat, Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän held a celebration that was in no way defective in splendor. Poets from all parts produced congratulatory verse for the event, and Khwaja Mahmud [Barsa]

recited the following *qasida* on that occasion:

The lote tree in paradise is but the threshold of your exalted throne! Of the pavilion (*chartaq*) of your might the heavens themselves are but one arch.
The arena of your palace of joy is as delightful as Iram, the castle of your grandeur is as splendid as paradise.
The world, with its hundred thousand eyes, has never seen the likes of celestial you.
The battlements of your palace are as far above Farqadan as the heavenly throne is above the flat earth.
Your palace is the Gallery of China and Khawarnaq,[67] the envy of gardens and orchards in beauty and ornamentation.
The *farrash* adorns your court by erecting a canopy over the seven tents of the celestial spheres.
Both Ridwan and the houris have fallen into doubt as to whether your courtyard is Ridwan's garden or paradise.[68]
To scatter at your feast, time itself has brought every jewel the keeper of mines had in his shop. [535]
The highest judge of the court of the celestial sphere elatedly bestows a mantle upon your instrumentalists.
It is fitting if the minstrels at your feast have the stars as jangles on their drums on the celebration day.
From first the world was created until the trump is blown, no one can point to a festival to match this.
Today Venus and the sun are at their apex; today Jupiter and the moon are in conjunction.[69]
This is a feast in paradise, with a hundred thousand houris, each one in beauty the leaven of eternal life.
Statuesque beauties, countenances glowing, walk gracefully in the meadow under the shade of cypress and pine.

This *qasida* goes on at length describing Abu-Sa'id Kürägän's festival, and Khwaja Mahmud was applauded and rewarded by the Sultan of the Age. In spite of such glory and respect his reign came to an end, and in the year 872 [1469] the star of his life declined from the apex of eternity, and the wealth he had accumulated, and the hopes and expectations he had in that heap of chattel, went to dust and his life shed its petals like a rose to the wind, as someone has aptly said:

Why do you gather worldly goods, when the object of the world is no more than an old cloak and a crust of bread? All else is superfluous.
Frustration and agony are all that can be gained from the world; and even if you attain your desire, of what use is it? [536]

Abu-Sa'id Kürägän was a grandson of Miranshah b. Amir Timur Kürägän. He was a wise and victorious king, magnificent and a good shepherd to his flock. He was also a man of strict and summary justice. In 854 [1450–51] he rebelled against Sultan-Abdullah b. Ibrahim b. Sultan Shahrukh Bahadur at Samarqand and won the victory. He executed Sultan-Abdullah and became the ruler of Samarqand, Transoxiana and Turkistan.

In 858 Prince Sultan-Uways [b. Muhammad], who was one of the mighty grandsons of the renowned Prince Bayqara [b. Umar-Shaykh] Bahadur and cousin to the Emperor of Islam, God's Shadow Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Bahadur, by whose noble existence and protective justice Iran and Turan are today adorned, rebelled against [Abu-Sa'id Kürägän] and marshaled the army of Turkistan. The amirs, *tarkhan*s and warriors of Turan all joined the darling of the sultanate [Sultan-Uways], who was a regal prince of handsome visage and praiseworthy mind, a wise, courageous and generous man.

[67]Khawarnaq, the fabled palace built by the Lakhmid Nu'man in Hira. The story is told at the beginning of Nizami's *Haft paykar (Khamsa*, pp. 631–37).

[68]Ridwan, the warden of paradise.

[69]Astrologically Jupiter and Venus are known respectively as the greater and lesser lucky stars (*sa'd-i akbar, sa'd-i aṣghar*); their conjunction (*qirān al-sa'dayn*) is the most auspicious time.

One would say that from head to foot that graceful mien was the royal splendor and shadow of God's grace.

Like Afrasiyab he brought all of Turkistan under his rule, but Abu-Sa'id was so brave and cunning that he won over [Sultan-Uways'] amirs and commanders so that they, like the cruel celestial spheres, played false with him. When [Sultan-Uways] fell into Abu-Sa'id's hands, that untrustworthy ruler martyred the poor prince and thereafter ruled comfortably from the throne of Samarqand, and his daring and bravery became famous worldwide.

After the death of Babur Sultan, he looked with desire upon Khurasan and, crossing the Oxus, established himself at Balkh. Some of Prince Babur's amirs in Balkh and vicinity took counsel with Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän, [537] and in 861 [1456] he set out from Balkh for Khurasan to conquer Herat. He took the capital Herat and put Gawharshad Begim to death. Soon thereafter, because Prince Abdul-Latif [b. Ulughbeg Kürägän] had rebelled in the vicinity of Balkh and seized power, he left Herat and returned to Balkh. That winter he stayed in Balkh, but the next spring Jahanshah the Turcoman conquered Herat, and Sultan Abu-Sa'id assembled a valiant army of archers and warriors from Transoxiana, Khuttalan and Balkh to attack him and set out for Herat. Because Sultan Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Bahadur had seized power in Astarabad and killed Husayn Beg the Turcoman, Jahanshah lost heart and sued for peace with Sultan Abu-Sa'id, leaving him Khurasan and departing for Iraq. Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän reigned autonomously in Khurasan, and dread of him was firmly established in the hearts [of wrongdoers], and his subjects in Khurasan were happy with him.

At the beginning of 863 [1458] the Timurid princes Ala'uddawla, his son Ibrahim-Sultan and Prince Sanjar[70] joined forces to expel Sultan Abu-Sa'id. A great battle took place between them and Sultan Abu-Sa'id at Kulan in Badghis, and they almost gained the victory. In the end Abu-Sa'id won, by God's command, and put Prince Sanjar to death. Prince Ala'uddawla and his son Ibrahim-Sultan fled.

It is a very strange thing that, after Khurasan was consolidated by Abu-Sa'id, Shah Mahmud, the son of Babur Mirza [b. Baysunghur b. Shahrukh], Sultan-Ala'uddawla and his son Ibrahim-Sultan, one of whom was in Sijistan and Qandahar, another of whom was in Rustamdar, and the third of whom was in Mashhad-i Zar, a dependency of Baward, all three were killed within two months of each other and the regions passed totally into the hands of Sultan Abu-Sa'id. [538]

This is the custom of the vale of vanity: to one it is a funeral, to another a place of rejoicing.

After the deaths of the above-mentioned sultans, Sultan Abu-Sa'id rested securely as the ruler of Khurasan, Transoxiana, Badakhshan, Kabul and Khwarazm, and the sun of his prosperity reached its zenith. He held Khurasan in check for eight years. Out of respect Sultan Abu'l-Ghazi [Sultan-Husayn] did not resist him and left him to reign, but Abu-Sa'id was constantly wary of that brave and daring prince, never drawing an easy breath lest the spheres again revolve in their game. Sultan Abu-Sa'id twice led his army from Khurasan to repel Prince Juki b. Abdul-Latif Mirza at Samarqand and Shahrukhiyya. Finally he captured the prince and had him executed. What transpired between Sultan Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn and Sultan Abu-Sa'id will be reported at the end of the book, God willing.

[70] Ala'uddawla, son of Baysunghur b. Shahrukh; Sanjar son of Ahmad b. Umar-Shaykh.

In the benign shadow of justice Sultan Abu-Sa'id maintained the peasantry of Khurasan, which had been devastated by Babur's revolt and Jahanshah's tyranny and pillage. He distributed largesse to his subjects and extirpated heresies.

After Jahanshah's death all the lords of Persian Iraq and Kerman took counsel with Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän, who dispatched viceroys and prefects with post horses, and the subjects accepted his rule, thus bringing from the borders of Kashghar to Tabriz under his sway and the subjugation of his amirs.

Then tyranny and pride began to work on the king. In 873 [1468–69] he mustered a vast army and set out from Khurasan for Iraq and Azerbaijan. Jahanshah's sons also joined him, and he, thinking that there was no power greater than his in all the world, stepped beyond the limits of equity and justice. It has been heard from reliable sources that many times he said, "The inhabited climes of the world cannot contain more than one king." But he did not realize that all sons of Adam share in the heritage of the earth.

One silver drachma contents a beggar:
Faridun was only half content with the
kingdom of Persia.

In the end, when he reached the borders of Azerbaijan, Amir Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg sued for peace, but it was rejected. Despairing of peace, he made a manly and brave resolve and day after day foiled Sultan Abu-Sa'id's machinations. Abu-Sa'id's soldiers, in desperate straits, fatigued from the long road they had traveled and suffering from hunger and cold, were ready to die or be taken prisoner. A reliable source has related the following:

One night as I was passing by the tent of one of the king's courtiers I heard a voice at prayer. I perceived that someone was beseeching God, saying, "My God, assist Hasan Beg to achieve victory, take my wife and children prisoner and sell us in bondage to the Anatolians. I am at my wit's end!"

I went in and chided him, saying, "What ingratitude is this you are displaying toward your master? Even if all are saying the same thing, you should at least admit that you have been patronized by this court. Don't speak like this, for shame!"

"You are right," the man said, "but I was praying like that because of the destitution this king inflicts upon Muslims with his wild ambitions. Don't you realize that with one favorable glance God has bestowed upon him from Fars to Baghdad and from Rayy to Anatolia, which can be said to be half the world? Of course he wants to subjugate the whole world in one month and thinks nothing of the suffering of God's servants."

Finding this man in the right, I ceased upbraiding him and hastened to recite this verse:

Go easy on your men, for it is a law of
nature that the spheres are hard on the
overly ambitious.

In short, fortune's jealous eye turned against that mighty sovereign, and his army, in all its magnitude and might, was surprised by a group of Turcomans. Sultan Abu-Sa'id was checked not by the paucity of his army and soldiery but by Divine Power. The arrow of his machination missed the target, and the sword of execution remained veiled in the scabbard of futility.

When destiny lowers its wing from the
celestial heights, rational men become deaf
and blind.

The Chosroës who vied with Parvez in the arena of heroism was humbled in exile and penitence; the Jamshid who would have espoused the Lady of the Fourth Heaven fell into the snare of the Zahhak of calamity.

The Egypt of kingship you saw was
devastated; the Nile of magnificence you
heard of became a mirage.

In short, the amirs of Khurasan who feared the king, and the warriors of Samarqand who nurtured hypocrisy in their hearts, went over to the side of the rebel and left that renowned king in the lurch.

Describing this state, the heavens sang to them this verse:

O friend, do not wound your beloved's heart with nonsense. I fear you may regret when it is too late.

Those who observed the ill-starred hour, which occurred on Monday the 21st of Rajab 873 [February 4, 1469], have reported that the banners of that happy prince, Abu-Sa'id, were overturned and the traces of his good fortune were effaced. At dawn that day, when the king learned of the perfidy of his amirs, he saw that he had lost control and the arrow of fate had flown. He saw no alternative to admitting defeat and, with a few friends, tried to reach the shore of safety from the whirlpool of catastrophe. The Turcomans [541] pursued him, and he was captured by Zümbül, son of Amir Hasan Beg.

Amir Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg was too generous and wise to want to inflict injury upon that exalted prince, and the ancient devotion that his ancestors had had for the family of Amir Timur Kürägän did not allow him to wax angry. However, some of the *tarkhan* amirs, harboring in their hearts an old rancor against that noble king for having killed Gawharshad Begim, turned Amir Hasan Beg from the right way so that he acceded to the execution of the monarch. Four days after the above-mentioned date that happy prince Sultan Abu-Sa'id was martyred in the Muqan Plain.

The fourth sphere became the scene of a wake: Gabriel went to console the sun.

The grandees of the Chaghatay nation, who had spent one hundred years in might and majesty, were humbled. However, Amir Hasan Beg was a wise and foresighted king, honorable, chivalrous and generous. He afflicted no one with anything other than favor and grace, and thought to himself that since God had given him such a great triumph, thanksgiving for such fortune was proper, in accordance with the dictum, "Amnesty after victory is a noble quality." He was also worried by Sultan Abu'l-Ghazi [Sultan-Husayn]'s vengeful sword, for if he inflicted harm upon the Chaghatay nation, that majesty's shining blade would take revenge on him as it had on Jahanshah's men in Astarabad, and so the Emperor of Islam's protection from Khurasan was placed over the Iranian prisoners. [542]

If they take not refuge under the shadow of your good fortune, all people will be lost in misfortune.

May God extend the shadow of this mighty emperor's protection over all the poor people of Khurasan....

Sultan Abu-Sa'id's reign in Transoxiana was eight years, and in Khurasan eight years, making a total of sixteen years. For nearly a year the *khutba* and coinage were in his name from the borders of Baghdad to the reaches of Ferghana and Turkistan, and from the realm of India to the borders of Khwarazm, and his name was a watchword for justice, equity and swift punishment.

It is said that he forbade himself sleep during the day lest perhaps a litigant come for justice or a needy person approach his court for remedy of his need. He used to say, "If I am asleep and a litigant or needy person comes, who will give justice to the oppressed, and who will tend to the needs of the poor? For this reason I deprive myself of sleep." His years had not exceeded forty-two when he was elevated to the rank of martyr, and today his noble sons, the darlings of the sultanate and caliphate, are powerful in the rule of Transoxiana, Tokharistan and Kabul and are favored and patronized by the emperor of the world, Sultan [Abu]'l-Ghazi [Sultan-Husayn], to whose world-receiving court they are sincere servants.

Among the shaykhs, ulema and poets who lived in Sultan Abu-Sa'id's time are: Khwaja Ahrar [son of] Khwaja Nasiruddin Abdullah, upon whose noble breath the world rests today; the Qazi'l-Quzat Mawlana Qutbuddin Ahmad Imam al-Harawi; and the poets Mawlana Abdul-Samad Badakhshi and Khwaja Mahmud Barsa.

❁

SULTAN-HUSAYN

It is not within human capability to describe adequately his career. If, for example, Muhammad Jarir al-Tabari, Hamza Isfahani, Istakhri and the historiographers and Greek philosophers were alive, they would not be able to record more than a decimal of a tenth of the exploits of this Chosroës as brave as Rustam and Suhrab. How then can the feeble pen of this emaciated one flow in this major undertaking? Nonetheless, it would be best to record one of a thousand or a few of his many exploits and thus finish this book.

It is the shape of a citron on the branch that promises the fruit spring later brings.

The noble time of His Highness is the spring of life. Consequently his acts, deeds and exploits [590] are the blossoms and herbs of this spring. It is the custom of historians and writers to order things chronologically; otherwise, the superiority of the Seal of the Prophets over the prophet Ezra and the precedence of the Koranic chapter *Ikhlas* over *Tabbat* are obvious.[71] Therefore following the great men of the past, we are finishing the book with a mention of His Exalted Highness the *Khaqan* and presenting, in the manner of a Turkish offering, a *toquz* (set of nine) of the amazing battles and encounters in which he engaged.

One should know that this exalted prince is noble in [maternal and paternal] lineage, and among the progeny of the Sahib-Qiran no one else has the honor to be descended from the great Sahib-Qiran through both father and mother.[72] On his mother's side he also has a connection to the ancient sultans of Transoxiana, but there is no necessity to explain his relationship to Padishahzada Mirza Mirak, who was king of Transoxiana, since it is more obvious than the sun in the sky and is mentioned in the *Zafarnama*. When this renowned ruler reached the age of youth, traces of authority and greatness shone from his brow.

After the death of Babur Sultan in Marw-i Shahijan, he raised the banners of conquest, and in the year 861 [1457] he ascended the throne of Marw-i Shahijan, the mother of all cities of Khurasan.

With a spear [as straight] as a cypress you first issued a call, like Abu-Muslim, from Merv.

After emergence and accession, his first exploit was the conquest of Astarabad and the execution of Husayn Beg Sa'd-lu,[73] of which something has already been written. It is considered a major battle by the rulers of the world, for none of the sultans of the past has ever done such battle or made such a conquest.

The second was his battle with Sultan-Mahmud Mirza in the vicinity of Astarabad and the conquest of that region in 865. Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän had given the province of Astarabad to his son Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and gone

[71] *Tabbat*, chapter 111 and one of the earliest and least significant chapters of the Koran, immediately precedes the late *Ikhlaṣ* (112), which is probably the most highly esteemed chapter. I.e., Precedence in chronological order does not necessarily indicate precedence in merit.

[72] On her paternal side Sultan-Husayn's mother, Firoza Begim Taychiut, was a granddaughter of Timur's daughter Äkä Begi; her mother Qutlugh Sultan was a daughter of Miranshah. See Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, I, 256.

[73] For the Sā'atlū of the text.

himself to Samarqand and Shahrukhiyya to repel Mirza Juki the son of Prince Abdul-Latif. Amir Shaykh Hajji Jandar, a Shahrukhid officer and experienced warrior, had been assigned [591] to Prince Sultan-Mahmud. His Caliphal Highness[74] seized the opportunity and set out for Astarabad with a few soldiers from Khwarazm and the Qïpchaq Steppe. Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and his high-ranking officers made a fierce stand with an enormous army. At a place near Astarabad called Jawz-i Wali a great battle took place. In the end His Highness gained the victory, and with his opponents vanquished the prince's tall banners were raised high in triumph. Sultan-Mahmud Mirza fled in defeat to Herat, and Amir Shaykh Hajji was killed. His Caliphal Highness had mercy on the rest of the soldiers and took them under the ægis of his clemency and quarter. After that victory the realm of Khurasan was his.

His third battle was at Turshiz, as follows. When Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän acceded in all autonomy to the throne of Herat, His Highness set out from the Qïpchaq Steppe and Khwarazm toward Khurasan. Without asking permission he made his camp at Nishapur. Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän flew into a rage and wanted to go there himself, but he thought better of it lest something disgraceful happen, for he had already seen what His Highness was capable of. Nonetheless, he dispatched at full gallop most of his renowned officers under Amir Muhammad Ali Bakhshi to Turshiz and Nishapur to do battle with His Highness. In 868 in the province of Turshiz His Highness fought a battle with that army. Although His Highness had no more than ninety armed men with him, and the enemy army was at full complement of ten thousand armed men, he put his trust in God and was not worried. Like Rustam he hurled himself against that force and smashed them to smithereens. In one instant that mass had its doomsday, and Muhammad Ali Bakhshi fled back to his master. His Highness the Emperor of Islam pardoned the crime of the rest and forgave them all. From Turshiz he wanted to set out to do battle with Sultan Abu-Sa'id, but his officers and attendants did not think it wise. In accordance with the dictum "Retreat is praiseworthy," he returned in glory and splendor to his base at Khwarazm.

The fourth exploit [592] was the conquest of Khurasan and accession to the throne of Herat. This took place on Nawroz of the Year of the Ox in the month of Ramadan of the year 873 [March 1469].

God wanted the kingdom, religion, law and faith to flourish, so he offered the fiefs of Khurasan to the sultan.

When Sultan Abu-Sa'id was [defeated] in Azerbaijan, as has been described previously, this renowned prince had come from the Qïpchaq Steppe with the intention of subjugating Khurasan, and he had it almost conquered. The news of Sultan Abu-Sa'id's defeat was itself the cause for the glory of this exalted prince, and in the month of Rajab of that year [January 1469] he set out in splendor from Abiward to Marw-i Shahijan. Assigning the great amir Shuja'uddin Wali Beg Bahadur to take Holy Mashhad and Nishapur and the rest of the province of Khurasan, he hastened thither. Through the fortune of divine grace and regal luck, a crowd gathered around the great amir and that area was conquered.

At that time Prince Mahmud, defeated in Azerbaijan, went to Khurasan, and a great crowd of soldiers joined him along the way. When he reached Herat and heard that His Highness was heading from Marw-i Shahijan to Herat, his com-

[74] "His highness" *(ḥaḍrat-i a'lā)*, "his caliphal highness" *(ḥaḍrat-i khilāfatpanāhī)* and "Emperor of Islam" *(pādishāh-i islām)* refer throughout this passage to Sultan-Husayn.

posure failed and perforce he fled, taking the road to the Khuttalan Fort. At that time the invincible army was camped at Chihil Dukhtaran in Badghis, and by infinite divine grace the leaders and commanders of Sultan Abu-Sa'id's army came over to His Highness in droves and attained the honor of paying homage, as God has said, "They enter into the religion of God by troops."[75] His Highness too embraced all with regal favor and, disregarding the past, confirmed them in the posts they had held under Sultan Abu-Sa'id. [593] Out of the infinite feeling and devotion that was part of this king's innate nature, he many times expressed his sorrow for Sultan Abu-Sa'id, saying, "He was like a father and mother to me. I wish he had remained untouched by this tragedy and I had not acquired authority." This he said as tears rained down his blessed cheeks from the fountains of his eyes. Oh, what compassion and equity! what devotion and feeling! As a consequence God made this exalted prince the heir to the Sahib-Qiran's empire. The throne of former sultans is adorned by his noble being. May this angelic padishah remain meritoriously in the sultanate for centuries! And may the sultanate and caliphate remain to his successful sons and renowned progeny until the day of resurrection!

The fifth exploit was his first battle with Prince Yadgar-Muhammad son of Sultan-Muhammad b. Baysunghur. The reason for this battle is as follows. When, by divine grace and heavenly favor, the sultanate of Khurasan came into the possession of the Emperor of Islam [Sultan-Husayn], and the great officers and grandees of the region were all in obedience to his regal command, Amir Abu-Nasr Hasan Beg appointed as governor of this region Yadgar-Muhammad, who was a royal heir and had grown up from his early youth among the Turcomans. Taking an infantry and cavalry with him, he set out for Khurasan. The renowned amirs of Khurasan and Sultan Abu-Sa'id's commanders he sent hither in company with the prince. Yadgar-Muhammad, encouraged by Hasan Beg and with expectations raised by the renowned amirs, set out from Persian Iraq for Khurasan, headed first for Astarabad. He took that region, defeating Amir Shaykh Zahid Tarumi, who was governor for His Highness. When the news reached the royal ears on the throne of Herat, Sultan-Husayn immediately ordered his army to do battle with Yadgar-Muhammad at Astarabad. [594] Some of the amirs, who arrived at a gallop prior to the royal train, were distressed by the overwhelming enemy and took shelter in the mountainous summer pasture of Khwarazm in the vicinity of Darband Shaqan until their luck should turn. In the month of Safar 874 [August 1469] the Emperor of Islam reached the amirs, who recited these lines in rejoicing:

"Welcome!" cries fortune. Around your face
the rose makes its chemise a robe.
The stars see your train and make praise; the
angels see your face and offer prayer.

The next day the enemy descended upon the Shaqan mountain.

The fortunate prince busied himself with the arrangement of his forces, and when the enemy's mass could be seen from the summit of the mountain, the commanders were worried, some saying that it would be wise not to lose these fast mountains because the enemy army appeared so massive. The Emperor of Islam cried out to the amirs and recited this line:

If I become fearful of the enemy, it would be
better to be at one with the dust.

Instantly he arranged his right and left flanks. [595]

The next day, when the azure sphere fixed
the yellow orb of the sun's body,

[75]Koran 110:2.

the Emperor of Islam mounted the steed of good fortune to engage the enemy. In the vicinity of Darband Shaqan was fought a battle in comparison to which [Rustam's] seven labors were no more than a gallop and Isfandiyar's battle in Zabul was nothing more than a ride around the parade field.

The billet of death came from the hand of the seizer of spirits; with a hundred wails spirits lamented the ghosts.

The zephyr of victory finally began to blow in the direction of the fortunate prince, and Gabriel started to recite the litany of victory. It did not take long before the opponent's banners were overturned and the enemy's fortune was reversed. Prince Yadgar-Muhammad managed cunningly to escape the whirlpool of disaster, but some of the Turcoman and Chaghatay amirs in his retinue were taken captive. By the time of evening prayer the prince stopped in Chanaran and sent out messages of triumph to all parts of the realm. To set an example two or three Turcoman and Chaghatay amirs were fed to the wild beasts and birds, but he looked upon the rest of the prisoners with the eye of compassion and said:

Offer prayers on my behalf eternally. Go, captives, to your homes.

All the prisoners, craftsmen and soldiers, who were near their homes, set out, easy of mind and praising the Emperor of Islam, for Herat and the districts of Khurasan via Isfarayin and Kuban. Victorious, the exalted prince galloped to the capital Herat. [596] That victory was in 874 [1469–70], which corresponds to the Year of the Tiger.

In the sixth [exploit] Prince Yadgar-Muhammad was killed and Herat was conquered a second time. At this labor by the renowned prince all stand agog. Such a feat had not been performed by Rustam, and Bahram Gor did not fight the Khaqan in this manner, for it is mentioned in histories that Bahram defeated the Khaqan with three hundred men, while the Khaqan had ninety thousand. Moreover, [Bahram Gor's] surprise attack was made in the open field, while the renowned Chosroës' feat was accomplished right in the capital city. Despite so many blockades and guards and watchmen of the royal camp, might and power are God's [to dispose as he wishes]. The cause is as follows.

When Prince Yadgar-Muhammad was defeated, he once again sought help from the Amir Kabir Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg. Once again the amir mustered a vast army for the prince and sent to Khurasan in the prince's company his own relative Yusuf Beg with several Turcoman amirs led by Ya'qub Beg. That army joined Yadgar-Muhammad, and set out for Khurasan. They took Isfarayin, Sabzawar and Juwayn. When His Caliphal Highness heard that Yadgar-Muhammad was approaching this region, he set out from Herat to battle the Turcomans and Yadgar-Muhammad. Near Jajarm, between Jajarm and Juwayn, the advance guard of the two sides met. After a pitched battle Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza's advance guard was defeated. Ni'mat Khwarazmi, who was outstanding in his time and one of the champions of Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza's army, was captured along with several of the prince's elite. His Highness ordered Ni'mat and most of the others punished for their crime, and they were put to death. Due to this Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza and the Turcoman army became apprehensive, and that night they fled from Jajarm. His Highness returned victorious and triumphant. He appointed Hasan Shaykh Temür as governor of Astarabad and established himself in the Radkan Meadow, where he gathered his forces and the Turcomans of Khurasan. Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza, after [597] his defeat, again consolidated his position

and parlayed with Hasan Shaykh Temür from Janashk, a dependency of Bistam. That wily fox summoned Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza and, meeting him outside of Jurjan, went over to the enemy. Shaykh-Ali Purnak, a great Turcoman amir and relative of Hasan Beg, brought auxiliaries from Iraq.

Once more with strength and power, Yadgar-Muhammad set out in Dhu'l-Qa'da 874 [May 1470] from Firozghand with high hopes for victory in Khurasan. His Highness, totally prepared for war, wanted to engage at Radkan and give the pretender his due. However, the young soldiers and some of the impudent, inexperienced sons of amirs turned away from the fortunate prince and played false with him. His Highness was distraught by this and went to Herat. Every day soldiers deserted the victorious camp in droves to join the enemy. His Highness saw clearly that these imbeciles were undermining themselves, but they were too hapless to distinguish right from wrong, and no one save God almighty can contend with the wishes of the "hoi poloi like cattle." His Highness saw no alternative to relinquishing the throne for a time until his fortune should improve. With this resolve he set out from Herat with his household, baggage train, personal servants and devoted followers for Qaysar, Maymana and the vicinity of Balkh.

Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza entered Herat with a host of Turcomans and began his tyranny and infamy. God's servants were exposed to injustice, the pillage of foreign soldiery and the padishah's stupidity. Vile, foul-mouthed Turcomans set about tyrannizing and indulging openly in depravity and abominations. That hapless, stupid prince was so incapable, not only of understanding anyone but also of dealing with anything, that old women and peasants cried out for help.

When this news reached His Highness's hearing, Islamic zeal took hold of this great king, who said to his amirs, "Is it possible for such tyranny to occur in the realm of Islam while I am still alive?" Those present said of one accord, "May a thousand souls be sacrificed to the Emperor of Islam! We consider this war equal to the great holy war." Immediately he arrayed the army in Maymana and set out for Herat. He commanded a thousand experienced warriors to gallop at breakneck speed:

> From Maymana the felicitous sultan set forth, luck and victory to the right and fortune to the left.

In short, three nights and three days they traversed highway and byway. At eventide of the fourth day they came upon a number of the rebel soldiers in Badghis near Ribat-i Yaghi. When questioned they said that Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza was busy enjoying himself, his amirs and soldiers likewise, every one asleep with a beauty, each couched with a lass. When His Highness heard how his opponents were, he rejoiced and said,

> O darling sweetheart, how do I find thee?

Immediately he encouraged his warriors and distributed mail and armor among his champions, assigning to each of the great amirs one of the enemy amirs. In haste he came down from Mount Kaytun and reached the vicinity of the Pir of Herat Khwaja Abdullah Ansari's blessed shrine at midnight. He prayed for assistance from the miracle-granting spirit of the saint and entered the Khiyaban as the first rays of dawn were breaking. Speedily he rode to the Zaghan Garden. Several guards and watchmen made an attempt [to stop them] but were unsuccessful. By blows with their battleaxes they broke the lock on the gate, and His Highness entered the garden in triumph. By chance that night Prince Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza was drunk and asleep in his mistress's arms. When the sounds of a commotion reach him, he jumped up and saw

that the night had turned into the day of resurrection. Confused, he wanted to conceal himself in a corner of the garden, [599] but a group of His Highness's bodyguards seized him and brought him before the sultan. The prince's courage had probably failed him altogether, for he was so disconcerted that all he could do was stare at the ground and, as was his old habit, remain taciturn. His Highness turned to him and said, "Knave! You have disgraced our family! Have you no shame? The Turcomans always obeyed the will of our ancestors. Are you not ashamed to be sat upon the throne of Shahrukh Sultan by Turcomans and turn loose a bunch of bandits to wreak tyranny and injustice upon the subjects of our ancestral kingdom?"

Disgraced one, you have shamed your house.

At once he motioned to the swordsmen of execution to let that prince join his dead clansmen. That was on Wednesday eve the 17th of Safar 875 [August 15, 1470]. The next morning the Turcoman army, which was beyond enumeration, fled in droves, their hair standing on end in fear of the king. The great emirs brought the enemy to the world-receiving court from everywhere they had been stationed. His Highness had Amir Ali Jalayir executed but pardoned all the rest. In accordance with the dictum, "Be merciful and you will be shown mercy," by the authority vested by God in this prince the ornament of pardon was drawn on the register of everyone's deeds. The compiler of this memorial volume says:

Who among kings gave his steed barleycorn from the produce of Faryab and water from the springs of Murghab?
He charged the throne of Herat at dawn like the sun and washed the sleep from his opponent's eyes. [600]
Who in the world has such good fortune?
Who else but a divinely aided shah attains such success?
O Lord, of thy grace and kindness safeguard always this eternal state from disintegration and revolution.

The seventh exploit was the conquest of Andkhud and battle with Prince Sultan-Mahmud. The truth of this affair is that when that prince left Herat in defeat for the region of Hisar, he gathered a great and mighty following in a short while. Ambitious for conquest, he arrayed an army and conquered Balkh. His Highness was busy at that time repairing the devastation the Turcoman soldiers had wrought in Khurasan, but when news of the fall [of Balkh] reached his ears, he concentrated all his energies on repelling that prince. From Jurjan and Mazanderan to the farthest reaches of Murghab soldiers gathered around that exalted prince, and he began by sending a letter of advice to Sultan-Mahmud, saying, "Beloved of the sultanate, fruit of the tree of the caliphate, do not create opposition. Be equitable and strive for peace, for today I stand behind an army and fortune smiles upon me. Be content to be a brother and son to me and know for certain that old enemies lie in ambush and adversaries lurk in the corners." This advice was of no avail, and Prince Sultan-Mahmud transgressed in claiming the kingship and calling for war and battle. When His Highness despaired of advising him, he unsheathed the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of zeal.

Beware lest you lose the battle [even] if you know you will win. If there is no alternative to fighting, you must have fortitude and patience.

The Emperor of Islam gathered his forces, and in the vicinity of Andkhud, [601] in a place called Chäkmän Saray, battle broke out.

Betimes falling, betimes boiling, betimes glittering, betimes shining—warrior's head, vein of blood, spear point, dagger's edge.

The courageous prince mounted a mammoth steed and encouraged and gave heart to his knights and warriors to battle. I myself, the author, was in that battle in the royal retinue and saw it with my own eyes, and I am certain that the shout of *Allahu akbar* I heard came not from the soldiers but rather from people of the invisible realm. It is my belief that some who were present on that day at the battle had the feelings expressed in this line:

He who is aided by the impeccable assistance of God has all bodies as support for the army.

In short, in one instant the breeze of victory began to blow, the banners of the sultan waved in triumph, and the opponent was vanquished. The warriors of the age reckon this battle as one of the most famous of all time, nay they consider it the most heated of battles. The laurel for this battle His Highness gave to none of the great amirs or champions of the age. That is a task for me to accomplish, for the amirs and heroes said that the prize went absolutely to the Sultan of the Age himself as they recited this:

Your standard is planted on the moon and reaches to the Pleiades; the face of victory is obvious in the mirror of your sword.

After that victory His Highness added Balkh and its dependencies to his realm. He appointed the governance of Balkh to Ahmad Mushtaq, a commander from Iraq, and [602] returned to Herat. That was in Muharram 876 [June–July 1471].

The eighth exploit was his siege and conquest of Balkh. This affair is among the strangest and most marvelous. You should know first that Balkh is an ancient city, the first to be built in the world according to the claim of most historians. Some have said that Damawand is older, and others say that Babylon is more ancient. Some say that Balkh was founded by Balakh son of Enoch, while others maintain that Gayomarth was the builder of Balkh when he killed the murderer of [his son] Hushang at that spot. To celebrate he founded the city right there. In any case, the greatness and magnificence of Balkh no one disputes. Wise men have dubbed Balkh "mother of towns," "dome of Islam," "worldly paradise," and "the best earth." Anwari says of Balkh:

If heaven were an infant, Balkh would nurse it because it knows so well how to mother the inhabited world.

The citadel and city walls, which are now in good repair, are called Hisar-i Hinduan. After the destruction of the ancient city of Balkh it was devastated [again] at the hands of Ahnaf ibn Qays and Qutayba ibn Muslim al-Bahili.... Anyway, to conquer the Balkh fortress is impossible because water lies close to the surface of the ditch around the fortress so tunnels cannot be made.

When the Emperor of Islam conquered Balkh, he confirmed Ahmad Mushtaq as governor and warden, as has been mentioned. After a short time the vile Turcomans mutinied against the Emperor of Islam and showed their ingratitude to their benefactor. Joining the sons of Sultan Abu-Sa'id, they rebelled. This event was grievous to the all-conquering emperor, who quickly raced his steed to besiege Balkh. He led his army to the gates of Balkh, and although he maintained the siege for some time there was no victory. Battles and skirmishes constantly took place, and the warriors of the invincible army were wounded. Some of the great amirs represented to the Emperor of Islam, saying, "To take the Balkh fortress is an impossible task. It is senseless to waste our time in this labor. [603] If the king of the face of the earth would decide against pursuing the conquest of this ruin it would be in his best interests."

Take a goblet of wine in merriment in Khiyaban [Herat]. Think of old Balkh as nothing more than Rayy.

His Highness the Emperor of Islam, benefactor to the human race,

Swore an oath by the Ultimate Judge, by the light of day and dark of night: "I will reduce these battlements to the dust. I will capture these villains."

And he sent an order to all parts of the kingdom for copper so that the master catapult builders and artillerymen might bring those dogs of Balkh to their knees with missiles, catapults and balistas. They made huge cauldrons and sawhorses, and the *naqabchi*'s of the whole realm came to Balkh. When their awesomeness reached the [Turcomans] and Ahmad Mushtaq, life became so bitter in Balkh that he longed (*mushtaq*) for his promised moment of death and saw no alternative to seeking pardon. Opening the gates to the prince, he sought the intercession of the amirs, who requested the prince to forgive him. The Emperor of Islam, as was his accustomed manner and inherited style, which was innate and instinctive to this manifestation of grace and beneficence, forgave the ingrate's audacity and crimes. For a second time the city of Balkh entered his realm, and that was in 878 [1473].

The ninth exploit was the victory over Prince Abu-Bakr son of Sultan Abu-Sa'id, the death of that prince and a number of Turcoman amirs. This affair unfolds as follows. Prince Abu-Bakr's mother was of the royal line of Badakhshan, and during his lifetime Sultan Abu-Sa'id appointed this prince while still an infant to the sultanate of Badakhshan. **[604]**

After his father's death the prince attained full glory. Indeed he was a prince of handsome countenance, brave, courageous and worthy. Not content with the kingdom of Badakhshan, he constantly spoke of conquest and expansion and recited this verse of his own composition:

Why should only Badakhshan fit into my signet? Let from China to Badakhshan enter therein. Why should I ride only in Kohistan? Let the entire face of the earth be my parade ground.

A prince whose delicate nature pierced a pearl of this type and composed poetry in this manner, whose belvedere was the shining sun and who was nurtured from the mines of Badakhshan—who can know the worth of such a gem? Who is able to speak of his excellence?

In short, the prince fought and made peace many times with his brethren. Finally he gained the upper hand over Prince Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and conquered Hisar Shadman and its dependencies. After a short time he was defeated by Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and went to Herat, where he was honored by His Highness and shown great affection. He was honored to be made his son-in-law, and for a while he served in His Highness's retinue. However, corruptors seduced him and made him so cynical that he erred in his mind and turned his face away from the emperor of the age's threshold, at which the angels make their nest, and fled. Next, for no offense he had Amir Sayyid Farid Arghun put to death, without compassion for that wronged amir's noble lineage and long service. From the vicinity of Tirmidh he set out to attack Khurasan. His Highness sent a group of amirs to fight Prince Abu-Bakr in Merv, and there he was defeated. Returning to Balkh, he found no foothold and so set out for Kabul and India. From around the Indus he headed for Kech **[606]** and Makran and then Kerman. There Wali Pir-Ali and a Turcoman force joined him. They encouraged him to take Persian Iraq until the army of the Amir Kabir Ya'qub Beg, who today governs Iraq, Azerbaijan, Diyar Bakr and Fars, and who is the son of the Amir Kabir Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg, attacked the prince. Defeated in Garmser by the Turcomans, he once again headed for Khu-

rasan. When the heralds announced to the Emperor of Islam that he was coming to Khurasan from Sistan, the emperor of the age raced after Prince Abu-Bakr. From Farah in Sistan, Prince Abu-Bakr was heading across the desert for Turshiz and Sabzawar. The Emperor of Islam pursued, stopping where Abu-Bakr had been the night before. From the province of Farah to within four parasangs of Astarabad the Emperor of Islam chased Prince Abu-Bakr. The group who were in the royal retinue on that journey reported that nearly two thousand war horses of the emperor's retinue were lost or left behind wounded. By God's decree, the enemy stopped one day by the Jurjan River near Astarabad. They were sitting unawares when suddenly the royal banners loomed large and the invincible army appeared. The enemy saw clearly that this was doomsday and raced pell-mell to get on their horses and flee. They reeled to and fro and tossed like animals with their throats cut, but in the end their feet stumbled on the rock of catastrophe and the hand of opposition was bound by the cord of tribulation.

If a despised opponent stands opposite you, it is like a sparrow and phœnix, gnat and hurricane.

In the end when the churning sea of the emperor's forces surrounded the area, there was no chance of escape, and so they threw themselves into the Jurjan River. Some perished in the water, but most of them were caught by the imperial enemy-binding lasso, at their head **[606]** Pir-Ali the son of Ali-Shakar and Bayram his brother. Those two Turcomans were brought before his majesty, who addressed them, saying, "You hapless wretches, what did you want of this ignorant, conceited child you have brought down to your own level? You know that fortune has turned its back on you and seeks retribution for so many years' tyranny."

Buy one day what you sell all year.

Immediately the sultan's order to exile those vile ones and the other corruptors from the city of life to the beggary of death was carried out.

Better for one who makes a chink in the kingdom to lose his head; better for an army that is faithless to be disbanded.

Prince Abu-Bakr left the battlefield in defeat and wandered till late in the wilderness. That night he changed his horse and clothes and set out for Khurasan. With fortune turning its back and luck bidding him adieu, the prince, wailing of loneliness and dejection, came upon a group of women and inquired the way to Khurasan. They showed him the way, and he made it to Firozghand, where he asked some nomadic people for food. A clever youth among them recognized from his splendid external appearance that he was Prince Abu-Bakr. [The youth] followed him and said, "Prince, I know who you are. I have come to be your guide and lead you from the brink of destruction to safety." The prince said, "My good man, if you are true to your word I will make you a commander." That person went some way with the prince, but in the end he thought better of what he had said and turned the prince over to the nomads. They could not hide such a treasure. **[607]**

Truly because of its exalted station a falcon of kings cannot be hidden in a sparrow's house.

When the victorious banners reached the vicinity of Firozghand after conquering the territory and killing the evildoers, the men told the sultan about Prince Abu-Bakr. Immediately His Highness the sultan ordered him brought. The sultan addressed the prince, saying, "You ignorant youth, how could you allow the blood of innocent persons, especially one related to the purest of families, to be shed? Don't

you realize that to enter into league with the foreign, base Turcomans causes fortune to wither?" Then he recited this verse:

In the end the course of him who severs his connection with the good and joins the evil leads to destruction.

Then he said, "Alas that there is no reliance on your word. For all the good I have done you I have seen nothing but evil." These words passed the Emperor of Islam's lips, and from his blessed eyes a torrent of tears flowed. He faced the amirs and pillars of state and said, "I do not want to harm this sapling of the garden of fortune, for my heart is pounding with affection for him and my soul is firmly caught by the bonds of family ties." The amirs all shouted together, "O prince of the world,

Since God gave you victory over the enemy, sever his head to the delight of your friends. If you want to reward good men, leave him no hope of life."

The king realized that to allow him to live would mean the end of his own good fortune. Unwillingly [608] he gave his consent to the execution of Prince Abu-Bakr.

Kingship cannot tolerate lese-majesty, be it from a stranger or from a relative.

God's decree uprooted the sapling of that prince's life from the garden of the living and made the garden of his friends' hopes as dark as the enemy's fortune. The king set out in victory and triumph from the vicinity of Firozghand for Herat via Mashhad. That was in the month of Safar in the year 885 [April 1480]. Truly the days of this mighty padishah have had and will have a conquest every year and a success every month.

When you look you will see that every victory heaven gives at the end of one labor is only the beginning of another.

As a consequence of such exploits fear and dread of the Emperor of Islam have taken firm hold in the hearts of the world's tyrants, and kings and sultans of all parts continually resort to this celestial court to live in homage and obedience to the Emperor of the Age, and the poor and peasants of Khurasan live in welfare and ease under the shadow of his protection. This renowned prince's angelic nature constantly strives to raise higher the banners of religion and spread the law, and during his reign the lot of the ulema of Islam is splendid, while the daily bread of the poor and homeless is assured. The corrupt, the unjust and brigands are frustrated, and heretics and evil thinkers are completely reduced to extremities. God has taken Khurasan and Khurasanis into his grace and favor, for through the protective justice of this law-sheltering prince, in waystations and stopping places that were formerly nests of thieves and brigands there are now servants and guards in the caravanserais and charitable foundations to serve wayfarers and travelers. The subterranean irrigation canals that had been, since the days of Genghis Khan, as closed as the gates of the stingy [609] now flow as openly as the banquet tables of the generous. Waystations that were destroyed in the time of Sultan Mahmud [of Ghazna] now flourish in good repair. Agriculture and farming have reached such a state that Saturn sitting atop the seventh celestial sphere is envious of the tillers of the soil and the marketplace of Spica's harvest is at a standstill compared to these farms.

Every place that without your favor and grace in the world was coffins and gallows is now thrones and pulpits.
With your presence the abode of security Herat is the envy of paradise and the light of nations.

May God preserve for long years the shadow of this happy prince's fortune, which assures the well-being and security

of the people of faith. May he extend for many centuries his exalted offspring, each of whom is a cypress in the garden of magnificence, in the shadow of this prince's grandeur. Until the day of resurrection may the sultanate and caliphate remain fixed in the family of this prince blessed by fortune. May there be every day allotted to this happy prince a new victory to be recorded in the register of *nahnu qasamna*.[76]

Conquer more realms and seize more horizons than you can imagine.

May God have mercy on all who say amen. It is wise to conclude our book with a prayer for the Emperor of Islam.

With God's assistance the book is now finished. Worthy of praise is our Lord, and His are gifts and bounties. Praise be to God Lord of the Universe, and prayers and salutations upon His apostle, the last of His prophets, Muhammad the Mustafa, and upon his family, companions and followers all.

This memorial volume was composed by the least of God's slaves, Dawlatshah son of Ala'uddawla Bakhtishah al-Ghazi al-Samarqandi on the twenty-eighth of Shawwal in the year eight hundred ninety two of the Hegira [October 17, 1487].

[76]"We have distributed" (Koran 43:32).

Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi

Zafarnama

Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's *Zafarnama* (Book of triumph) was completed around 1425 for Ibrahim-Sultan b. Shahrukh, then governor of Shiraz. In many ways it was a recasting and expansion of Nizamuddin Ali Shami's earlier *Zafarnama* of 1404. Despite the negative judgments of some modern critics as to its historical value,[1] it met with universal literary acclaim in its day and was greatly admired in its own time—and for long thereafter—as the very model of elegant, eloquent historiography. Written in the most approved style of the age, prose replete with internally rhyming phrases and highlighted by poetry, the *Zafarnama* was copied and luxuriously illustrated no less than thirty times between 1425 and 1507.[2]

The first passage, taken from the preface, explains the methodology employed by Yazdi and Ibrahim-Sultan to establish the most detailed and reliable information possible (note, however, that the final decision as to what was "true" and what was "false" seems to have rested with Ibrahim-Sultan himself). The second passage relates to Timur's first campaign against Toqtamïsh Khan on the Qïpchaq Steppe. The third passage gives an account of the construction of the Bagh-i Dilgusha at Samarqand, and the fourth is a description of the gala jamboree held outside of Samarqand in 1404.

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ON THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THIS COMPOSITION AND A MENTION OF A FEW ADVANTAGES THAT IT ALONE POSSESSES AMONG ITS PEERS

The history of the glories and monumental labors of the Sahib-Qiran, as penned by this writer without deletion or addition, shall be distinguished in three ways from all other histories of rulers and possessors of might and majesty written in prose or poetry by the ancients or moderns in Arabic or Persian.

First is the plethora of advantages and multitude of benefits, for the most profitable fruit that can be plucked with the fingers of contemplation from the branch of distinguishing characteristics in the garden of compositions in this art is to become aware of unusual conditions, strange events and the vicissitudes of fate that follow the issuance of decrees of destiny, which take precedence over the most careful of machinations or most subtle of plans. These are engraved upon the tablets of intelligent and learned people's minds as in a true reflecting mirror in which the countenance of correct deci-

[1] See John E. Woods, "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography," p. 100.

[2] See Eleanor G. Sims, "The Garrett Manuscript of the Zafar-name," pp. 63–67.

sions can be seen when the breeze of fortune and opportunity for the acquisition of high positions and glorious degrees begins to blow; and when the wind of calamity blows, a reflection of a rescuing machination can be seen therein to [enable one to] escape the straits of terrors and dangers and to avoid the paths of fateful vicissitudes. [18]

Do not think that the mirror in which the countenance of victory appears is other than the reflection of the mind of the people of felicity.

From the foundation of the palace of military conquest to the highest reaches of the battlements of the castle of world rule, the Sahib-Qiran himself was concerned to collect his greatest exploits, and although all realms of Islam—Iran and Turan—came altogether under His Majesty's command, his sublime ambition never rested, neither by night nor by day, in any situation from expanding the perimeter of rule or stretching the scope of his domain. While traveling he rose from the saddle of the steed of military leadership and conquest to the throne of empire; and even though he ruled the face of the earth, it was also while traveling that he responded to God's invitation and exchanged his royal throne for the coffin of infinite divine mercy. Consequently, not a decimal of a tenth of the unusual events that were effected by the never-failing mind of the felicitous Sahib-Qiran ever happened to any other mighty or renowned sultan or great king. "And let him who says there is show it."

The second distinguishing feature is the detail and the recounting of every jot and tittle, for the explanation of every affair in such detail as appears in these pages has never occurred in the histories of ancient or modern kings, although the author of the Turkish versified history said that he did not allow some of the strange things that His Majesty did to be written because perhaps "hereafter men will not believe" and would attribute them to hyperbole and embroidery. For this reason many of the unique events and military encounters that His Majesty experienced in his youth remain unsaid. Anyone who contemplates and thinks about this book from its beginnings through its conclusion will know certainly [19] that its being distinguished by the two features mentioned is an actuality in which there is not the slightest hint of elaboration or exaggeration.

The touchstone of a man is experience, which determines whether he is to be vilified or praised. With that flawless touchstone wisdom knows the value of the coin of speech.

The third distinguishing feature is the garb of truth and veracity of the narrative, for the Sahib-Qiran, while traveling and otherwise, was constantly accompanied by great turbaned lords, sayyids, ulema, and jurisprudents, and by people of learning and wisdom, Uighur *bakhshi*s and Persian secretaries. As commanded, a group of them continually verified every deed and word that issued from His Majesty and everything that happened to the domain and subjects and laboriously wrote them down. It was ordered that every event be recorded exactly as it happened, without any interpolation, addition or subtraction, particularly concerning any person's bravery and courage, that there be no hypocrisy or magniloquence, and especially in what concerned His Majesty's bravery and daring, that in that there be absolutely no exaggeration. It was also by imperial command that the writers of eloquence clothed it in phrased garments and composed it in prose and poetry with the same proviso. Many times in the royal assembly they read it for the royal hearing so that total reliability was ascertained by verification. In this manner the Turkish verse and Persian prose versions comprising His Majesty's great exploits were written and composed.

Aside from them, some of the servants of the court of world refuge also took it upon themselves to record the history of His Majesty and endeavored greatly to search out and verify. In the shadow of their patronage and favor learned literati then put it into Turkish and Persian poetry and prose.

When this point was reached in this book, the reason for the composition of which has already been explained in the introduction, His Highness [Ibrahim-Sultan], by the mention [20] of whose title in this place the pen is once again honored, increased and multiplied the concern and attention he had exerted from the beginning to gather and arrange this composition. All the copies of the aforementioned Turkish and Persian verse and prose works were summoned and gathered from all regions and made ready. When His Majesty turned his attention to that auspicious labor, three classes of men, readers, witnesses and writers, stood close by the carpet of majesty in awareness and caution to discharge the duties of service. The Turkish *bakhshï*s and Persian literati each read one of the manuscripts, and at every event, those who had been present when the event occurred described the situation as they had seen it with their own eyes. After being apprised of the contents of the manuscripts and eye-witness accounts, and upon repeated examination and investigation of every jot and tittle, His Highness declared with his pearl-raining, jewel-dripping tongue what he decided to be correct and true, and the clerks wrote it down. Once again it was read aloud for verification and recorded. If the slightest detail remained unclear or in doubt, or if there was a discrepency between the manuscripts and the narrators, messengers were dispatched to the ends of the realm and trustworthy witnesses, upon the veracity of whose word in that affair there was reliance, were interrogated.

In this manner episode after episode was verified and penned in the royal assembly, reread several times and corrected so that the gathering, writing and ordering of this history and the introduction of each story in its proper place—of which the composition of books consists—were absolutely the results of His Highness's gracious concern. Then, as commanded, it was written in a clean copy in the version that had been decided upon, and once again it was listened to in the royal assembly. It was compared with first draft and master copy, and the greatest effort was exerted to correct errors. Emendations that occurred to the royal mind were made, and since it had been ordered that whatever had been written in the first draft in the royal assembly be copied exactly as it was and that absolutely no change be made in the original story, that draft was followed so that in every event all the details, such as the times of mounting and dismounting during travels, the names of stopping places and distances between places were all left as they were, and in [21] the introduction of that which pertains to history no embroidering of expression should be made lest it grow too lengthy. Much care was taken to avoid repetition, upon which secretaries dote, except in the poetry—and even there there is not much repetition.

Since events in the world are intertwined and interwoven with each other, in order to ascertain the beginnings of the Sahib-Qiran's career it is necessary to introduce several narrations, and there the beginning will be made.

Timur and Toqtamïsh Khan

A pretender to the Mongol khanate, Toqtamïsh was assisted by Timur to defeat the ruling khans of the White Horde. Afterwards he gained the throne of the Golden Horde (Qïpchaq khanate) also, thereby reuniting the entire realm of

Genghis Khan's son Jochi. Carried away by his conquests in Muscovy and his revival of Mongol grandeur, Toqtamïsh turned against his former benefactor and attacked Transoxiana during Timur's absence in Persia. In 1391 Timur decided to strike at Toqtamïsh on his own home ground and mounted an expedition into the steppes of the White Horde. Toqtamïsh kept withdrawing northward before Timur's advance, but finally in June 1391 Timur pinned him down at Qandurcha in the Orenburg region and dealt him a crushing blow.

THE LORD OF THE HORIZONS SETS OUT FOR THE QIPCHAQ STEPPE

In the autumn of 793 [A.D. 1391] the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran made a regal determination to go to the Qïpchaq Steppe and therefore cast his attention to ordering his forces.

Of horses in the field, herds were brought by the herdsmen.
In that army of renown the king mounted every man on foot. [356]
With horses and weapons his army was arrayed from end to end.

He set out in pomp from Samarqand under the protection of God and, building a bridge across the Khujand River, crossed it. That winter was spent in Tashkent between Parsin and Chinas. During that time he considered it prudent, from the point of view of attaining this-worldly and other-worldly provisions, to visit the tomb of Shaykh Maslahat, and to that end he set out for the city of Khujand, where with true sincerity he performed the rites of visitation. Appropriating two thousand Kepeki dinars as alms to the deserving, he returned to Tashkent, where the royal temperament deviated from the path of equilibrium and symptoms of illness were noticed. It became critical and, when it had lasted for forty days, the commanders and pillars of state were extremely worried.

In fear of his growing worse the world trembled; at the word indisposition every lip quivered.
He was the soul of the world, and with him in that state two hundred thousand shook in fear of his life.

Holy souls uttered pious incantations for the safety of the world and its inhabitants, and the tongue of every speaker and mute pronounced these words:

If your sword is removed for one instant, the sanctity of home and hearth will disappear.
Arise quickly from this couch of grief, your foe's place; otherwise the world will fall into chaos. [357]

When the sun of might and fortune shone after the eclipse of indisposition, the royal person attained full recovery through the pharmacy of *mā huwa shifā'un wa-raḥmatun li'l-'ālamīn.*[3] The world loosed the tongue of congratulations—

When you regain health, majesty and nobility prosper, and may the pain leave you for your enemies.
We do not single you out for congratulations on health, for when you are healthy, all are safe—

and all the people, happy and glad of the tidings, gave thanks.

Several days later, when the royal constitution had regained strength, and Prince Miranshah had arrived with his army from Khurasan and was honored to kiss the ground, the Sahib-Qiran turned his attention to arranging his forces. He rewarded the amirs and *noyans* and distributed money *(ögülgä)* among the common soldiers.

He opened the treasure house of silver and gold, giving the army dirhems and dinars.
Horses, weapons, every sort of thing he graciously bestowed upon each and all.

[3] "That which is a medicine and mercy unto the universe," Koran 17:82.

After arraying the army, he divided the reconnoiterers *(ghajarchï)* among the commanders, and serving as scouts *(qulavuz)* in the *qol*, the central body of the victory-sloganed standards, were Temür Qutlugh Oghlan the son of Temür Malik Khan, Könchä Oghlan and Edigü Özbäg. On Thursday the 12th of Safar 793 [January 19, 1391], when the Sun was in the eighth degree of Aquarius, the royal train set forth under God's protection. Prince Pir-Muhammad Jahangir and Prince Shahrukh were stationed behind to administer the realm, and to them were assigned Amir La'l and Amir Malakat. The ladies were all sent back, except for the Great Lady Cholpan Agha daughter of Hajji Beg Jätä, who [358] was honored to accompany His Highness on that journey. When the banners of victory emblazoned with slogans of obvious triumph and mighty victory set forth, the commanders of divisions and battalions and the leaders of squadrons each set out for his *morchal*.

When camp was made at Qara Saman, emissaries from Toqtamïsh Khan arrived. The commanders and *noyan*s brought them to a suitable place and saw to their needs. Because of snow and rain halt was made in that place for several days. When the news of the arrival of Toqtamïsh Khan's emissaries reached His Highness the Sahib-Qiran's ears,

He commanded that way be made and they be brought to court.
When they perceived the order from the king, they hastened slavishly to obey.
They placed their heads upon the ground in homage, their tongues filled with praise.

After kissing the ground, they presented a falcon and nine horses they had brought as *peshkash*. The Sahib-Qiran took the falcon on his arm, but he did not express much royal enthusiasm. The emissaries apologized, humbly sought pardon and, kneeling, delivered through the intermediary of the great commanders Toqtamïsh Khan's message they had brought. Its content was as follows: "That highness is to me as a father and a beneficent patron, and the obligations for the favors he has done me are too many to begin to enumerate even one out of a thousand. If I am ashamed of and sorry for the terrible conduct and uncalled-for opposition in which I indulged because of chaotic misfortune and the corruption of bad men of evil counsel, let him pardon me through his perfect charity and lordly compassion, and let that be added to the rest of his indulgences and forbearances. Recognizing my limits, henceforth I will not place my foot one hair's breadth out of the path of obedience and loyalty, and I will not neglect the least thing in maintaining myself in courtesy and obedience." [359]

Let me be a slave to the king's command; let me never balk at the king's order.

His Highness the Sahib-Qiran said, "At the beginning, when he escaped from his enemies and came to us wounded, everyone knows how he was enlisted among [my own] sons and to what degree he was shown favor. For his sake I took my army against Urus Khan, and during that winter many horses, soldiers, provisions and material were subject to loss. Nonetheless I continued to show concern to strengthen and encourage him by separating his people from Urus Khan's people and making him master thereof. I so strengthened his hand that he sat as khan upon the throne of the Jochid nation. Good fortune comes from God, but I was the immediate cause. With the tongue of emotion and compassion I called him 'son' and he called me 'father.' When his fortune was made and he saw himself possessed of so much might and glory, he forgot the obligation of past favors and rejected his filial duties. When we went to the land of Iran to conquer Fars and Persian Iraq, he took the path of rebellion and sent his army to lay waste our realm. I did not cast the shadow of concern until

he was carried away by this displeasing conduct and, senseless from the wine of conceit, he could no longer distinguish good from evil. Once again he led his forces and, sending a massive group as a advance force, entered our territory. Then I began to pay attention to him. Without even seeing the mass of our forces he chose to flee. Now that he is aware of our determination he comes pleading helplessness and begging pardon. Many times we have seen his faithlessness and broken pacts, and it would be unwise to rely upon his word. The decision we have made, and because of which we have gathered our forces, we shall pursue to the end with divine help and heavenly assistance—

To see what the Maker's will is—

'Return unto them. We will surely come unto them with forces, which they shall not be able to withstand; and we will drive them out from their city, humbled; and they shall become contemptible.'[4] If, nonetheless, he is truly seeking peace, he must send Ali Beg to us [360] to take counsel and implement what is prudent."

After the ritual of a banquet the emissaries were vested with gold-embroidered robes of honor and assigned accommodations. The order was given that they should be well cared for and watched.

On Wednesday the 16th of Rabi' I [February 21] a *qurultay* was held, and the princes and amirs were consulted. Taking Toqtamïsh Khan's emissaries, [Timur] set out under a favorable ascendant with the entire army for conquest. Passing through Yasï, Qarachuq and Sayran, they traversed the wilderness and desert by stages for two weeks. After traveling so far with so little water, the horses were spent, but on Thursday the first of Jumada I [April 6] they reached Sarïq Özän, where the animals were watered and thanks were given to God. Since a large flood had occurred, they stopped there for several days. Then, after discovering a ford, the marching drums were sounded and they swam across the water. That night two of Edigü Özbäg's *nökärs* escaped into the wilderness and headed for Toqtamïsh Khan. His Highness the Sahib-Qiran sent some men in pursuit of them, but they could not catch them. The Invincible Army set out again, crossing the desert and wilderness and finding water in low-lying areas.

On Wednesday, the 21st of the month [April 26] they reached a mountain known as Kichik Tagh. From there they traveled for two nights, and on Friday camp was pitched at a spot called Ulugh Tagh.[5] The sun of heaven, Sahib-Qiran, went to the top of the mountain to bask in the view of the plain, which was field after field of greenery. That day he ordered a halt there, and a royal command was issued for the soldiers to bring a stone and set it up in this spot as a tall sign like a tower. Skilled stonecutters inscribed the date on it that it might remain as a memorial upon the face of time.[6]

[4]Koran 27:37.

[5]Modern Ulu Tau in Khazakhstan.

[6]The stone Timur erected was discovered in the Altyn Chuk mountains near the Karasakpay river in Kazakhstan and was sent to the Hermitage. What can be read of the Chaghatay inscription in Uighur letters, which could scarcely be called skilled work, is as follows: *qara yeti yüz toqmaq orunda qoy / yïl yaznïng ara ay[ï] Turanning sultanï / Temür Beg iki yüz ming čerig bilä ismi (?) üčün Toqtamïš Xan-nïng (?) / qanïğa yorïdï. bu yergä yetip belgü bolsun tep / bu obanï qopardï. / Tängri nïsfat bergäy inšalla / Tängri el kišigä raxmat qïlğay bizni dua bilä / yad qïlğay* (In the place [land?] of the Black Seven Hundred Toqmaq [Uzbeks] in the Year of the Sheep in the middle month of spring, the Sultan of Turan Temür Beg marched with 200,000 soldiers for Toqtamïsh Khan's blood. Reaching this place he set up this marker as a sign. God willing, may God give equity, show mercy to the people and bless us). See N. N. Poppe, "Karasakpayskaya nadpis' Timura," *Gosudarstvenniy Ermitaj: Trudy Otdela Vostoka* 2 (1940): 185-187.

Leaving there, they set out to hunt and stopped when they reached the banks of the Yïlanchuq[7] River. Eight days after crossing the river, they reached Ana Qarghuy.[8]

As it had been nearly four months since they set out, the soldiers had no provisions left, and it would have taken from five to seven months to reach a settlement on the periphery of that wilderness. The royal camp was so vast and held so many brave heroes, horses and beasts of burden that it was an ocean in **[361]** tumult, a world full of agitation, crying out in want and deprivation. Scarcity reached such proportions that one sheep cost 100 Kepeki dinars, and the price of a stone of grain, which was sixteen standard maunds, reached 100 Kepeki dinars—if it was to be had at all. His Highness the Sahib-Qiran made it known to the commanders of divisions, battalions, companies and troops to extract agreement *(möchälgä)* from the soldiers that no one in the camp was to cook *nan, kömäch, buğra, tutmach, rishta, amaj* or anything like them, and they should satisfy themselves with *bulamaq* for cooked food.[9] The commanders made an experiment and found that from one maund of flour measured with a pantry stone, which is eight standard maunds, with the addition of some greens, which they called *matar*,[10] sixty bowls of *bulamaq* could be had. It was established that every soldier should be content with one bowlful—and most of the army did not receive even that. As they continually roamed through that wasteland, they made do with birds' eggs, the various animals they found there and the grasses they could eat.

On Sunday the first of Jumada II [May 6] the Sahib-Qiran organized a hunt. The news was given to the *tovachï*s and commanders of the right and left flanks, and the army set out into a circle encompassing the entire plain. Beasts and birds innumerable were driven, and after two days of hunting—

> In every direction the king drove his mount,
> he emptied the earth of wild ass and deer.
> Circling and shooting game all morning, he
> took the road back to camp.
> He came from that hunting ground to the
> throne in victory coupled with fortune and
> luck—

through the good fortune of the king, the army shot so many deer, antelopes, elk and other types of game that there was such an abundance that, despite the hardship they had faced, they selected only the fat animals **[362]** and left the lean behind.

> Of every kind they shot so many that the
> gatherers could not cope.

While in that wilderness they encountered a type of deer larger than a buffalo, the likes of which they had never before seen. The Mongols call it *qandaghay* and the Dashtis [Uzbeks] call it *bulan* (elk). Many were taken, and for a long time the soldiers' provisions were assured by meat from the hunt.

TIMUR REVIEWS THE INVINCIBLE ARMY

After the hunt was over, the mighty Sahib-Qiran turned his attention to a review of his celestial troops, made up of right flank, left flank, center and wings, clad in iron like the essence of the blade, with fleet-footed mounts, leaping like flame from within the heart of iron horse-armor.

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[7]Reading Yïlanchuq (Little Snake) for the Bïlān Jūq of the text.

[8]Shami has Anaqïrqoyun (*Zafarnāma*, Lugal trs., p. 144). This has been identified with the Kara-Turgai River (Howorth, *History*, II, i, 424, following Charmoy) but it appears to be rather a place name.

[9]*Nān* is flat, oven-baked bread; *kömäch* is a round loaf baked in ashes; *buğra* is a kind of broth with bits of bread; *tutmach* is a flat noodle; *rishta* a finer noodle, vermicelli; *amāj* is porridge; and *bulamaq* is gruel.

[10]Perhaps it should be *muṭarrā*, "fresh."

An army numerous beyond counting,
victorious and invincible.
In combat like mad elephants enraged—all
with spear, mace and dagger,
With alligator-skin shields thrown over
leopard horse-armor,
With no fear of either death or sharp blade,
with no dread of water or flight from fire,
In courage, unique; in striving, united; against
blows, anvils; against attack, mountains.

Thus an army beyond reckoning, as multitudinous as the stars and powerful as the heavens, ready and arrayed, passed in review troop by troop and squadron by squadron, each with its own *morchal*.

When the army was ready, the monarch came
forth into the plain on his horse,
With a crown of ruby and gold on his head
[363], an ox-headed mace in his grip.
He turned the reins toward the left flank and
found the whole world a mountain of steel.
As he rode up to the first rank, Berdi Beg
jumped nimbly down from his horse
Because his division was at the front of the
ranks—an assembly all holding blades and
daggers, loins girded to attack the enemy, their
spears honed with diamonds of vengeance.
The general bent the knee, led forth his horse,
kissed the ground and sang praises, saying,
"May the world from end to end be eternally
subject to the command of the Sahib-Qiran.
May our heads and lives, in religion and
justice, be sacrificed beneath the hooves of the
king's horse."
The emperor commended them, saying, "May
the earth flourish with such champions!"

When the Sahib-Qiran had carefully inspected Berdi Beg's division company by company, he rode on in felicity and fortune to where Khudadad Husayni's division was arrayed.

An army, all invincible and pugnacious,
champions and noble heroes,
Martial cavaliers and valiant men, lassoers,
warriors, and wielders of daggers. [364]

After performing the rites of *uljamishi* and *peshkash*, Khudadad loosed the tongue of sincerity in praise.

He much praised the prince and wished him
eternal success.
"May the world be as you desire; may the
celestial sphere be your slave, the stars your
servants.
Our bodies and souls are your slaves, sacrifices
to the crowned king."
The emperor favored him, praised him and
increased his rank.

After Khudadad's division there were standing arrayed the Sulduz battalions of Shaykh Temür, son of Aq Temür Bahadur.

A swift attacking army, sharp in battle, claws
unsheathed to seek out the enemy in
vengeance, like raging elephants and roaring
lions, blade, mace, lasso and bow in hand.

Shaykh Temür Bahadur performed the rites of homage, bent his knee and led [Timur's] horse.

Thereupon he prayed for the world ruler,
saying, "May the celestial sphere be like an
obedient slave to you.
May time and space be at your will, may the
lord of the universe protect your life.
May there be thousands at all times like us,
slaves at your feet, ready to give our lives."
The emperor, gladdened by his speech, praised
him and passed on.

Next was the massive, invincible army of Prince Umar-Shaykh, arrayed with standards of triumph and victory raised in that vast plain such that the passage of the zephyr and north wind was blocked.

There were so many soldiers on that wide
plain that only with great cunning could the
breeze pass.
An army proud, world-emblazening, cavaliers
pugnacious and vengeful. [365]
All with lions' hearts and tigers' prowess,
scratching the clouds with their spear tips.

When the sunburst of the imperial banner, which was haloed by divine assistance, cast the shadow of arrival upon him, the prince hastened to perform the obligations of homage. After undertaking the rites of courtesy suitable to such a

prince, in royal response he bent his knee and opened his lips in extravagant praise.

"In rule and religion victory comes from you,
the ascendant of well-being for the world comes from you.
The key of your sword has victoriously unlocked an empire from the borders of China to the boundary of the Iron Gates.
I do not say that your worth comes from luck, for luck itself holds its head high because of you.
May everywhere you perfume the road with musk be as luminous as the sun and moon.
In every direction you go may your stirrup seize the world as time does.
With our souls the loins of us many slaves are girted in your service."
The world ruler gave him great praise and graciously prayed for him, saying,
"May great fortune shine upon you, may you ever be superior to your enemies." [366]
From there the procession passed on happily, the dust in its trail spreading ambergris to the winds.

When the Sahib-Qiran finished reviewing Prince Umar-Shaykh's troops, the army of Sultan-Mahmud Khan and Amir Sulaymanshah's troops stretched endlessly arrayed, filling the plain.

An army more numerous than the sands of the desert, at the time of vengeance crocodiles in a river of blood,
All fierce, ruthless and rancorous, unrelenting, world-burning, enemy-annihilating.

They too performed the customary ritual.

They recited praise to the emperor, saying,
"Without you may there be no crown or insignia.
May God assist you in every endeavor, may he keep you from the gaze of evil ones.
May the world be as you will, may heaven be your slave; may fate befriend you and fortune shine upon you.
We willingly give our lives for you, whether arrow rain down or mace or sword."
The world ruler praised them and invoked the World-creator.
Much praise he gave to them both, saying,
"May you always be in justice and religion."
From there he passed happily on, the breeze perfumed by the dust of his path.

Then the crescent atop the heavenly parasol as lofty as the sun shed a ray of felicity upon the army of Prince Muhammad-Sultan Bahadur—a regiment from a frowning wrinkle in whose brow time itself would be as upset as the tresses of beauties, and from the roar of whose wrath the sun in the sky would turn as dark as the tragedy-struck eyes of lovers. So numerous that the endless expanse of the steppe was cramped, [367] they stood arrayed in ranks.

An army beyond the bounds of reckoning, one and all fiercer than Rustam,
Valiant, bellicose cavaliers, heroic, huge in body and immitigable,
Like lions in wrath and mad elephants, ready to sacrifice their lives for honor.

When the Sahib-Qiran set his eyes in review upon that world-singeing, bloodthirsty corps, Prince Muhammad-Sultan performed the ritual of *uljamishi* and presented *peshkash*, as courtesy demanded, and spoke this panegyric:

"O king of the throne of creation, prayer for you is an amulet for the soul of the people of insight. Your crown surpasses the planets and stars, your army has seized the east and west. The solar ruby derives its splendor from your bezel, the morn of fortune dawns from your brow. In order to prostrate themselves before you the sun and moon have cast away their crowns. May victory be a sign of your fortune, may the world never be without you for an instant. May the celestial sphere obey your every command, may God befriend you in conquest. When battle rages, may we endeavor to sacrifice ourselves and may your fortune aid us. Happy be that fortunate servant who loses his head in your service."
The prince's address pleased the emperor, who praised him, saying, "Dear and worthy son, with a light like you in my family why should not the eye of my soul be bright?
May you be assisted by God in every labor, may you enjoy long life and reign."

When the corps of the *qol*, which in its vast numbers of warlike heroes was like a swelling ocean, [368] passed company by

company in review, the amirs and *noyans* performed the customary courtesies.

In the right flank of the Invincible Army Prince Miranshah Bahadur and his warriors, who considered the dust of the battlefield to be the only collyrium for the eye of fortune and felicity, and who recognized nothing other than warriors' blood in the arena of vengeance as rouge for the crimson cheek of happiness, raised the banners and standards of victory and covered the carpet of the plain from horizon to horizon.

A force more numerous than the desert sands,
ready to die in war, no one had ever seen their
backs in battle, they as nimble as the wind but
firm as the mountains, kindlers of the fire of
combat, raisers of the princely standard.

When the Sahib-Qiran reached them, Prince Miranshah, who was the cavalier of the arena of might and fortitude, dismounted, came forward and performed the rites demanded by courtesy. Bending the knee, he spoke this prayer:

"O generous king, pure in religion, adorner of
crown, throne and seal, since the creator of the
world made this earth no ruler like you has
appeared. God has given you the world, [369]
from the shining sun to the dusky earth. All
good in the world is from your justice;
wherever there are people they remember you.
You are the king of good fortune in this
world; it is you whom fortune has seen fit to
enthrone. May your glittering blade scorch the
enemy, may your standard and spear be
victorious.
I and everyone in the army have girted our
loins in service to the king. May you win in
this contest; may the enemy's throne topple."
Lord of the world Shah Sahib-Qiran was
pleased by the prince's words.
He praised him and spoke on every topic to
the army, saying,
"Be aware and speak measured words, trust in
God and seek success. Do not think you are
secure in this abode of sorrow, for sometimes
it is bright but sometimes it is jet black. Your
name must remain honorable; otherwise fix no
hopes in the treacherous world. May the
creator be pleased with you, and may he fill
your enemy's head with smoke." [370]

In the right flank also were commanders of renown and *noyans* of exalted station, like Muhammad Sultanshah, Amir Hajji Sayfuddin, Amir Jahanshah Chäkü and others it would take too long to list individually. Each one had arrayed his division battalion by battalion and company by company in their places. As the Sahib-Qiran approached each regiment, the commanders knelt, led the horses and with the tongue of sincerity and fealty executed the duty of praise. Royal generosity encompassed them all, praising and extolling them. From the beginning of the day, when the solar Jamshid mounted the blue steed of the celestial sphere, until evening, when the champion of the celestial army began to review the stars, the army corps was reviewed in the manner that had been established in the Kish Plain at Aq Yar.

Afterwards the drums were beaten and they all gave a great shout and returned to camp, as the world stood dumbfounded by the might and splendor of the Sahib-Qiran and the multitude of his army.

THE WORLD-CONQUERING SAHIB-QIRAN SENDS PRINCE MUHAMMAD-SULTAN TO THE VANGUARD

The Sahib-Qiran bestowed gifts upon the commanders and leaders of the army and was about to dispatch the vanguard when Prince Muhammad-Sultan Bahadur knelt and requested to be included. Extremely pleased by such daring and heroism, the Sahib-Qiran granted his request and put him in charge of the advance troops, praising and rewarding him, saying, [371]

The hope of the army and generals is in you,
that you may set out bright and hale.

On Friday the 7th of Jumada II [May 12], under a favorable ascendant chosen by skilled astrologers, he sent them out ahead, and appointed the greatest of his

renowned commanders to serve the royal stirrup.

Until this time they had had no word of the enemy. The prince and amirs traveled for two days until they reached a spot where in five or six places fires that had still not burned out had been lit. Immediately this news was dispatched to the Sahib-Qiran, who issued a command that the reconnoiterers should follow the trail and ascertain in which direction the people who had made the fires had gone. He bade them learn of the enemy but to be wary and vigilant at all times.

The king ordered his worthy son to be aware
of the enemy army and not to be negligent or
remiss.
They should search only along the path of
wisdom and always be aware of good and evil.

When the order reached the exalted prince and the renowned amirs, they hastened to obey. Day and night they wandered far, scouring the countryside. When they crossed the River Tobol, the trackers sent word, saying, "We saw fire in eighty places, but no matter how much we searched we could find no trace of anyone." This news was sent back to the Sahib-Qiran, who set out at once when this reached his ears. As he reached the River Tobol he found the crossing ruined by the passage of the vanguard. He ordered the soldiers to gather sticks and branches to repair the crossing. The Sahib-Qiran then, with the entire army, crossed the river and joined the vanguard.

The celestial troops put the plain under their world-traversing mounts' hooves, but of the enemy there was no trace. Everyone who went out into that trackless desert to reconnoiter [372] returned perplexed, finding no trace of anyone. By fortunate inspiration, the Sahib-Qiran summoned Shaykh-Daud Türkmän and sent him out with a group of heroes to search. This brave, experienced man had grown up in the wilderness and desert and had been through thick and thin. As ordered he set out, riding for two days and nights straight. On the second evening he found several *alachuqs*. He and several of his men hid themselves behind a hill. As dawn began to break, a rider left the camp. They waited until he was past them and, darting out after him, captured him and took him to the Sahib-Qiran. His Highness rewarded them, especially Shaykh-Daud, who was given a golden belt quiver and a robe of honor. When the captive was questioned concerning Toqtamïsh Khan, he said, "One month ago we left our tribe, and since then we have been living here, but there has been no word from the khan. However, several days ago ten mail-clad riders came, and they are in a forest near here. I do not know who they are." The Sahib-Qiran appointed Id Khwaja with thirty cavalrymen to go and bring the people of the *alachuqs*. As ordered, Id Khwaja brought them. Qumäri Yasaul was ordered to take twenty men and bring captive the ten men in the forest. Qumäri Yasaul set out as ordered, but when he found them a battle broke out in which some were killed and some were taken captive. They were brought to the foot of the throne and interrogated about Toqtamïsh Khan.

[The army] set out, traversing many stages and crossing many rivers and *köls*. On Monday the 24th of Jumada II [May 29] they reached the River Yayq (Ural). A scout reported that this river had three crossings, one called Ayghïryal, the second called Bür Kechit, and the third, which was the smallest, Chapma Kechit. The Sahib-Qiran, whose illuminated mind was ever correct, said, "It is not wise to cross at these places, for the enemy may be [373] waiting in ambush. It would be wise for us to cross higher up the river. Trusting in the Vigilant Protector, we will throw ourselves into the water and cross." That very moment they set out and, going further up the river, cavalry and infantry hit the river and swam across. It took two entire days for the

endless army to cross that mighty river in safety. For six more days they traveled and reached the River Samur. The scouts who had gone forward heard the sounds of the enemy and reported it to His Highness. Just then Prince Muhammad-Sultan captured one of the enemy and brought him to the world-receiving court. When he was interrogated he declared that the nation had been there en masse, but when they learned of the approach of the army, they had moved away. When it was learned where the enemy was, a universally obeyed edict was issued to the effect that no one should leave his division or company and that the soldiers should not build fires at night. Then the army was arranged into battle ranks and set out, troop by troop.

When the king learned of the enemy, he thought it wise to array the army.
He arranged the troops, who were enemy-crushing warriors all.
The army set out, troop after troop, like a churning sea, in waves.

Pitching camp in the vicinity of the River Iyik, the Sahib-Qiran mounted propitiously on Monday morning the first of Rajab [June 4] and, standing on the bridge, ordered the vanguard to cross first. There he stood until the entire center had crossed and the right and left flanks, hurling themselves into the water, crossed also. Only then did the triumphant victor himself cross the bridge. During this time the scouts captured three of the enemy and brought them [374] to the Sahib-Qiran. When questioned, they said, "Toqtamïsh Khan was not aware of your approach, but two of Edigü's *nökärs* escaped from your camp and reported that you were headed this way with an army more numerous than the sands of the desert and the leaves of the trees. When Toqtamïsh Khan heard this he flew into a rage and said, 'I will gather an army double the size [of his].' Sending out word in every direction, he collected his right-hand and left-hand forces and is now camped in Qïrq Köl, still recruiting forces."

See the error in the head of the malevolent one, who thinks victory lies in sheer numbers.
He makes every endeavor to muster countless soldiers.
He does not know that when battle rages victory is from God, not from the army.
On the day of vengeance it is fortune that prevails, not the greatness of army, swords and arrows.

Toqtamïsh Khan imagined that when the Sahib-Qiran reached the River Yayq he would cross at the fords, and therefore he was waiting in ambush along those routes. His Highness, by divine guidance, took that into consideration and crossed further up the river. Since his clever mind encompassed Toqtamïsh Khan's situation, he ordered a halt until the Invincible Army should catch up with him. Arranging the right and left flanks, he commanded that *turas* and *chapars* be held in readiness, and the perimeter of the royal camp was roped off and divided for the soldiers to dig trenches around themselves. In obedience to the order they set to work and kept a sharp watch throughout the night. [375]

The next day when the Chosroës of the east rose over this azure arch,

they set out on the march. Everywhere they halted they maintained the same precaution. The Sahib-Qiran summoned all the commanders of ten thousand down to one hundred and once again rewarded them with splendid robes of honor and the soldiers with coats of mail.

When the sea of favor began to swell, the army quaffed the goblet of reward.
To the leaders he gave special robes, with generosity he gladdened the hearts of all.
Opening the doors of the treasury, he distributed among the army maces, horse armor, mail, swords, arrows and bows,
And from there they set out, determined to fight.

Along the way they encountered a great muddy marsh. Passing through the marsh with great difficulty, they camped. That day one of the scouts sent word that three detachments of the enemy army had been spotted. Again news arrived that behind them another mass had been seen. The Sahib-Qiran mounted auspiciously and went forward. He commanded the army to form for battle and the right and left flanks to move. Just then a scout brought an enemy captive who was interrogated and put to death. Sevinchäk Bahadur and Arghunshah were sent to reconnoiter. They set out, but those who had shown themselves had retreated. They searched high and low but found no trace of the enemy. When they returned, His Highness the Sahib-Qiran assigned Mubashshir that task and ordered him not to return until he had obtained news of the enemy. Mubashshir set out in all haste with several brave men. Along the way he came upon a forest, in which he could see smoke from afar. Listening carefully, he heard sounds too. He sent someone to [376] investigate and ascertain how many or how few the enemy were. When it was ascertained that it was an enemy squadron, he arranged his men and attacked them.

When the enemy became aware that the army was at hand, they mounted and drew the sword of vengeance.
Since there was nothing to do but fight, battle lines were formed and they stood in mortal fear.
The flame of battle burned bright with the wind of vengeance, and fate said to sleeping strife, "Arise!"

Divine assistance, which was always linked to the Sahib-Qiran's fortune, smiled, and the Invincible Army overcame the enemy, forty of whom were taken prisoner and brought before the sultan's throne. The Sahib-Qiran rewarded Mubashshir regally and honored the men who were with him with various gifts of money. The prisoners were questioned about Toqtamïsh Khan, and they said, "Toqtamïsh Khan sent word to the army to gather in Qïrq Köl. We servants went in obedience to the command, but we did not find him and do not know why he has not kept the rendezvous. That is why we have been wandering in the wilderness and forest until this calamity befell us." When this was reported, the champion of wrath ordered them killed.

Just then the son of Mamaq was brought in wounded. Kneeling, he reported the following: "I was headed toward the khan from Saray, but I did not find him in the place that was to be the rendezvous. I know nothing more." The world-conquering Sahib-Qiran assigned Jalal son of Amir Hamid, with Nadayla Tarkhan, Möli, Sayïn Temür and a group of warriors, to a scouting party and said, "When you see the mass of the enemy army, show yourselves to them if they are many, and then withdraw so that they will be tricked [377] into advancing. Report whatever happens." In obedience Amir Jalal and his warriors set out. As they passed through mire, mud and water, the massed enemy came into view. Fifteen of them detached themselves and came forward. From this side Sayïn Temür rode forth, spoke with them and returned. Möli was dispatched to report to His Highness. Borrowing speed from lightning, he came before the foot of the caliphal throne and reported the situation.

THE SCOUTS ENGAGE IN BATTLE, AND AMIR EYGÜ TEMÜR IS KILLED

When His Highness the Sahib-Qiran received this news, he ordered Amir Eygü Temür to take his warriors forward and search out news of the enemy, where they were and whether they had come out in greater or lesser numbers—but he was to use utmost precaution wherever he went. That renowned commander hastened to obey the order and set out posthaste. Passing a vast marsh and two rivers, he joined Amir Jalal Hamid and

the other scouts. Advancing, he saw a group of enemy soldiers standing on the lookout on a hill. Immediately he dispatched a group of warriors and sword-wielding fighters toward them, but when the enemy caught sight of them, they withdrew from the hill. As they mounted the hill where the enemy had been, they saw in a low-lying area thirty detachments of cavalry, all clad in mail and in battle array, lying in ambush. When they learned of that, they stayed there and sent word to Amir Eygü Temür, who set out at once for the hill and made an estimation of the enemy. Since they were greater in number, he did not consider it prudent to engage in battle but thought the best course of action to have his men withdraw quietly, cross the water and head for the main body of the army. He himself stayed there with a few men, waiting for the troops. When the enemy realized that help was far away and there was much water and marsh land behind them, they charged Amir Eygü Temür, who with all bravery and great courage stood his ground, holding back several detachments with iron-piercing arrow shots. So great were his efforts that the Invincible Forces safely crossed the water and marsh. Just then, as fate would have it, an arrow struck his horse and [378] he too was hit by an arrow. Despite his wound he crossed the water on his wounded horse, but the horse had no more strength and collapsed. He was brought another horse to mount, but before he could get on, another arrow was shot from the hand of fate and mortally wounded that horse too. The enemy had him overwhelmingly surrounded, but that renowned hero stood firm and steadfastly refused to cease battling until the enemy, not recognizing who he was, cut him down. "We are God's, and to Him shall we return."[11]

No one escapes the guile of the world; no one is allowed to finish his tale;
The world loves no one; in it you will find little affection.
Thus is the custom and habit of the world: it produces but does not care for its children.

In that frightful incident, when the enemy's lamp of fortune flared bright before dying, Hari-Malik the son of Yadgar Barlas, Ramazan Khwaja and Muhammad Arlat also attained martyrdom.

A lamp that is about to go out lights up the house before it dies.

His Highness the Sahib-Qiran, accompanied by a few soldiers, reached the river bank at just this time. Amir Hajji Sayfuddin and Amir Jahanshah were serving in the royal retinue. At his command, the army dismounted and crossed the river, as granite-shattering arrows rained down.

Arrows from mighty bows fell upon the armored warriors, who drove back the enemy with sword and arrow, drawing cries from the enemy's soul. Not one of the enemy remained in place, for a fox cannot withstand a lion.

In that fray Jalal Hamid performed good service, charging with thirty of his men against three detachments of the enemy opposite them. As he charged and galloped courageously in every direction, from the twang of bows and the whistle of arrows sounds of annihilation rang in the enemy's ears.

Shouting in agitation, grasping a regal bow and straight arrow,
From the raven's nest of the bow he let fly the eagle of death toward the foe.

Nadayla also fought bravely, and Shah Malik son of Taghay Mörgän performed valiantly.

With every arrow a champion of the enemy army fell.

Bayazid Shishangushti also made a good showing, capturing three of the enemy. The Sahib-Qiran withdrew to the camp,

[11]Koran 2:156.

where he rewarded and promoted a number of those who had stood firmly in that frightful encounter and did their soldierly duty. [380] Raising them to the rank of *tarkhan,* he ordered that the guards not raise the arm of restraint against them, that they not be prevented from coming before the royal presence, and that they and their children might commit with impunity up to nine offenses.

Thus he replied: "For nine generations, none born of their line will be called to account for his offenses by those of our sons who will reign in our stead.

The relatives of Amir Eygü Temür, who attained the honor of martyrdom, were shown considerable favor. Among them, Shah Malik the son of Qalchaghay was granted particularly great royal favor. Amir Eygü Temür's rank and office were given to him, and he was entrusted with the great seal and the chancery seal.

The army had been traveling northwards for nearly six months when traces of dawn began to appear before the twilight had died away. In such northerly latitudes, according to the law, the nighttime prayer is not obligatory. From there the Sahib-Qiran set out, sword of victory drawn and banners and standards of fortune unfurled, and stopped on a high place.

On that hill the sultan rested until dawn broke. The world threw off the cloak of mourning and the sun displayed its crown.

Since Toqtamïsh Khan did not stay in one place so that the Invincible Army might catch him, and every day the enemy scouts showed themselves and retreated, they kept advancing without stopping through that endless desert. His Highness the Sahib-Qiran, upon consultation with the princes and *noyans*, ordered Prince Umar-Shaykh to set out with twenty thousand cavalrymen [381] and hasten to reach [Toqtamïsh] so that he would have to halt. Amir Sevinchäk, Sultan-Sanjar, Amir Uthman, Hasan Jandar and others were ordered to go with him. The day after they hastened to obey, the news came that the vanguards of both sides had clashed. When His Highness learned of this, he ordered the army arrayed, and under a favorable ascendant

He set out towards the enemy, seeking vengeance, with the might of fortune and God's help.

That day there was so much rain and it was so overcast that

The air was dark and the clouds shed tears while fate sharpened the dagger of strife.

THE ARMY IS ARRAYED AND BATTLE ENSUES

The Sahib-Qiran, the World Conqueror, on Monday, the 15th of Rajab 793 [June 18, 1391] of the Year of the Sheep, when after six days the weather cleared, occupied himself with arranging the army for battle. He commanded there to be seven *qol*s in such a way that no one had ever seen or heard of the likes—such being the result of divine inspiration and heavenly assistance, for there are in the characteristics of the number seven so many mysteries that only those aware of the mystery of the "seven repeated ones"[12] can fathom them.

The nightingales of this garden sing a different melody.

One *qol* was appointed to Sultan-Mahmud Khan, and they were all brave men, sword-wielding heroes:

All warriors of renown, like lions ruffled in the field of battle, [382] an army like a boiling

[12] *Sab' al-mathānī* (reference to Koran 15:87), the "seven repeated ones," often interpreted as the seven frequently repeated verses of Chapter 1 of the Koran but, like other Koranic numbers, also of wider numerological significance.

sea at war, all having sharpened their claws like darts.

The leadership *(bashlamïshi)* was given to Amir Sulaymanshah, and having arrayed the great *qol*, he gave it to Prince Muhammad-Sultan, the wings [given] to lion-conquering, battle-scarred, army-crushing warriors:

All with loins tightly girded for battle, with heavy battle maces over their shoulders.
Their swords glistening with blood, their spears piercing the bowels of the clouds.

He selected twenty companies of brave heroes of the army and intrepid warriors—

Haughty, sword-wielding lions, battle-tried, indomitable,
Warrior riders and fearless men who reduce all to dust with fiery dagger.
Their labor all striving and charging; their only thought to raise the banner—

and appointed them to accompany the royal stirrup, to stand separately behind the great *qol* until the battle raged with the heroes of both sides engaged so that, if a squadron of the Invincible Army should be in need of assistance, they would stand in readiness.

To the right another *qol*—

All lion men tried in battle, intrepid binders of the enemy, conquerors of realms, in the tumult of battle each one a rank-breaker, each of them [worth] a legion of the enemy—

he arrayed under the banner of Prince Miranshah. In front Shahzada Muhammad Sultan Shah stood ready for battle with *chapars* and *turas*, and in the right-hand group [383] was Amir Hajji Sayfuddin with a battalion arrayed

Courage displaying, battle-tried, warrior-overthrowing, ever victorious, realm-conquering, shattering the heart of the enemy,
All, like shields, having opened their breasts to blade; all, like the essence of the sword, drenched in iron.

In the left flank another *qol*—

A group full of courage, champions, enemy-hunting, kingdom-seizing, strong in body, puissant and courageous, in form like elephants, in force like lions—

in service to the royal stirrup was appointed to Prince Umar-Shaykh. Among the left-hand corps were Berdi Beg Sarï-Buqa and Khudadad Husayni with a troop of warriors—

Who, if they drew their blades in anger, the blood in the heart and eyes of clouds would turn to water;
And if they hit a bird in flight with an arrow, ancient Bahram (Mars) would tremble in fright—

who turned the face of agility toward battle with the enemy. Amirs to the right and left, divisions, battalions and companies,[13] each in its place and battle ranks arrayed with footsoldiers and cavalry holding their *chapars* before them, ready for battle.

An innumerable army was arrayed, whose dust clouded the sun's face.
On the battlefield each one a Rustam, one of them [equal to] a myriad of the enemy.
An army with so many breastplates, swords and helmets that the sun and moon were dazzled. [384]
From their blades, maces, drums and dust the earth was black and the sky was dark.

From the other direction appeared the vanguard of the enemy, and Toqtamïsh Khan arrived with his center and two flanks under princes of Jochid lineage like Tashtemür Oghlan, Beg Yarïq Oghlan, Elyïghmïsh Oghlan, Beg Pulad Oghlan, Ali Oghlan, Jintä Oghlan, etc., and *amirs* and *noyans* like Ali and Sulayman Sufi Qonqïrat, Nawroz Qonqïrat, Aqta and Aq Buqa and Urus Juq Qayat, Isa Beg elder brother of Edigü, Hasan Beg,

[13] Division *(tümän)*, a unit of ten thousand; battalion *(hazära)*, a unit of one thousand; company *(qošun)*, a subdivision of the battalion.

Saray Kök Buqa, Yaghïlï Bey Bahrin, Qonghur Bey and other amirs and leaders of the Jochid nation.

The army arrived, troop after troop, like a boiling sea billowing in waves.
The earth turned the color of stone from their horses' hooves, with their spears the air bristled like a leopard's back.
From one end to the other the plain and mountain stood in dread of the army's mounts' hooves.

So many soldiers of the enemy arrived in that plain that the accountant of the mind was incapable of reckoning their number with the fingers of estimation and approximation. The world-conquering Sahib-Qiran, however, was of such sublime rank and high station that

The celestial sphere was beneath his degree, the world was under the refuge of his shadow.

With perfect courage and bravery he commanded that the army should dismount and pitch their tents.

When Toqtamïsh Khan witnessed the utter power and bravery of the Invincible Army and their inattention to the enemy, he was astonished and, taking stock, busied himself with [385] arraying his battle ranks.

He arrayed the army from end to end, with blade and sword and heavy mace.
So much armor, helmets, arrows and axes, chain mail, helmets, spears and shields
That you would say the world from one end to the other was iron, or Mount Alburz in armor.

When the two armies drew up their ranks opposite one another, the enemy forces of the right and left flank were more numerous by several companies. The Sahib-Qiran, who in all things sought the assistance of the Creator's favor and relied upon the grace of the Maker, not upon the multitude or readiness of his own army, as was his good custom in every encounter, dismounted and prayed with sincerity two *rak'at*s of prayer, rubbing the face of humility and supplication upon the ground of entreaty, seeking triumph from the court of the Bestower of victory....

After communing with the world of mysteries and hidden things, he put his trust in God's infinite grace, mounted gleefully and headed off. The warriors and champions of the army sent forth shouts of exaltation and [386] praise that rose to Saturn's dome and the celestial wheel, and raised the banners of good fortune and the standards of Islam to the apex of Capella. On both sides the *kävürgä, kus* and *naqara*[14] were beaten so loudly that Father Time's ears were deafened by the sound.

The din of the drums came forth: the earth and time were shaken.
The shout of the army came from both sides: the world was filled with pugnacious men.
It was as though day could not be told from night, for the world-illuminating sun was hidden.

Just then the offspring of glory, the scion of the blessed lineage of prophecy and apostleship, Sayyid Baraka, who was ever a giver of glad tidings to the Sahib-Qiran, raised the hand of devotion in supplication, uncovering his blessed head in humility, and asked for conquest and victory from the Glorious One, and, in accordance with the custom of his great ancestor (upon whom be the best of prayers and most perfect of salutations), recited the [Koranic] verse, "O true believers, remember God's favour towards you, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against you, but he restrained their hands from hurting you; therefore fear God, and in God let the faithful trust,"[15] and saying, "May their faces be disfigured," threw dust in the direction of the enemy. Then, addressing the Sahib-Qiran, he said, "Turn whither-

[14]*Kävürgä, kūs* and *naqāra* are various types of kettledrums and timpani.

[15]Koran 5:11.

soever you will, for you will be aided." Immediately the braves of both armies kindled the flame of battle with the wind of attack, and the fire of war and fighting blazed forth.

I will not call them two armies but rather two seas of blood, more numerous than the sands of the desert,
Charging intent upon spilling blood, blades and banners raised against each other. [387]
From every direction warriors and battlers drew swords of vengeance.
Grasping spears and javelins, they set their hearts upon extermination in battle.
The earth turned to dust and rose up to the heavens, the world became a sea and began to billow.
From the dust raised by angry, rancorous steeds the wellspring of the sun was choked.
The face of the king of heaven turned pale with fright; the fount of the moon was filled with dust.
The turning celest gave forth a groan and a cry of surrender came from the world.

First of all, Amir Hajji Sayfuddin, of the invincible forces of the Sahib-Qiran, charged, sword drawn, and broke the left-hand rank of the enemy, which was opposite him, and put them to flight.

The army withdrew pell-mell.

The several companies of the enemy that were left went after Amir Hajji Sayfuddin's forces. When Jahanshah Bahadur saw this, he headed them off with his forces and beat them back with glistening sword and jabbing of fire-dripping spear. Qulanchaq Bahadur also attacked and drove back an enemy company. Prince Amiranshah urged his mammoth, desert-traversing steed and gave his emerald blade the color of pomegranate rubies with the blood of warriors, changing the emerald of his sword into Yemeni agate through the influence of the rays of Canopus,[16] [388]

In one charge the renowned prince overthrew many of their cavalry

until the enemy remaining in front of his *qol* were put to rout. Uthman Bahadur, with the Qïpchaq company, drove forward and fought with three companies of the enemy. In the midst of charging and turning, his horse faltered, but he immediately remounted, attacked and scattered the enemy vanguard. Shaykh Ali Bahadur, who was a crocodile in the sea of battle, performed manly feats, and Prince Muhammad-Sultan charged from the great *qol* and broke the enemy's center. The lion of the thicket of bravery, Prince Umar-Shaykh, in the left flank, with the force of his successful arm, made his stormy sword shine in singeing the life of the enemy and, performing manly deeds, vanquished all before him.

When the ocean begins to billow and quake, fleet-footed fire cannot hold it back.
When the enemy spies his banner from afar, his heart goes into mourning.

Berdi Beg and Khudadad also charged into the fray and upset the enemy's right-hand group. Everyone from the Invincible Army, general and leader alike, grappled with the opposing forces and mingled the dust of the battlefield with the blood of the enemy. The enemy's shields, mail and bodies were riveted and pierced with arrows and spears, warriors' heads were broken by maces, and champions' necks were bound with lassoes.

There came forth so many spears, maces and sharp swords that you would say that it was the resurrection. [389]
Death lurked in ambush on every side, as the earth, from end to end, became a sea of blood.
It was such that no one could see the face of the earth, the ground hidden by the dead.

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[16]Canopus *(suhayl)*, a star of good association, lies low on the horizon in the southern Islamic world and is always associated with the Yemen, over which it rises when seen from Mecca. Here its sole function is to accord with the Yemeni agate, a blood-red stone.

When Toqtamïsh Khan saw the traces of weakness in his forces and realized that he did not have the power to withstand the Sahib-Qiran, he turned away toward Prince Umar-Shaykh. Finding his forces arrayed, he avoided him too and turned to face Shaykh Temür Bahadur and the Sulduz battalions. With a great mass of leaders and warriors from his army, he enjoined battle. Although Shaykh Temür Bahadur and his division barraged them with a downpour of arrows, like devotees valiantly facing death they refused to turn away. They charged again and again with blades and weapons and in the end gained the victory, with many of the Sulduz falling to the swords of wrath. Passing through their midst, they drew up their ranks behind the Invincible Army.

When the sun of the sphere of bravery and courage, Prince Umar-Shaykh, saw this, he turned back without halt and faced Toqtamïsh Khan. Dashing forward, they kindled the blaze of battle. At this time the Sahib-Qiran was in pursuit of Toqtamïsh Khan's army that had been routed. Jäkä Tovachï said to him, "Toqtamïsh Khan has by-passed the Invincible Army with several of his companies and has drawn up his ranks behind our men." His Highness was still contemplating this when news to the same effect was received from Prince Umar-Shaykh. With a group of vengeful warriors the ever-victorious Sahib-Qiran turned the reins of his attention toward them.

When Toqtamïsh Khan saw the triumph-sloganed banners, the foot of his determination slipped from under him.

Reason knows that when moonlight puts its hand to the sword, staving off its wounds is not in proportion to chain mail and linen.[17] [390]

With nothing else to do but wash his hands in fright with the water of regret from all thought of crown and throne, he severed his heart from desires of kingdom and empire and, in mortal terror, fled pell-mell.

Turning the reins over to his fleet steed, he escaped with much cunning and guile from the field of battle.

When Toqtamïsh Khan was seized by the shame of ingratitude and impropriety to his benefactor, he chose flight and, in accordance with the line:

If you transgress against your benefactor, even if you are a celestial sphere you will be overturned,

he turned his back in flight and set his face toward escape, and, as the [Koranic] verse, "but if ye be ungrateful, verily my punishment shall be severe,"[18] came true, the entire Jochid nation was vanquished and broken.

They gave up hope of life and resigned themselves to helplessness.
King and army all showed their backs, and from their efforts only empty air came to hand.
No crown, no throne, no fortune left; no horse, no warrior standing.
Drum, banner and spear overturned—stirrup and rein all in a heap.
No implements of war, no friend, no chattel—both right and left flank flown.
The plain was filled with the dead; the field in humps with the slain.
For a distance of forty leagues the earth was drenched in blood. [391]

Upon the document of those deluded ones' wretchedness was written, "God was not unjust towards them, but they

[17]Apparently the meaning is that no amount of readiness for battle can avert the wounds of fate.

[18]Koran 14:7.

dealt unjustly with their own souls,"[19] and as an evil end to their audacity and misconduct, the words "they shall all be vanquished and flee in rout"[20] were sealed upon the page of their misfortune.

If you ask the mountains, they will echo in reply, saying, "A branch of error does not bear true fruit."
Evil-thinking men see only evil: they see no one more fallen and helpless than themselves.
Those who provoke evil shall suffer evil, like a scorpion, which rarely makes it home.

Since the words "they tasted the evil consequences of their business; and the end of their business was perdition"[21] described the state of Toqtamïsh Khan and his followers, the Sahib-Qiran dismounted in victory and triumph and discharged his duty to express gratitude and thanks to the King of All.

Thus he set up the celest and adorned the world with day and night, that one would be worthy of a throne and another would be deserted by fortune.

The princes and generals of high station gathered about the foot of the throne of victory and bent the knee. The Sahib-Qiran embraced them and showered the leaders and heroes of the Invincible Army with all sorts of favor, bestowing regal gifts. Choosing seven out of ten of the entire army, he sent them in pursuit after those who had fled. [392] The valiant heroes polished their blades of vengeance with the venom of wrath, twisted their lassos coil upon coil with the hand of puissance, sharpened their glistening swords upon the whetstone of rage, and made their fire-raining spears drip blood like the glances of beloveds and the eyes of lovers. Throwing the bow of agility over their shoulders and casting a furrow of severity across their brows, they spurred their mammoth fleet-foots and, turning the dust of the plain into tutty with their chargers' hooves, they hurled the dust into the eyes of the stars. In obedience to the command they raced after the enemy like lightning and set forth with the speed of fate.

That day the Atal (Volga) River lay before the unfortunate, and behind them were bloodthirsty swords: there was neither in the one direction escape or flight nor in the other respite or reprieve.

Neither before lay a way nor behind was there safety; nothing in between save arrows and swords, neither power to stand in battle nor opportunity to attempt flight.

Before them the Atal was deep and over their heads; behind them a torrent of swords was rising to their necks. Between the two, most of them were hurled from the water of life out upon the dusty bank of death, and the flame of their life was blown out by the wind of extinction. Few managed to escape that whirlpool of calamity, and they, their offspring, property and possessions—all fell into the hands of the Invincible Army.

That mighty army seized more booty than I can tell.

Among the princes and leaders of the Jochid nation, Könchä Oghlan, Temür Qutlugh Oghlan[22] and Edigü had of old fallen out with Toqtamïsh Khan and, fleeing from him, sought refuge at the celestial court of the Sahib-Qiran. They accompanied him everywhere, and His Majesty singled them out for great favor, bestowing upon them time and again presents and gifts beyond reckoning and continually [393] ennobling them with

[19]Koran 16:33.
[20]Koran 38:11.
[21]Koran 65:9.

[22]A grandson of Urus Khan of the Qïpchaq Khanate. Toqtamïsh overthrew Temür Qutlugh's father Temür Malik in 1376–77. After Timur's defeat of Toqtamïsh, he set up Temür Qutlugh as khan of Qïpchaq. See Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 130.

regal gifts such as gem-studded belts, honors and noble horses.

At this time, when the breeze of victory and triumph was blowing from the hidden recesses of divine intervention over the victory-sloganed banners, Toqtamïsh Khan, realizing the truth of the proverb "he who escapes with his head has made a gain," dragged himself, half dead, with great guile from the verge of destruction, while the Jochid nation, completely devastated, scattered to the winds.

Those two noble youths of Jochid lineage, [Könchä Oghlan and Temür Qutlugh Oghlan,] and Edigü bent the knee before the sublime throne and said, "If it please Your Majesty, we slaves will go and each placate our nations, gather them and bring them here." His Highness graciously allowed their plea and ordered that for each a universally obeyed edict be issued to the effect that no creature might hinder or harm the khans or their people. Receiving these orders, they set out happy and glad to search for their people, and the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran set forth in felicity and fortune after the celestial forces that had gone forth in pursuit of the enemy. When they reached the Atal River and the Ur Töpä plain, which was a prairie as pleasant, beautiful and fertile as the Garden of Iram—

A carpet as fertile as the soul of the wise,
climate as temperate as love for a child—

the camp was pitched for the royal descent, a majestic and awesome *sarapardа*[23] was set up encircling the plain, and inside it the dome of the victorious court was raised to the apex of the heavens.

An enclosure of gold-spun brocade, within it tents and pavilions innumerable.
The carpet of the earth lost amidst the camp, its pavilions the envy of the ninth sphere.
In every direction were pitched tents and canopies, three parasangs from end to end.
For the princes' banquet pavilions raised their heads on every side to the moon.
Amirs in their places on all four sides, each one with more pomp than Jamshid. [394]

When Temür Qutlugh, who had gone in search of his nation, gathered his people, he began to smell the aroma of grandeur in being the khan of the Jochid nation and, drawing the line of forgetfulness through the rights of the Sahib-Qiran and unfaithful to his promise, betook himself and his followers to the steppe. Edigü too, when he found again his people and they joined him en masse, scratched the face of loyalty with the fingernail of bad faith and left in the other direction.

A loyal friend will never turn against you, yet brambles bear no fruit but thorns.
The wise seek not loyalty from enemies, for basil does not grow from seeds of rue.
No one has ever derived sugar from reed, for the essence of a thing cannot be changed by any exertion.
One whose nature is evil can think only of trickery and deception.

Könchä Oghlan located some of his people, but since he had attained the station of proximity to the royal confidence, he came as promised to the world-protecting court and was noticed by the glance of favor.

The amirs and soldiers who, acting upon orders, had gone in all directions, returned to the court victorious and triumphant, with immeasurable booty in horses, camels, cattle, sheep, captives, maidens and boys. All enemies who had taken refuge on the islands of the Atal were taken prisoner. Indeed, the victory-sloganed forces took so much booty in that renowned conquest that it is past description.

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[23] *Sarāparda* signifies not only the fabric enclosure surrounding a royal tent but also the tent itself. Here, as in the following poetry, the several words for tent *(khayma, qubba, khargāh)* may indicate distinctly different types of tents; they may also, especially in poetry, be used synonymously. See Paul Pelliot, *Notes*, p. 123, note 2; Andrews, "Felt Tent," p. 148.

They dragged booty beyond enumeration to the prince's gate.

The soldiers of the royal camp, who had been hard put to find sustenance, now had so many horses and cattle that when they set out to return, they were unable to herd them all. Some they drove and others they left.

And of captives—as one of the elegants who was in attendance in the royal retinue has versified with the tongue of hope,

If sufficient life remains, we shall capture the Toqmaq Turks—

there were so many houri-like maidens and elegant, charming boys gathered in the victorious camp that those who were selected especially for the Sahib-Qiran were more than five thousand—moon-faced virgin maidens and cypress-statured lads with tulip cheeks, before whose world-illuminating countenance the dawning sun withdrew into a veil of shame, and in the face of whose sun-like beauty, were the vigilant ascetic to see them in a dream, he would rip the collar of his cloak of abstinence as the dawn [rips the fabric of the night].

In beauty, peris; in chastity, pearls; in stature, angels; in countenance, moons.
In the strutting boxtrees [of their bodies] is agony for the soul; in the eloquent coral [of their lips] is treasure for the mind.
In stature how like the free cypress, in countenance how like the spring, in gait how like a pheasant.
In constriction their mouths are the hearts of the destitute, the ends of their tresses are nooses around the throats of souls.

In that heavenly camp, whose freshness bespoke of paradise above, the happy nature of the Chosroës to whom the celestial sphere is slave commanded an entertainment.

A regal celebration the king commanded, and that banqueting place became a Garden of Iram.
Through the fortune of the king, whose glory was as vast as the heavens, the implements of gaiety were assembled.
The entire plain and meadow were filled with trays, such that the eye of the celest was dazzled.
Golden vessels, more than a thousand, full of delicious ruby-colored wine.
There was koumiss,[24] honey, wine and liquor—the world was filled with mirth and joy.
So much did the cupbearers carry goblets to and fro that the heavens were swayed with glee.
From the melody of the singer and tune of the lute, assuasive Venus[25] began to spin. [396]

Through the aid and assistance of the Eternal One, in that very locale—which was the resting place of the throne of the sultanate and khanate of Jochi Khan and his sons—raised upon the throne of emperorship and world rule, the Sahib-Qiran occupied himself with revelry and celebration.

Around the throne stood beauties imparting splendor to the world with their cheeks.
With countenances of peris, idols of graceful stature, snares for hearts woven of their tresses.
Fair maidens, raised in coyness, their faces never having seen the dust of the evil eye.
The string player struck the *ushshaq* mode and thereby cast revelry across the horizon.
The intoxicated cupbearer brought his blandishments into play, with winks he shot darts one after another, strutting, goblet in hand, like a partridge, a blossoming tulip on a cypress branch.

The endless pleasure and freshness of the verdant royal camp, the ever increasing garden of power and majesty green and fresh from the exudings of victory and triumph, the pleasure and joy of the water of the river of the victorious encampment, the limpid water of fortune and felicity from the spring of divine fa-

[24]Koumiss *(qïmïz)*, fermented and sweetened mare's milk, a delicacy of the Central Asian nomadic peoples.

[25]Note that in the Persian convention the astrological Venus is associated with music and has no erotic significance.

vor splashed over the brook of happy days, the victorious camp as limitless as the extent of hope, in length and breadth as vast as the scope of power and dominion, like paradise, whose breadth is the heavens and earth, crystalline goblets full of molten ruby in the hands of elegant cupbearers, and cups of hope and anticipation brimful of limpid favor and reward, with the drill of the implements of joy and happiness the soldiers of tribulation packed their baggage and the forces of grief and sadness **[397]** turned their backs in defeat, and with the onslaught of vengeance the invincible armies broke the enemy force and uprooted completely the foundations of the enemy's power, the tune of melodious singers cast a murmur of enjoyment and happiness into Venus' revels, and the melody maker of the banquet of joy sang a soul-stirring tune in the key of success.

Eternal be the Sahib-Qiran, by whose justice
the world flourishes.
"Well done," says the world creator of him in
whose glory bask time and space.
The earth a rose garden at the foot of his
throne, time brightened by a ray of his fortune.
May the heads of his enemies be the dust
under his foot, may his pleasure abode be at
the head of the azure throne.
May the celestial sphere be his slave, may the
stars look upon him with favor, may the lord
of the world be his protector.

In that pleasurable spot twenty-six days were thus spent in enjoyment and revelry—praise God.

Timur's Construction of the Dilgusha Garden, His Marriage to Tükäl Khanïm, and His Architectural Improvements to the Shrine of Ahmad Yasavi at Yasï

The following is Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's account of the construction of the Dilgusha Garden at Samarqand, its dedication to Tükäl Khanïm, daughter of Khizr Khwaja of Mughulistan, and the celebration of her marriage to Timur. Also included are some details of Timur's building efforts at the shrine of Ahmad Yasavi in Yasï.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DILGUSHAY GARDEN, AND THE BUILDING OF FARAH-AFZAY PALACE

At the beginning of spring that year, 799 [A.D. 1396], the Lord of the Conjunction ordered that along the Kan-i Gil meadow, which was more pleasant in its freshness than the Garden of Iram and more enjoyable than paradise, a garden be built.

At dawn, when golden diademed morn placed
a crown of gold and throne of ivory,
The astrologer spied an ascendant of great
favor.
Workers skilled in design, geometers
renowned for measuring,
Laborers of intricate skill in building,
designers in layout,

expert engineers and skilled builders, who had been gathered in the caliphal capital from every country and region, in accordance with the sublime command laid the foundation at an auspicious hour and under an auspicious ascendant for a four-sided garden, each side 1,500 cubits in length. In the middle of each of the four sides opened a lofty gateway, the arches of which surpassed the stalactited roof of the celestial sphere and which were ornamented with beautiful tile work of every description. In each corner of the four sides a dove tower[26] raised its head to Altair's nest, and they too were adorned with extremely elaborate tile work. **[14]** The garden was laid out geometrically with four-sided pathways *(guzar)*, hexagonal and triangular plots. It was ordered that along the borders of the pathways poplars be planted, while the edges of the hexagons and triangles were

[26]Reading *burj-i kabūtar* with the Calcutta MS for the *burj-i ki* of the text.

bedecked with various fruit-bearing and flowering trees.

When the earth was divided into plots, each was assigned a [type of] fruit.
When I tune my instrument to the scale of description and open the door to the garden of thought,
I can enumerate several types of fruit so that the tree may bear the fruit of the branch of desire.
Perhaps it would be best to begin with the quince, to cast water into an azure stream.
Furry jacketed and beautiful to behold, so grand that it has ground gold into the dust.
So all-inclusive is it inside that it possesses the countenance of lovers and the aroma of the beloved.
If I mention varieties of apple, I will never be able to enumerate them all.
With the *gulabi* I will scent my breath with musk in order to praise the red apple.[27]
Abdi, *ashkawana* and *qumzak*—how can I describe them all one by one?
If I begin to describe the apricot, I will first have to gladden my heart with the *arusak*.[28]
I make my heart merry with mention of the *ma'muri* so that my desolate [place] will be far from tribulation.[29]
I cannot speak of the peach, for there is another aspect to this speech.
It is characteristic of that sweet-kerneled one that its seed is beneficence and its root praise.
A sign of that marvelous fruit is that it is delicate, pleasing, small and large.
When I begin to describe the *alucha*, my mind loses its way in that lane.
Do not ask for an explanation of the apricot and its varieties until you find it planted in the garden.
The pleasing seedless berry captured the bird of the heart in a snare of coquetry. [15]
If I were to attempt to versify a description of grapes, reason would become drunk on my words.
Shikar grapes sweeter than sugar, the palate of hope full of sugar thereof.[30]
Sahibi grapes for the possessors of knowledge, pleasing and delightful.[31]
What could I say true of the *husayni*?[32]
Lovers' hearts are freed from misery by it.[33]
May my daily sustenance be the one-seed ruby,[34] beautiful and sweet as the beloved's lips.
Who knows how many varieties of grapes there are?
Kiss the hand of him who planted the vine, who generously *(karam)* planted the root of the vine *(karm)*,
Whose fruit would be like this—the mind boggles at contemplating it.
If I attempt to describe the pomegranate, I will fill the casket of poetry with gems.
How can I explain the pear *(nashpati)*? A congealed candy syrup.
Plums *(alu)*, grapes, pistachios and pears *(amrud)*—how can I weave the weft for the warp of description of each?
When I speak of almonds, I remember the eye of that cypress-statured one with a silver body.
My mouth hangs open like the pistachio: let me stop lest the secret be revealed.

Since it was extremely beautiful and delightful *(dilgusha)*, it was named in the tongue of undying fortune the Dilgusha Garden so that the name might reflect what was named.

In the middle [of the garden] the foundations were laid for a structure that comprised three tall arches and a sturdy dome lofty in station and stable in beauty and magnificence.

A building powerful in might and everlasting, marvelous, inspirational and delightful,

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[27]The *gulābī* (rose-water) would be a highly scented apple; both the *mushkīn* (musky) and *surkh* (red) were cultivated in Bukhara in the last century. See Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, p. 168.

[28]*'Arūsak*, lit. "doll," is obviously a type of apricot.

[29]The *ma'mūrī* apricot was still cultivated in Bukhara in the last century. See Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, p. 165. *Ma'mūr* ("flourishing") forms an antithesis with the "desolate place" *(kharāb)*.

[30]The *shikar-angūr* is mentioned by Khanikoff (p. 157): "a round grape, of a pale green colour, passing into the yellow."

[31]The *ṣāḥibī* grape is "of an oval form, green, with red spots on it" (Khanikoff, p. 157).

[32]The *ḥusaynī* "is of two sorts, blue and green, of an oval shape, measuring one and a half inches in length" (Khanikoff, p. 156).

[33]This line is replete with musical terminology: *ḥusaynī*, *rāst*, *'ushshāq* and *nawā*.

[34]*La'l-i yakdāna* (single-pit ruby) sounds like a type of grape, but it has not been identified.

With depictions of fortune its beauty was augmented, felicitous with fortune and good omen.
Around the walls were made lofty pillars of marble.
Its chamberlains Capella and Zephyr, hundreds of divine favors enter it every instant.

In order to please the magnificent lady, to favor whom was a good and pleasant custom, **[16]** His Highness dedicated it to Tükäl Khanïm, the daughter of Khizr Khwaja Oghlan, whom the *noyan*s had been sent to request in marriage. After laying the foundation of the Dilgusha Garden pavilion, the victorious conqueror's standards headed for Tashkent. The royal train crossed the Oxus and stopped in Ahangaran near the village of Chinas, where they wintered. There they built winter quarters of reed and cane.

The Sahib-Qiran went to Yasï to visit the shrine of Shaykh Ahmad Yasavi, a descendant of the Imamzada Muhammad Hanafiyya, and ordered that the holy shrine be structurally improved (*ta'mir*). The foundations were laid for a large complex consisting of a high, expansive arch with two towers (*minar*) and a dome thirty cubits in diameter and another dome twelve cubits in diameter with a *charsuffa*[35] for the sacred resting place aligned with the great dome. On two sides of the dome were to be two more *charsuffa*s, each thirteen and a half cubits in diameter, to serve as *jama'atkhana*, other chambers and appurtenances.[36] It was ordered that the wall and dome be decorated with tile work and the tomb be [covered] with elaborately carved white stone decorated with marvelous designs. The construction was entrusted to Mawlana Ubaydullah Sadr, and, as ordered, it was completed in two years. When it was visited by His Majesty, he distributed regal alms and charity to the *mujawir*s and the deserving poor. From there he returned to the royal camp.

The good news arrived that Her Highness Tükäl Khanïm was approaching, so all the *aghas* and amirs set out, as ordered, to greet her. They went for fifteen days and performed the rituals of *nithar* and presentation of horses, and they left nothing undone in honoring her. All along the way elaborate *toys* were held at every *yurt*, and on Wednesday the first of Rabi' I 800 [November 22, 1397] the Nushaba of the age was ushered with all ceremony into the world-receiving court of the Alexander of his time. A command was issued to arrange a celebration and a great *toy*. The cadis and **[17]** ulema were summoned, and that pearl of the jewel casket of the sultanate and khanate was strung onto the marital necklace of His Highness the Sahib-Qiran in accordance with the holy religious law. The *aghas*, princes, amirs and *noyan*s opened the hands of rejoicing to scatter *nithar*, and the air rained gems and the earth was heavy laden with gold and jewels. For a long time everyone was submerged day and night in enjoyment of revelry and entertainment, and the tongue of good fortune sang this song of congratulations:

The world is made young again by this gathering and has clasped the beautiful bride of fortune to its embrace.
Merriment is the bride, and the hearts of the people of the world the groom; the song is well-wishing, and the mode is victory and triumph.

Royal affection singled out the lords and ladies who had accompanied the grand lady to be awarded splendid robes and many gifts. The ambassadors of

[35]That is, in each of the four walls of the square chamber beneath the small dome is a recessed, arched opening—the ensemble called a *chārṣuffa*. See Golombek and Wilber, plan 59.

[36]"To the west of the mausoleum is a small masjid of rectangular form (6.4 m. x 9.4 m.) with very deep arched recesses"; the chamber to the east is now known as the "large Aq Saray" but its layout is not of the *chārṣuffa* type. The auxiliary rooms are the kitchen and bath. See Golombek and Wilber, pp. 285f.

Tonguz Khan,[37] who had come from Cathay bearing gifts and presents, were allowed, through the intermediary of the amirs, to kiss the carpet and present their tribute. Their message was delivered, and they were given leave to depart, having been encompassed by royal favor.

When the Sun entered Pisces, His Majesty perspicaciously assigned Prince Muhammad-Sultan to secure the borders of Mughulistan and ordered that he elevate the fortress at Ashpara[38] and make every effort to increase the population and improve the agriculture. Berdi Beg Sarï-Buqa, Amir Hajji Sayfuddin, Khudadad Husayni, Amir Shamsuddin Abbas and other amirs were assigned to him with forty thousand mounted men. They hastened to obey the command and made Ashpara a camp of the Invincible Army, occupying themselves with the initial phases of building and planting.

When the celestially enthroned royal rider, the illuminating sun, settled in his place of honor, the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran rose from the winter quarters **[18]** and headed toward Samarqand. The victory emblazoned standards, haloed with divine assistance, crossed the Khujand River and cast the shadow of arrival upon Samarqand. By the descent of the victorious train that eternal region was the object of heaven's jealousy. Several days later he turned his reins from there to Kish.

Along the way is a mountain, approximately seven parasangs from Samarqand, and at the pass flows a river. When the mighty emperor reached that mountain, since his realm-adorning mind never missed an opportunity to build something in any place that was worthy of a structure, he ordered a garden laid out there in such a way that the sweet waters of the river would flow through the garden in remembrance of the divine words "beneath which rivers flow."[39] At the top of a mountain spur there a palace was to be made. When the command was executed and the construction was completed as ordered, it was named Takht-i Qaracha. Two days later, the victorious banners set forth and, skirting the mountains, took the road to Ribat-i Yam. Along the way Prince Shahrukh, who had left his winter quarters in Astarabad and taken the Makhan road, attained the felicity of kissing the royal hand. The Sahib-Qiran embraced his favored son and

> Took him into his embrace and caressed him, his happiness increasing at the sight of his son.

The prince performed the ritual of *nithar* and *peshkash.*

The Sahib-Qiran left Kish and camped in Elchi Balïgh, the dome of his tent surpassing the apex of the moon. He spent several days in that pleasant place and those enjoyable meadows, his old *yurt.*

May divine protection be always and ever watchful and on guard, and may the blessings of heavenly assistance be coupled with his happy days—praise be to God the beneficent.

Timur Arrives in Samarqand and Holds a Great Feast

In the summer of 1404 Timur returned to Samarqand after a six-year absence. That fall he called for a massive gathering of the Chaghatay nation outside of Samarqand to celebrate the marriages of six of his grandsons. By fortunate chance, the embassy to Timur from Don Henry III of Castile and Leon was present at this celebration, and Ruy González de Clavijo has left us his impressions, relevant portions of which are included in the notes for comparison.

[37]Literally "Pig Khan," the derogatory epithet by which the Timurids referred to the emperor of China.

[38]For the "Ashïra" of the text, clearly a misprint.

[39]Koran 2:25 et passim.

THE IMPERIAL TRAIN ARRIVES IN SAMARQAND

The world-conquering Sahib-Qiran set out from the Jahannuma Palace [in the Qara Töpä Garden] and, in Muharram of the year 807 [July 1404], stopped at the Chanar Garden in Samarqand. From there he entered the city to visit the *madrasa* of the late prince Muhammad-Sultan, the construction of which had not, until that moment, received the honor of His Highness's inspection. From there he returned to the Chanar Garden for relaxation and repose.

Since the royal ladies and princes, who had set out first with the *ağruq* (baggage train) from Firozkoh, heading, as they had been ordered, for Ordu Makhan **[420]** and Merv, had not yet arrived, a messenger was dispatched to tell them to come in all haste. Her Highness Tümän Agha had crossed the ford at the village of Ahuya and camped in the Bukhara Meadow when the Sahib-Qiran's messenger arrived. As Saray Malik Khanïm had not yet arrived, they waited there for three days until that lady should come. The *ağruq* was left behind, and they set out in haste. Passing through Wabkent and Ribat-i Malik, they stopped in the Chahar Minar Meadow. From there they went to Tatkent, and from Tatkent to Kucha-i Malik, where the tribute was collected and *ash*[40] was being distributed, when another messenger came to tell them to hurry. They mounted and made haste to Samarqand, where they had the honor of joining the Sahib-Qiran.

Saray Malik Khanïm stopped at the Chanar Garden, and Tümän Agha at the Bihisht Garden, where the Sahib-Qiran also camped. Indeed, through the royal visit it became a garden of paradise. When he returned from his campaign, the partial results of which were the conquest of all the realms of Syria, Egypt and Anatolia, and the victory-sloganed banners were planted with most sublime stability and might at the domicile of the throne of the sultanate, fate, in a frenzy as usual to inflict calamity upon perfection itself, drew the indigo of indisposition across the eye of his health, and the royal temperament deviated from the path of equilibrium—that is to say, a slight illness occurred, but after one week in the infirmary of divine healing,[41] it was exchanged for recovery.

After regaining his health, his awesome majesty transferred to the Shimal Garden, where he stopped for several days. There, for the sake of the child that had been born of desolation, all the *aghas*, princes and *noyans* gathered, and a regal celebration was arranged. Thereafter the Buland Garden was turned into a paradise by the advent of splendor. From that place of refreshment, which casts rays of vitality upon the body, he entered Samarqand; and the house of the late prince Muhammad-Sultan was selected for the honor of the royal descent. It was ordered that adjacent to the *madrasa* the aforementioned prince had built, a dome be constructed for his illuminated resting place. In accordance with the command, in the forecourtyard of the *khanagah* attached to the south portal *(suffa)* **[421]** a dome like the celestial sphere was raised and a dado of marble with designs in gold and lapis lazuli was built. A crypt *(sardaba)* for the

[40]"Sour milk, their special food, they prepare after the following fashion. They take and heat a great caldron full of water and before it boils they have made ready a bowl in which they have curds of sour milk, that is like cheese, which they have worked up to a paste with cold water. This is thrown into the boiling caldron, and the whole mass turns to be as sour as vinegar. Next they have kneaded very thin cakes of flour, which they bake and cut up in small pieces, afterwards throwing these into the boiling caldron. Then cooking awhile the fire is next withdrawn, and the whole mess served out into bowls.... This broth of theirs which has just been described goes by the name of *hax* [*āsh*]" (Clavijo, pp. 191-192).

[41]Koran 26:80.

interment of the late [prince] was made, and several chambers that were around it were razed so that a small, paradise-like garden might be constructed.

The designer of the lights of divine inspiration, i.e., the illuminated mind of His Highness the Sahib-Qiran, cast his attention and concern upon an investigation of conditions general and particular, and through delving into the affairs of his subjects and underlings, he soothed those injured by injustice and aggression with the balm of unrestrained compassion. When His Highness passed through the congregational mosque he had erected, the gateway *(dargah)* that had been built during his absence seemed too small and low in his exalted view. He therefore issued an edict that it be razed and another, larger and higher, be built. Khwaja Mahmud Daud, for his shortcoming with regard to the erection of the aforementioned gateway, was held for investigation. Stopping in the *madrasa* of Saray Malik Khanïm, which stood opposite the congregational mosque, he gathered in chains the tax collectors and scribes *(bitigchi)* in order to make firm the foundations of justice and equity, and exposed them to address and rebuke. After examination and cross-examination, everyone who had failed in any way or done harm to another was given appropriate chastisement. Among them were Mahmud Daud and Muhammad Jalad, who were among the great scribes and were in charge of the vizierate during his absence; both were hanged by the neck during the *toy* at Kan-i Gil, which will be described presently.

The exalted Sahib-Qiran left the *madrasa* for the Chanar Garden. Edigü's emissary from Dasht[-i Qïpchaq] arrived and, through the good offices of the amirs, attained the felicity of kissing the ground and presenting falcons and other gifts he had brought. The message from Edigü, which consisted of expressions of submission and loyalty, was delivered. From there His Highness the Sahib-Qiran set out for the Dilgushay Garden, which pleasant spot was honored by the royal descent for a few days. During that time an ambassador from the chief of the Frankish kingdom arrived bringing many gifts and presents, among which were splendid textile pieces, the designs and patterns of which [422] were woven in such a way that if Mani's brush were to flow across the Arzhang Tablet, it would fall short in a hundred ways of depicting their likes.

Prior to this it had been commanded that the Egyptian and Syrian builders should raise a royal palace in the midst of the garden that had been made to the south of the Shimal Garden, the length of each of the four walls of which was nearly 1500 cubits, and just at this time the structure was completed. This palace was larger than any of the other palaces built by His Highness in the other gardens. In Syria architectural decoration is of marble, running water in the buildings and houses of that region is common, and the builders of that country are expert at stonecutting, faience work, and the invention of flowing fountains. The delicate, intricate work that inlayers do in ebony and ivory, etc., they execute on the walls and floors of buildings in multicolored stone. Consequently, inside that marvelous palace they produced graceful works of marble and displayed their consummate skill and mastery. By making many fountains they added to the pleasantness and freshness of the place. The workers from Fars and Persian Iraq covered the exterior in tile work of great elegance and magnificence. His Highness the Sahib-Qiran went there under an auspicious ascendant, and at the royal command the court servants undertook to produce a regal feast and celebration to encompass everything one could desire. The princes, ladies and amirs performed the rituals of congratulations and *nithar*,

and the Frankish ambassadors were present at the feast.

THE SAHIB-QIRAN'S *QURULTAY* AND GREAT *TOY* AT KAN-I GIL FOR THE MARRIAGES OF THE PRINCES

Since all the realms of the earth seemed too small in the powerful gaze of the felicitous Sahib-Qiran, [423] His Majesty's sublime ambition would not allow himself to reside in one place or to think of rest until the entire inhabited region of the world came under his subjugation and control. Therefore, at this juncture, when the residence of the sultanate [Samarqand] was ennobled and adorned by the royal advent, he thought it right that the imperatives "marry, beget and multiply" (the noblest of prayers and salutations upon him who said it) should be obeyed with regard to several of the princes, before the victorious standard was raised to raid the infidels of Cathay. It was therefore commanded that a feast be held, and the news was sent to all regions that leaders, commanders and all other nobles and lords should be present at a *qurultay*.

The Sultan Sahib-Qiran commanded that the great of the world, from one end to the other, should come immediately for a celebration, for it was the time of wedding and rejoicing.
He summoned the nobility of the age and heralded for elite and common alike.

The princes of Genghisid lineage, Tayzi Oghlan and Tashtemür Oghlan suggested that since a *qurultay* was to be held, the emperor should command Prince Pir-Muhammad to come from Ghaznin and Prince Shahrukh to come from Khurasan. His Majesty said that Pir-Muhammad might come, but it was impolitic for Shahrukh to come because the entire burden of Persian Iraq and Azerbaijan was resting upon his mighty shoulders. Accordingly, a messenger was sent to summon Prince Pir-Muhammad, and Kan-i Gil[42] was selected to be the place for the celebration, and on Sunday, the beginning of Rabi' I 807 [October 1404] of the Year of the Monkey it was raised to the level of paradise by the royal encampment.

Highland and lowland, steppe and plain were turned into pleasure parks like the gardens of paradise. [424]
Forage herbs became tulips, stones became rubies and pearls; grass became elixir, and the ground became gold.
With such pleasantness Kan-i Gil became a mine of roses *(kan-i gul)*; the autumn became the envy of the floral season.
Tents with silken cords were pitched in which were more carpets woven with gold than could be reckoned.
All the curtains were of Shushtari silk, all the carpets were brocade and perfect in every respect.
Such designs were wrought thereupon that the painters of China would hang their heads in shame.

For the royal residence four *sarapardas* "the plateau encircling" were set up, and a two-hundred-headed tent[43]

Totally decorated in gold and jewels, raised its head beyond the Pleiades.

Towering beyond the level of the sun and moon—

The king's enclosure and gatekeeper you would say were paradise and its Ridwan[44]—

[42]Kān-i Gil (literally "mine of clay," although it has been suggested that this is a Persianization of an older name) is a meadow outside of Samarqand.

[43]*Khargāh-i duwīstsarī*, a huge trellis tent. As Andrews explains ("Felt Tent," p. 148), "head" refers to the crossing at the top of the trellis wall, and such a tent normally has sixty-four "heads."

[44]Ridwān, the warden of paradise.

the world adorning "dodecapod,"[45] the outside of multicolored sarcenet and the inside of velvet of many colors,[46] was set up by a massive army of *farrashes* in one week. It had silken cords, painted poles,[47] and golden vessels, and it was vast enough to shade nearly ten thousand people.

A sphere raised by artifice, casting a shadow
enveloping world upon world. [425]

They thus raised a pavilion whose top vied with the heavens.

From horizon to horizon beneath the blue
sphere were *sarapardas*, awnings and tents,
Tents in height level with the celestial sphere,
the poles of those tents of pure silver.
The *farrashes* spread a hundred types of
carpet, and the ground became as glorious as
the divine throne.

All commanders and leaders, and all the rest of the people, gathered from the regions of the earth, pulling down the poles of the tents of order and pomp in accordance with desire and wish.

The earth, with such graceful domes and tents,
became the envy of the gardens of paradise.
People from all directions arrived, all happy
and ready for enjoyment.
From every city people arrived, merry and
glad, to witness the celebration.

From China, from Slavia, from India and
Rûm, and from the flourishing borders of
Zabul,
From Iran land and from Turan territory, from
every spot inhabited by men.

Among those who arrived was Mengli Buqa the Chamberlain, who was one of the amirs of Malik al-Zahir Barquq.[48] Of great eloquence and knowledge, adorned with great learning—a man who had memorized the Koran, was knowledgeable in many branches of the arts and sciences, and who was inclined, among other things, to Sufism...—he had come as ambassador from the son of the aforementioned [Barquq], al-Malik al-Nasir Faraj, the ruler of Egypt. He brought and presented all sorts of gifts and presents, including coins, jewels, various types of superb textiles, etc. There was also a giraffe, which is one of the marvels of the Creator's handicraft, and nine ostriches, among other rare objects.

Prince Khalil Sultan, who had been in Turkistan, arrived and was honored to kiss the royal carpet. [426] Great amirs and renowned lords, like Yadgar Barlas, Berdi Beg, Khudadad Husayni, Dadmalik Barlas, Pir-Muhammad Taghay, Buqa Barlas, Sa'adat Temürtash, Dawlat Temür Tovachï and others, hastened to the world-receiving court and attained the honor of kissing the pedestal of the caliphal throne.

Splendid princes and warriors, the great of the
army, leaders of the forces,
From every direction came to the king's court
in service to crown and scepter.

Prince Pir-Muhammad, in accordance with the command issued for his attendance, came from Ghaznin and performed the obligations of *uljamishi*.[49] The Sahib-

[45]This massive pavilion is referred to as the *duwāzdahpāy* (twelve-footed, dodecapod). Clavijo describes it as follows: "The ceiling of the pavilion was made circular to form a dome, and the poles supporting it were twelve in number each as thick round as is the chest of a man breast high" (Clavijo, p. 238).

[46]"The inner walls of the pavilion are lined with crimson tapestry very beautifully woven in patterns of diverse designs, further it is hung with silk stuffs of many colours in places worked over with embroidery of gold thread.... The exterior walls of the pavilion are made of a silk cloth woven in bands of white and black and yellow that to us appeared made of silk sarsenet" (Clavijo, p. 238f.).

[47]"These poles were painted in colours blue and gold and otherwise" (Clavijo, p. 238).

[48]Mamluk sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 1382-89, 1390-99). His son and successor, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faraj ruled 1399-1405.

[49]"As soon as we came in sight of his Highness we made him our reverence, bowing and putting the right knee to the ground and

Qiran embraced him and recalled the calamity that had befallen his brother Prince Muhammad-Sultan[50]—as the verse says,

When I remember my loss my eyes tear—

and consoled him and gave him condolences. The prince performed the customary ritual of *nithar*, *peshkash* and *toquz*,[51] as was fitting. The next day, when the world, through the beneficence of the solar Jamshid, had thrown off the dark-warped and -wefted cover of the approaching night[52] and dressed itself in the goldspun garb of the breaking dawn,[53] royal favor presented him with a gold-embroidered robe of honor, a hat and a belt and garbed his *nökärs* also, and all of them took off their black garments of mourning.

At this time Khwaja Ahmad Tusi, who had been commissioned with the fiscal affairs of Khurasan, arrived and presented the taxes and treasury of Khurasan to the emperor with *toquz* and much *peshkash*. Since at that time the emperor's mind was turned toward revelry and enjoyment, in accordance with the proverb "the root penetrates into the branches," happiness and joy emanated to all, and rays of bliss and gladness shone upon the minds of young and old alike. Among the artisan classes skilled hands were set to decoration, and every group produced an elegant display according to its occupation.[54] **[427]**

The practitioners of every trade thought up something suitable from their craft.
Of every guild men of humble station and high made an exhibit in an exquisite manner.
The gem sellers, with great flair, made strings of jewels,
Of every kind of jewel, more than could be counted, pomegranate red rubies, flawless carnelians, and both pierced and unpierced lustrous pearls.
What can I say? They so dazzled the eye that no one even glanced at the crystal, coral and jade.
The Pleiades would be ashamed before such strings of gems; Gemini would be humiliated by such flawless pearls.
By the adornment of artful goldsmiths Kan-i Gil became a mine of gold.

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crossing our arms over the breast. Then we advanced a step and again bowed, and a third time we did the same" (Clavijo, p. 220).

[50]Muhammad-Sultan b. Jahangr died on 18 Sha'bān 805 (13 March 1403); see Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 147.

[51]*Peshkash* and *nithār* both mean gift offerings presented to the ruler. *Toquz* (literally "nine") refers to the Turco-Mongolian custom of offering gifts and tribute in sets of nine, as Clavijo observes: "On this occasion these trenchers were laid down, nine by nine, such being the custom when any gift is offered to his Highness, for all such must be in groups of nine pieces in any sort of the thing presented" (Clavijo, p. 244).

[52]Koran 81:17, "by the night, when it cometh on."

[53]Koran 81:18, "by the morning, when it appeareth."

[54]"Further to celebrate this day of the royal wedding his Highness had given command by proclamation throughout the city of Samarqand that all the trading folk of the town, namely those who sold stuffs and those who sold jewels, with the hucksters and merchants for sale of goods of all and every sort, together with the cooks, butchers, bakers, tailors and shoemakers, in short all the craftsmen who were inhabitants of the capital, should betake themselves out for that day to the meadows where the great Horde was encamped. They were at the same time under obligation to bring out their tents to this camping place, and to sell there the goods and produce each of his trade, and thus the city was to remain empty of them all. The order further was given that each trade and craft should next arrange a gala show, where each man should display his skill making an exhibition throughout the Horde for the pleasure of all spectators.... The whole Horde was filled with them, each craft and trade being allotted a street where the men of the same, each separately and in due order, displayed their art. Further in every craft there was set up an exhibition or separate show to display their skill in the matter in hand, and these shows perambulated throughout the whole of the Horde for the entertainment of the people" (Clavijo, pp. 248f.).

There were so many rings, bracelets and earrings that the ancient world became a young bride.
In the drapers' retreat the door of happiness was opened to the world.
By arrangement of that select group a towering pavilion (*chartaq*) was erected. [428]
From top to bottom it was covered with brocade, silk and satin.
Silken carpets were spread therein, and beauties took their places there.
All entertainers, players of instruments—by their voices Venus was moved—
All had nightingale voices and sweet speech like parrots, with their coquetry they stole men and women's hearts away.
Elegant as the cypress, faces as beautiful as the moon, *ghazal* reciters, singers and jokesters.
By a different guild of artisans each pavilion was adorned.
Each one was a charming group of sun-countenanced singers.
With every kind of instrument and every type of blandishment the poor onlooker was reduced to beggary.
The breasts of the beauties were filled with sugar, from every novel instrument came a different tune
More or less a hundred *chartaqs* of this sort were raised toward the nine celestial arches.
The guild of fruitsellers was there with clarions, drums, uproar and shout. [429]
Elegant cypress-statured sapling youths adorned with baskets full of every kind of fruit—
Each of them carried on his head an orchard with much grace and style:
Quince, pistachios, almonds, pears and apples arrayed with symmetry and proportion,
Garnished with care as a jeweler strings gems.
Split pomegranates with laughing mouths, like a casket in which lie rubies.
What have I said? Not a casket but a brazier of gold, every seed a blazing ember.
With the aroma of fruit, near and far, the nostrils of everyone at the celebration were perfumed.
Fruits garnished with style, blazing, shining and charming.
Next was the guild of butchers, who had adopted a novel style.
Through artifice a man had become a sheep by putting a skin over his head.
Goats with golden horns, capable of speech, filed past, one after another, [430]
Externally like goats, but the peris inside stole the hearts of men and djinn alike.
Fairies have the habit of artfully changing their forms from time to time.
The fairy-like ones also took on the forms of elephants and sheep.
In this manner the nimble furrier sometimes became a panther, sometimes just like a lion,
Having stripped the skin from every sort of animal and hidden themselves inside like the soul, they made themselves out in form and shape like foxes, hyenas, tigers and leopards.
In form like wild animals but in content peris: do not be confused by the body until you taste the fruit of the soul.
What can I say of the tentmaker? That subtle one made a moving camel.
From sticks, reeds, rope and canvas he artfully made the structure of the camel.
Then he secreted himself inside to display his craft to the people of the world.
When the veil is drawn aside, see how the maker is hidden within his own handiwork.
[431] In just this way is the entire world, so gaze upon it with the eye of insight.
The whole world is nothing: what existence it has comes from within the eye of the worshiper of form.
Look upon it with the eye of wisdom: it is all good, even what you call bad.
I have spoken of it, but you be aware. Do not see any other, and be a seeker of God.
Now, lest my speech grow too long, let me turn from the tentmaker to the cotton-dressers.
With perfect artifice they had constructed of cotton a bird with feathers and wings.
The structure of a tower is of brick and clay, but a tower of fluffed cotton is quite difficult.
See the excellent planning it took for them to construct a minaret of fluffed cotton and reeds.
The minaret they had raised they made into a stairway to heaven,
A minaret like the stature of a charmer, moving from place to place,
From head to foot beautiful and covered with designs, but its body was of puffed cotton.
[432] On it rested a stork, which consoled celestial Aquila.
If you ask about the leatherworkers, their exhibit was altogether different.
Their skilled hands had produced two howdahs tied to a dromedary.
When the howdahs and the camel were decorated, two sapling youths got into the howdahs. In nimbleness, style and grace each was more charming than the other.
The moon was embarrassed by their countenances, and their winks dealt death blows to one's religion and heart.

Each one held in his hand a pelt and every instant they stole away someone's heart.
On those pelts they danced, sending everyone into ecstasy.
From that play of hands and stamp of feet a tumult befell the assembly.
A mat, marvelously woven of reed, a wonder of artifice: in one place two lines of Kufic and Ma'qili [script] were written most beautifully and intricately [433]
In the face of those indescribable designs the soul of Mani would have been ashamed of his Artangi Tablet.
Thus every craftsman and every artisan displayed his skills in a different manner.
Now that you have heard of the tradesmen, let me say something of the acrobats.
Miraculously they raised a post at which everyone was amazed.
As the top of it rubbed against the sky, they attached the end of a rope.
In every direction they anchored the post with ropes, from top to bottom and from left to right. Like a mine was the fourth sphere, the tightrope walker was not so much a moon as a sun. His face put the shining moon to shame, as the top of the post surpassed the celestial sphere. He was so beautiful on the rope that you would think there were two suns in the sky. So nimble on the rope, like a comet blazing across the heavens. Many were the wonders that day, of which the acrobats were the least. [434]
Details would make this too long: tell the pen to return to the narrative.

The impetus for holding this regal assembly was the marriage of the princes, for the ever-correct mind of the Sahib-Qiran had seen that Prince Ulughbeg, Prince Ibrahim-Sultan and Prince Ejil—the sons of Prince Miranshah—and, of the sons of Prince Umar-Shaykh, Prince Ahmad, Prince Sidi-Ahmad and Bayqara should each and all be matched in matrimony with chaste maidens of noble descent.

The sultan commanded the clear-sighted astrologers to investigate the condition of the celestial spheres, looking at the moon, Venus and the sun, to select a propitious hour for that happy act.
In obedience to this order the gathered stargazers of great skill wisely selected an ascendant of felicity without blemish, with mighty planets and good influence that would cast their portions in with the good time.
When the sifters of wisdom were satisfied with the most auspicious ascendant,
at the command of the world ruler as mighty as the celestial wheel, the major domo drew aside the curtain from the door. [435]

A great assembly of judges, *sharifs* and imams was convened.

In humiliation at the magnificence of that assembly, drops of perspiration appeared around the edges of Jupiter's cap.

After correctly performing the preliminaries to the wedding, the Imam of Imams of the age, Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Jazari, bestowed upon the gathering much happiness by intoning the address of marriage, and the chief cadi of Samarqand, Mawlana Salahuddin, performed the inculcation of the words of assent and acceptance. Thus, in conformity with the rites of the Hanafi sect, the princes were wed, and the world loosened its tongue in pronouncing congratulations and well wishes and opened its hands in scattering *nithar*.[55]

They scattered dirhems everywhere; the air became jewel-raining clouds.

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[55]*Nithār*, a marriage custom somewhat like our custom of throwing rice at a newly-wed couple. In the Islamic world coins and other favors are scattered over the newly-weds. Guests at a wedding are similarly showered with coins as favors: "When the feast was ended one of the lords in waiting came forward with a silver bowl in his hand full of small pieces of silver money such as is their current coin, namely Tangas, and of this money he proceeded to throw handfuls over us ambassadors as also over the other guests present, and after he had done this enough for custom, he gathered up all the rest of the coins that remained in the bowl and threw them into the skirt of the cloaks that we ambassadors were wearing, this being a gift to us" (Clavijo, p. 232). "As we arose to depart the attendants threw over us and the folk round and about a shower of silver coin, with among the rest small thin patens of gold each with a turquoise set in the centre" (Clavijo, p. 244).

When drops of spring rain fell, they were gold, jewels, and magnificent pearls.
So many jewels and so much gold were cast that there were not enough hands to pick it up.

The Sahib-Qiran, surrounded by heavenly assistance, mounted the caliphal throne of world rule and bestowed upon the celebration the khanly splendor of seventh heaven and the magnificence of Ridwan's paradise, and the *khatuns*, *aghas* and *gälins* (maidens, brides) with their *bağ[il]taqs*,[56] adorned the throne of splendor and beauty, like the Pleiades, with a thousand dalliances and coquetries. An army of Venus-countenanced maidens attended each one, their locks and tresses like ambergris-scattering hyacinths, in every curl of which the hearts of the melancholy sought refuge.

Oh, your beautiful tress is a refuge for the heart, the dust under your feet is a couch for the heart to rest on.

In devastating beauty their eyebrows arched, and in the realm of beauty and fascination they raised the adorner of the crown of crowns to the apogee of happiness and joy. [436]

The world became a paradigm of highest paradise, the earth was filled with black-eyed houris.

And the princes—to whom sultans were slaves—and amirs and great *noyans* stood in their places with extraordinary pomp and ceremony. Sayyids, imams, *jochins*, great amirs and ambassadors come from the four corners of the seven climes took their places, in accordance with their rank, in the shade of the skyscraping dodecapod. All the rest of the people, commanders of ten thousand and one thousand, nobles and grandees of every realm and region stood in homage for as far as a horse could gallop. Sergeants at arms as invincible as Mars, with robes spun of gold and mounted on saddles studded with gems, discharged the duties of their office. Splendid mammoth elephants with platforms tied to their backs and with all sorts of elaborate decoration were held in check in their places. Arrayed beneath the dodecapod

[56] A woman's garment, the *bağïltaq*, or *bağïrdaq*, is variously defined as a bodice or robe worn over the head and body (Clauson, 319). An earlier description makes it clear that it is essentially a headdress: *baghtāqhā-yi muraṣṣa' bar sar* ("gem-studded *baghtaqs* on their heads," Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, II, 11). Clavijo (p. 258) describes Saray Malik Khanïm's dress as follows: "Her outer robe was of red silk embroidered with gold and it was very ample and had a long train which lay on the ground. This robe was made without sleeves and in it the only openings were that at the neck where her head appeared, and the two armholes for the passage of her arms, and it was made high up to the throat. This garment had no waist and the skirt was exceedingly broad below, the long train being held up by fifteen dames in attendance who walked behind, thus enabling her to proceed forward." He continues (pp. 258f.) describing her headgear: "The rest of her head-dress was very like the crest of a helmet, such as we men wear in jousting in the tilt yard: but this crest of hers was of red stuff and its border hung down in part over her shoulders. In the back part this crest was very lofty and it was ornamented with many great round pearls all of good orient, also with precious stones such as balas rubies and turquoises, the same very finely set. The hem of this head covering showed gold thread embroidery, and set round it she wore a very beautiful garland of pure gold ornamented with great pearls and gems. Further the summit of this crest just described was erected upon a framework which displayed three large balas rubies each about two finger breadths across, and these were clear in colour and glittered in the light, while over all rose a long white plume to the height of an ell, the feathers thereof hanging down so that some almost hid the face coming to below the eyes. This plume was braced together by gold wire, while at the summit appeared a white knot of feathers garnished with pearls and precious stones. As she came forward this mighty head-gear waved backwards and forwards, and the Princess was wearing her hair all loose, hanging down over her shoulders.... To keep this crest and the other adornments steady on her head the Princess was attended by many dames who walked beside her."

that pierced the celestial sphere were tables laden with golden long-necked bottles studded with precious jewels and pearls....[57] From end to end were goblets of jade and crystal filled with wine, koumiss, honey, *muthallath*,[58] liquor and sherbet. The pages of time that glittered with night and day were inscribed with myriad designs of gaiety and glad tidings.

The world became adorned like paradise—a world full of people rose up as spectators.

When the princes and *noyans*, in accordance with the custom and ritual, drained one after another their goblets filled with ruby-red wine, and the ritual of toasting (*qoš u qarav*) were completed,[59] trays laden with more food and multitudes of more various edibles were set than can be described. Of that feast one can say without exaggeration, "therein shall they enjoy whatever their souls shall desire, and whatever their eyes shall delight in" and "they shall have a certain provision, delicious fruits, and they shall be honoured" and "near them shall lie the virgins of paradise, refraining their looks, having large black eyes, and resembling the eggs of an ostrich covered with feathers."[60] **[437]**

At that feast so much food was cooked that the forests were depleted for kindling.
Waiters girded their loins and never slacked in their service upon the tables.
Constantly they brought foodstuffs beyond enumeration.
The entire plain filled with tables, all good things the heart could desire, delicious, soul-nourishing plates, tasty, subtle and perfumed.
Many a goblet and tray studded all over, one full of wine, the other laden with food.
With trays filled with various fruits the feast surpassed the garden of paradise.

On the trays were arranged edibles and drinks of all sorts, for after the elite ate, numerous vats filled with wine were opened in various places throughout the banquet for the common pleasure, and the music and revelry were begun. From every side came silver-limbed cupbearers with Venus countenances bearing golden cups in fulfillment of the words, "a cup shall be carried round unto them, filled from a limpid fountain, for the delight of those who drink."[61] To perfect the enjoyment of those in attendance, an edict was issued to the effect that everyone should do as he wished and no one should encumber anyone else. **[438]**

By the command of the Sultan Sahib-Qiran a proclamation was heralded that it was the time for celebration, joy and mirth, and no one should be burdened by anger or wrath.
At this feast no one should be spoken to sharply, whether he be fortunate or suffer misfortune.
No one, rich or poor, would be taken to task for anything.
When this good news reached the people, roses of happiness blossomed in their hearts.
No matter what they did, good or bad, no one rebuked them.
No one chastised anyone else, only the musicians struck the lute and tambour.
The only thing beat across the back was the drum—and that constantly.

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[57]"...seven golden flasks...ornamented outside with great pearls and emeralds and turquoises, set in the metal, while at the mouth there was a balas ruby. Beside these seven flasks there were standing six cups of gold circular in shape, and one of them had set within the rim a very big round pearl of fine orient, while at the centre point of the cup was encrusted a balas ruby of beautiful colour that measured across two finger breadths" (Clavijo, p. 228).

[58]Thrice distilled liquor.

[59]"It is the custom with the Tartars to drink their wine before eating, and they are wont to partake of it then so copiously and quaffing it at such frequent intervals that the men soon get very drunk.... They drink the cupful in one or may be in two draughts, saying in the latter case it is to the good health of his Highness. But he by whom the wine is freely quaffed, will say 'By the head of his Highness' and then the whole must be swallowed at a draught with not a drop to be left in the bottom of the cup" (Clavijo, *Embassy*, p. 231).

[60]Koran 43:71, 37:42, 37:48.

[61]Koran 37:45.

There was no one during that time whose body was lean—except the flute.
So many people were gathered that it was as though the whole world was in attendance.
Soldiers and townspeople, old and young, Damascene, Greek, Persian and Turk. [439]
All were happy, trampling under foot untoward events and sorrow.
During that festive banquet, the likes of which the ancient sphere has never seen and will never see, there was so much mirth and joy that in a hundred years it could not be described.
Crimson wine in golden cups, from the rays of which the senses were brightened, perfumed wine like musk and rose-water, colored like pure ruby, was circulated by silvery-breasted ones, and reason got drunk and perplexed.
Wine by which the spirit is clarified, wine by which the wounded are healed, wine by which the old become young, wine by which the soul is renewed, wine by which the cheeks turn rose-red, wine by which the temperament is balanced, wine so beautiful that one is secure from the temptations of the devil. [440]
All, young and old alike, were tipsy, intoxicated or dead drunk—
Wine in every hand, a tune on every lip, soulfully sending messages and greetings to the beloved.
On every side beautiful cupbearers, flask filled with musk-scented wine, strutting in every direction myriads of charmers singing *ghazals*, drunk, dragging their trains.
All cypresses in stature, with faces glistening like silver, like doves in gait, sweet of speech.
The sun would be humiliated by their countenances, from their locks wafted the scent of musk.
Everyone's fondest desire fulfilled, common and elite alike rejoicing.
Each and every one partook of the feast, prince and pauper, relation and stranger.
Even the beggars were admitted with honor and drank purest wine accompanied by the lute.

Melodious singers and delightful musicians performed in the Turkish fashion, the Mongol manner, the Chinese style, the Arab way and the Persian mode. Among them, Khwaja Abdul-Qadir, who is too well known to need introduction, and others like him struck the *qopuz*, *tighan* and lute with the plectrum of pleasure and joy, as they joined harmoniously the voices of the instrumental ensemble of [441] winds and strings.

The singer, at the time of repartee, joined the lute and rebec.
By the zither merriment was tuned to the finest pitch a jovial nature could desire.
Line by line they sat in that gathering, ghazalist, singer and musician.
The ghazalist was not merely a beautiful reciter, for he stole a hundred hearts away with one wink.
The rebec player, drummer and singer were as charming as the tambourist and the harpist.

Inasmuch as in that pleasant gathering the stature of every wisher's desire was bedecked with a robe of honor of every sort of attainment, and in the mental chambers of old and young alike the grooms of every wish were embraced by brides of fulfillment.

The princes were given

Of every sort choice garments, adorned all over with precious pearls,
So many clothes and robes, kingly headgear and gem-studded belts—with accustomed ritual they were brought by caravans heavy laden, horse coverings of brocade and silk, golden bells ringing out, [442] camels bedecked with every sort of ornament—enchanting bells and fringe.
In such pomp they brought [all these things] to the feasting place, as the world watched in amazement.

The princes were clothed in garments nine by nine, and gem-studded crowns and belts were added. Floor coverings of various goldspun stuffs beyond enumeration or description were cast before them while, in the prescribed manner, the ritual of *uljamishi* was performed. So much silver and gold, so many rubies, emeralds and pearls were scattered as *nithar* that in that autumnal season the land was bedecked like a tulip garden in early spring.

When night came and the carpet of the earth was illuminated by such a multitude of torches and lanterns that it became a likeness of the Koranic verse "we have

adorned the lowest heaven with lamps,"[62] at the most felicitous of times and the happiest of hours the offspring of the celestial sphere of the sultanate were transported to the constellation of union, and thereupon the chamberlain of modesty lowered the curtain of delicacy before that inner sanctum in which the purveyors of words have no audience.

Nocturnal speech is effaced by daylight.

The next day, when the emperor of the celestial realms shed rays of affection upon the gathered children of the earthly region, scattering gems of light upon their heads, the Sahib-Qiran honored the dwellings of the princes and made the hand of might and rejoicing like a cloud by performing *nithar*, and all the *aghas* and amirs did likewise.

When the world was bedizened by the glory of the sun, the celestial sphere scattered pearls in the laps.
The sphere poured so many regal pearls upon that merry feast as *nithar*.

All the grandees and lords, considering it obligatory to follow suite, also cast coins as *sachïq*. [443]

The celebrated and noble of the whole world performed the rites of fealty.
All, offering congratulations, presented gifts beyond number.
On that day there was no sorrow in any heart.
Why speak of sorrow? There was no trace of unhappiness.
The world, from the earth to the highest heaven, was filled with the roll and rumble of drums.
The earth shook from the din of the drum, the sound reaching from Kan-i Gil to Tus.

Among those who enjoyed the spectacular celebration and were staggered by such magnificence were foreign envoys, since from Egypt, Frankish lands, Hindustan, the Qïpchaq and Jätä Steppes emissaries had gathered at the world-receiving court. The Sahib-Qiran honored them along with the grandees and nobles who had assembled from various parts of the realm, and the *noyans* and martial lords, with splendid robes of honor and abundant gratuities.

In that regal celebration revelry and joy lasted continuously for nearly two months.

The feast at that celebration lasted two moons, and the king and horde enjoyed much revelry.

Shortly after the *toy* was ended, the world-adorning mind of the emperor turned to affairs of state, and a universally obeyed edict was issued to the effect that all exertion be made to abide by the commands to enjoin good and prohibit abomination. Henceforth no creature might dare to commit the sin of drinking wine, or any other prohibited thing.[63] Since the appearance and adornment of form, of which the world consists, had reached the highest reaches of magnificence and glory, and since under the commodious protection of unwithheld favor everyone had attained full sensual enjoyment of all he could imagine, [444] the Sahib-Qiran's mind turned from the Midian of external form toward the right side of the valley of inner meaning, and brightened the eye of insight by seeking embers of right guidance from the [burning] bush of [divinely bestowed] success.[64]

He entered the retreat of prayer and spoke his innermost thought to the Pure Judge, saying "You who are higher than any understanding can reach, neither the intellect nor the imagination can comprehend your might.

[62]Koran 67:5.

[63]"Here by order of his Highness wine was to be served abundantly and all should drink, since indeed it was to be partaken of by Timur himself on the present occasion. As we were now informed none would dare ever to drink wine either publicly or in private unless by the especial order and licence of Timur" (Clavijo, p. 230).

[64]The images here are all taken from one of the Moses episodes in the Koran (28:30).

Aside from yourself, who knows you? Aside
from you, who exists? You alone exist:
everything else is nonsense.
O God, how can I thank you for your limitless
bounty?
You lifted me from the dust through your
mercy, you raised the head of my fortune.
From your grace I possess this leadership. You
granted me this greatness and superiority.
Of your grace is all I command. Otherwise,
who am I, poor and miserable?
I am amazed at my own lot, for weaker than
myself I see no one.
My rule is from you, my heroism and
conquests are from you. [445]
At banquet time I have a share in your bounty,
in time of war you give me victory.
Ever since I attained leadership through your
grace I have been aided in every affair.
Through your assistance I attained high rank;
otherwise I am helpless, destitute.
My existence is of your bounty. You are my
refuge in every hope and fear.
As you summoned me in kindness, do not
drive me away in wrath. Allow me to become
the dust at this threshold.
If I am not aided by you, all my glory will
turn to wretchedness.
You made me powerful. Do not make me
wretched, make me not ashamed of my
sinfulness.
Accustomed for many years to your grace, I
have the same hopes and needs."

Khwandamir

Habib al-siyar

Composed in 929–30/1523–24, the third volume of Khwandamir's universal history, *Habib al-siyar fi akhbar afrad al-bashar* (Beloved of careers, on the history of human individuals), represents a distillation of the major histories and chronicles of the Timurid era, particularly his grandfather Mirkhwand's *Rawdat al-safa,* Abdul-Razzaq Samarqandi's *Matla'-i sa'dayn,* and the two *Zafarnamas* by Shami and Yazdi. He also quotes extensively from Jami's *Nafahat al-uns* for Sufis and Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i's *Majalis al-nafayis* for poets. Since he used the major sources of the period and also had the advantage of hindsight through his own lifetime, Khwandamir's work is certainly the best near-contemporary account of the Timurid dynasty—indeed it is practically the only history that includes Sultan-Husayn's reign and an eyewitness account of the Uzbek invasion of Herat, during which time the author was in Badi'uzzaman Mirza's employ.

❋

ON THE LINEAGE OF THE SPLENDID SAHIB-QIRAN, AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS AUSPICIOUS BIRTH IN THE PLEASANT CITY OF KISH

Although the Sahib-Qiran's person is so noble, his magnificence so great and his ambition so exalted that there is no necessity to recount his noble forefathers' excellences or to publish his mighty ancestors' virtues, nonetheless, since the Mughuls have always maintained genealogical records—in accordance with the Koranic verse, "We have distributed you into nations and tribes that ye might know one another"[1]—inculcated them to their glorious offspring and preserved them in writing in the bosom of leaves and ledgers, let it be here stated that the Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän's lineage has been thus recorded by historians.

The Axis of the Sultanate and Caliphate Amir Timur Kürägän was the son of Amir Taraghay son of Amir Bürkül son of Elängir Noyan son of Amir Ejil son of Qarachar Noyan son of Amir Sughujäjän son of Erdämchi son of Qachulay Bahadur son of Tumina[y] Khan son of Baysunghur Khan son of Dutummänän Khan son of Buqa Khan son of Bodhanchar Qa'an son of Alanqoa. As was recorded truly in the first section of this volume, **[393]** Alanqoa was of the lineage of Qayan, whose descent stems from Japheth the son of Noah.[2]

[1]Koran 49:13.

[2]The readings of Timur's ancestors' names are based upon the spelling in Arabic script and the Uighur-script genealogy (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2152, various pages misfoliated

Since something of Amir Elängir and his fathers and forefathers has already been reported under the rubric of the khans of Turkistan and the Genghisids, and there is no profit in repeating the same, let it be written that Amir Bürkül was a man who sought well being. Of his own accord he retired from military command, and "aside from the region of Kish in no other place would he reside." By the breeze of divine favor two flowers blossomed in Amir Bürkül's garden—Amir Taraghay and Amir Bültä. Amir Taraghay, who was the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran's father,

Was a world of generosity and a sea of liberality, beneficent, devout and handsome.

He always attended the noble assemblies of Shaykh Shamsuddin Kulal and was devoted to and a disciple of all pious men.

He always sat with the people of devotion, and in the end he attained felicity. His head, which was never lowered to the azure sphere, was humbly bowed to the *mihrab*.

In the year 736 [A.D. 1336], when Sultan Abu-Sa'id Bahadur Khan died, the era of the Genghisid sultans' fortune and independence came to an end in Iran. In accordance with the miraculous words, "Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause thee to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it,"[3] Amir Timur Kürägän was born, in the province of Turan, of Täkinä Khatun, who dwelt in marriage with Amir Taraghay according to the most noble *shari'a*, for in Rabi' I of the above-mentioned year occurred the death of the felicitous padishah Sultan Abu-Sa'id, and on Tuesday eve the 25th of Sha'ban 736 [April 8, 1336] the Sahib-Qiran was born in Kish.

If one passes away, another takes his place: the world cannot remain without a head.

When that sun rose, shedding rays of felicity, the truth of Qachulay Bahadur's dream and the interpretation given by Tuminay Khan became clear, as was reported in the first section of this volume.[4] Since the scribes of the divan of earthly

from 32 through 43), made most likely for Khalil-Sultan. See p. xvi.

[3]Koran 2:106.

[4]"It is recorded in reliable books that during Tuminay's lifetime Qachulay had a dream one night in which he saw three stars in succession rise from Qabul's collar and then set. A fourth, very bright star rose from his collar and illuminated the world from horizon to horizon. From that star several other stars were produced, and each one shed its rays upon a realm. When the bright star set, the ends of the earth remained illuminated. After waking, he pondered the meaning of his dream for a moment and then fell asleep again. This time he saw seven stars rising in succession from his own collar and then setting. The eighth star that rose was enormous and illuminated the ends of the earth. Several other stars appeared from it, each one shedding its light upon a region. When the great star set, its offspring retained their brightness. Then Qachulay woke up and saw that it was morning. That very instant he went to Tuminay Khan and told him of his two dreams. When Tuminay heard he rejoiced, summoned Qabul and spoke thus in interpretation of the two dreams: 'The first dream indicates that from among Qabul's progeny three persons in succession will occupy the khan's throne. Then one of his descendants will occupy the imperial throne and bring most of the inhabited quarter of the globe under his subjugation. He will divide the regions of the world among his sons, and when that world-conquering khan passes away the rule will remain among his sons and grandsons for a time. The second dream indicates that from among Qachulay's offspring seven individuals will rule in suzerainty. One of his descendants in the eighth degree will set out upon world conquest and will bring most of the regions of the earth under his control. He will have sons, each of whom will rule a region.' When Tuminay Khan had finished his interpretation, the brothers, at their father's suggestion, made a pact with each other that the khanid throne would be occupied by Qabul and his offspring from generation to generation, while Qachulay and his progeny would lead the army. To this effect a document was written and sealed by Tuminay Khan's red seal" (Khwandamir, *HS*, III, 14).

regency had decorated the rescript of divine favor for the fortune of that felicitous child with the most noble emblem of sovereignty over the world,[5] from the very first days of childhood the aroma of sultanate and world rule wafted from the gardens of his good qualities like the perfume of herbage on the breeze of heroism, and from his subtle speech the brilliance of magnitude and success was as apparent as the glistening of lightning from March clouds.

Yea, at dawn the sun's light of fortune appears on the celestial sphere's brow. When a sapling sprouts at the edge of the meadow, it is unquestionably apparent from its form that one day the heart's desire will be borne as fruit.

In the bloom of youth His Highness the Sahib-Qiran was inclined to horsemanship and hunting and concentrated his attention upon the skills of warfare and battle until the time when he mounted the throne of the sultanate, as will be reported both in brief and in detail, God willing. [394]

A SHORT REPORT OF THE SAHIB-QIRAN'S EXALTED CAREER, AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS CONQUESTS OF SOME REGIONS AND REALMS

The world-conquering Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän spent the days of his youth in happiness and pleasure in Kish, which is also called Shahr-i Sabz, and passed his days and nights in the company of the Barlas amirs, his kinfolk.

Once during that time he went with three or four of his relatives to the assembly of Shaykh Shamsuddin Kulal. That day the shaykh emerged from a trance and said, "There is today in our company a person who will reach the exalted rank of padishah."

Each of the amirs present, who were proud of their great magnificence and power, thought to himself, "I will rise to the rank of sultan."

What occurred to the Sahib-Qiran's infallibly enlightened mind, however, was this: "With these mighty *noyans* and [my] relative destitution, how could such fortune come to me?"

Once again the shaykh spoke, saying, "When the rumor of the imminent appearance of the great vicegerent, i.e., Adam, reverberated under the turquoise-stalactited dome of the celestial sphere, the regal import of God's words, 'I am going to place a substitute on earth,'[6] reached the ears of the inhabitants of the upper and lower worlds through the breeze of divine creative favor. [The elements] fire, air and water—a group that can be described as lacking wisdom—thought to themselves that they would be the leaven of the dough of caliphal majesty, and so thinking, the vapor of vanity rose to their brains, the fire of desire flamed in the brazier of their hearts, and each set forth idle reasons for his own preference and superiority. Thus they opened the gates of strife and contention with each other.

"However, the pure earth that would be Adam spoke meekly and humbly and said to itself, 'Who am I? Who would speak of me? With such lowliness, how could such exaltedness come to me? I am so negligible and dependent, how could the existence of the Creator's vicegerent come from me?'

"But the earth's humility was acceptable in the Creator's sight, and in accordance with the *hadith,* 'He who is humble before God will be raised by God,' Adam was created from the earth.

Be like the earth in order that flowers may grow, for only from the dust do flowers appear.

[5]The sentence incorporates three Koranic quotations, 10:14, 12:56 and 38:26.

[6]Koran 2:30.

Even today all who speak of poverty and deprivation in our assembly will attain the status of ruler."

Be always like the dust so that you may be as potent over everyone as the air. Like water, be of benefit to all so that, like fire, you may attain superiority over the world.

Hearing these words, Amir Sahib-Qiran became hopeful that his star of majesty and might would rise from the constellation of nobility and fortune, and he engaged with all his might in the preliminaries to world conquest. By divine favor he attained his every desire. **[395]** Since fortune smiled upon him in the fastest time possible, one would say that his every limb was a mind given form and every hair on his body an armor-piercing army. When his world-adorning mind shone on the dark night of contention, it illuminated the arena of the world like the full moon; and everywhere the brilliance of his mighty sword shed its rays during the daytime of battle, the sun of victory rose over the horizon of fulfillment. In a short time a mightily equipped army, of numbers beyond counting, had gathered in the shade of his invincible banner, and with his dagger-wielding arm and infallible mind he had rolled up the carpet of the might of the rulers of the age.

In the year 771 [1369–70] in the Dome of Islam Balkh, with the approval of the great sayyids and dignitaries and the unanimity of the grandees and *noyans*, this successful padishah placed his foot upon the throne of rule, and the hand of divine destiny placed the keys to the realm of the inhabited quarter of the globe in his hands. The finial of his invincible banner rose from the orient of might, and the sun of action cast its rays to the farthest reaches of the west. The luminary of his world-conquering mind cast its light from the horizons of majesty, extinguishing the rulers of the east and west like stars and reducing them to nought.

When the sun removes the veil from its face, the stars are eclipsed.

From the beginning of his fortunate time until the end of his life this prince's armies never experienced defeat in any battle, and through his great fortune and might the servants of his retinue continually achieved victory and triumph. Fortresses and castles so high that the tips of their spires rubbed against heaven and the globe of the earth seemed less than a dust-mote from the heights of their walls were conquered and subjugated by his warriors' wrath, and from every kingdom that came under his control the ulema, learned men, builders and artisans were marched out to join the glory of Transoxiana.

After ascending the throne of success, His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran first turned to conquering the lands and realms of Turkistan, Mughulistan, Khwarazm and their dependencies. When the garden of those kingdoms had been cleared of the thorns and thistles of opponents and corruptors' rebellion and revolt, toward the end of 782 [1380–81] he went from Turan to Iran, subjugating in 783 [1381–82] all the realm of Khurasan. In 785 [1383–84] he led his army to Sistan and Qandahar and annexed them to the protected realm. In 786 [1384–85] he defeated Amir Wali and raised the standard of success in Astarabad. In 788 [1386–87] he went to Iraq, Fars and Azerbaijan and concentrated his attention upon the conquest of those regions. When he returned from that trek, which is known as the Three-Year Campaign, he hastened to the Qïpchaq Steppe, and on Monday the 15th of Rajab 793 [June 18, 1391] he did battle at Qandurcha with Toqtamïsh Khan, whom he defeated. **[396]** Among the Jochid nation he killed, plundered, took prisoner and pillaged.

In the middle of Rajab 794 [June 7, 1392] he once again set out from Turan for Iran on his Five-Year Campaign. During this campaign he dealt with the

rulers of Mazanderan, the Muzaffarid dynasty and the rest of the rulers of the two Iraqs and Diyar Bakr. In Jumada I 797 [March–April 1395] he headed to the Qïpchaq Steppe via Darband and once again fought Toqtamïsh Khan, whom he reduced to extremities. At the beginning of spring 798 [1396] he retraced his steps to Azerbaijan and assigned Mirza Miranshah to that province. Then he hastened to Samarqand, and in the year 799 [1396–97] he entrusted the regions of Khurasan to Prince Shahrukh.

In 800 [1398] he set forth for holy war, leading his army to Hindustan. On Tuesday the 7th of Rabi' II 801 [December 17, 1398] he reached the outskirts of Delhi, and between His Highness and the rulers of those regions, Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan, a great battle took place, during which the breeze of victory and triumph blew through his banners. Thereafter he turned his reins back to the residence of the throne of nobility, arriving under the ægis of divine protection at Samarqand on Tuesday the 21st of Sha'ban [April 28, 1399].

On the 8th of Muharram 802 [September 10, 1399] he placed his blessed foot in the stirrup of victory for his Seven-Year Campaign and headed from Turan to Iran. In the middle of Jumada I 803 [January 1401] he arrived outside of Damascus and did battle with the padishah of Egypt, Malik Faraj, whom he defeated, thus bringing all the realm of Syria within the compass of his subjugation. From Damascus he headed to Baghdad and snatched by force that realm from Faraj, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's governor. On the 7th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 803 [June 20, 1401] he gave an order for a general massacre, and after devastating the city the mighty padishah hastened to Iran and Azerbaijan.

On the 13th of Rajab 804 [February 16, 1402] he set out to do battle with the cæsar of Anatolia, Ildïrïm Bayezid, and on Friday the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that same year [July 20, 1402], a battle took place in the vicinity of Engüriye between His Highness and the cæsar in which the army of Samarqand defeated the Anatolian forces. The cæsar, taken prisoner by the clutches of fate, was shown favor by the Sahib-Qiran; however, the hand of destiny rolled up the carpet of security from that region. Amir Timur thought to give the reins of government back to Ildïrïm Bayezid that he might once again raise the banner of puissance and power in the region, but Ildïrïm Bayezid passed away in Sha'ban 805 [February 1403], and His Highness the Sahib-Qiran entrusted the realm to [Bayezid's] son and returned to Azerbaijan.

In 806 [1403–4] he went to Georgia and took many of the infidels' fortresses and cities by the sword and spear. Gurgin [Giorgi], who was ruling in that region, accepted to pay the poll-tax and enter into suzerainty. At the beginning of spring, when the king of the fixed stars and planets entered his own house of nobility, the Sahib-Qiran returned to paradisiacal Samarqand, arriving in Muharram 807 [July 1404].

In short, over a period of thirty-six years the Sahib-Qiran reigned autonomously from the borders of Cathay to the farthest reaches of Syria and from distant India to the Frankish realms and subjugated many powerful rulers, [397] rendering the mightiest of the age and the emperors of the time obedient to his will, either peacefully or by force.

> When the world-conquering amir of exalted lineage placed his foot upon the throne of governance, he seized by divine grace from the borders of China to the farthest reaches of Syria—nay, I am mistaken—he seized the entire inhabited quarter of the globe, betimes by truce and betimes by war. The sultans of Iran and Turan land, the rulers of Damascus and the great of China came humbly to his court, ennobled by his favor.

During his reign His Highness the Sahib-Qiran laid down principles of ad-

ministration and revenue that abrogated the rules and regulations of the most intelligent of viziers and the guidelines of experienced governors. When battles took place, when setting out on campaigns and when going to war he maintained the custom of consultation with his officers, counselors and *noyans*, in accordance with the Koranic stipulation, "Consult them in the affair,"[7] although most of the time he based his decisions upon his own infallible opinion, and with the dictum, "After thou hast deliberated, trust in God,"[8] engraved upon the forefront of his mind, he turned his reins to right action.

He endeavored to honor sayyids and the ulema and to ennoble the learned and pious, and he strove as much as possible to strengthen the pillars of the obvious religion and manifest the precepts of the mighty religious law.

When he sat upon the throne of rule he unfurled the banners of the promotion of religion. He honored sayyids and rewarded them greatly. He was generous to the people of learning and accomplishment and to the wise and eloquent.

While traveling and when in residence he always kept a group of that exalted class with him, and in royal assemblies he engaged in learned debate and made inquiry into religious questions.

He was greatly inclined in favor of the learned, and much he learned from them.

During his days of power this generous padishah settled favors and grants upon great men of religion and was concerned to pay the stipends and reward his officers, *sadrs*, viziers, cavalry, attendants and servants with fiefs and estates. He put forth great effort to have *madrasas*, *khanaqáhs*, caravanserais and mosques constructed, and of his own personal estates and villages he endowed charitable institutions.

His punishment was indeed so effective that if during his glorious days a woman were to put a pot filled with gold on her head and go from the east to the west, no one would have dared to molest her. For this reason merchants sailing the seas and traders from every land brought precious wares and goods from every place, making great profits and realizing much gain.

His Highness the Sahib-Qiran was very fond of playing chess, in which art he exhibited great expertise, and in every realm he conquered he first summoned the chess players and rewarded the experts in this field with favor and beneficence. When he himself played chess in an assembly he was aware of every move made by the other players too.

Sometimes learned discussion and study of scripture are means to perfect oneself, and sometimes backgammon, chess and story-telling drive away boredom. It is God alone whose peerless self is unalterable. [398]

Since every perfection is destined to pass away, and every spring has its autumn, on the eve of the 17th of Sha'ban 807 [February 18, 1405] the Sahib-Qiran went to God's mercy in Utrar. The life span of this sun of the sphere of success was seventy-one years, and he ruled for thirty-six years.

Sultan Timur, a king like no other, in seven hundred thirty-six came into existence. In seven hundred seventy-one he emerged; in eight hundred and seven he bade the world farewell.

Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi and Mawlana Ubaydullah were superintendents of endowments during his reign. Khwaja Mahmud Shihab, Khwaja Yahya Simnani, Khwaja Imaduddin Mas'ud Simnani, Jalal al-Islam, Khwaja Ali Simnani and Khwaja Sayfuddin Tuni were the Sahib-Qiran's viziers....

[7]Koran 3:159.

[8]Koran 3:159.

THE NAMES OF THE LATE SAHIB-QIRAN'S WIVES AND CONCUBINES

The ambergris-scented pen gives a whiff from the genealogy that was composed during the reign of His Imperial Majesty Shahrukh that the Sahib-Qiran had, during his entire life, eighteen wives in lawful marriage. [542] Their names are as follows: (1) Öljäy Tärkän Agha, daughter of Amir Musla b. Amir Qazaghan, who was the mother of Sultan Bakht Begim; (2) the chaste *khanzada* Saray Malik Khanïm, daughter of Qazan Sultan Khan; (3) Turmïsh Agha, the mother of Mirza Jahangir and Äkä Begi; (4) Dilshad Agha Dughlat, by whom His Majesty had a daughter named Sultan; (5) Tughdï Bey, daughter of Aq Sufi Qongqïrat; (6) Tümän Agha, daughter of Amir Musa Taychiut; (7) Tükäl Khanïm, daughter of Khizr Khwaja Khan; (8) Dawlat Tärkän Agha; (9) Sultan Agha; (10) Burhan Agha; (11) Ulus Agha, daughter of Amir Buyan Sulduz; (12) Jani Beg Agha; (13) Munduz Agha; (14) Cholpan Malik Agha; (15) Bakht Sultan [Agha] ; (16) [Sultan]-aray Agha Nüküz; (17) Nawroz Agha; (18) [Islam Agha].

Of His Majesty's concubines, twenty-two names have been seen: (1) Taghay Tärkän Agha of the Qara Khitay, mother of Shahrukh; (2) Jahanbakht Agha; (3) Nigar [Agha]; (4) Ruhparwar Agha; (5) Dil Beg Agha; (6) Tïnï Beg Agha; (7) Durr Sultan Agha; (8) Dilshad Agha; (9) Murad Beg Agha; (10) Pirozbakht Agha; (11) Khoshkeldi Agha; (12) Dilkhosh Agha; (13) Barat [Bey] Agha; (14) Sevinch Malik Agha; (15) Arzu Bey Agha; (16) Mengli Beg Agha Jäüni-Qorbani, the mother of Prince Miranshah; (17) [Khan Malik]; (18) Yadgar Sultan Agha; (19) Khudadad Agha; (20) Tolun Agha, the mother of Mirza Umar-Shaykh; (21) Bakht Nigar Agha; (22) Malikanshah Agha Filuni.[9]

SOME OF THE SAYYIDS, SHAYKHS, ULEMA AND GREAT MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE SAHIB-QIRAN

It is obvious to those who know history that during the felicitous time of the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän, Iran and Turan were ennobled by a vast number of men of exalted station. Since information about them can easily be had in history books, only the few who are known to the present writer will be mentioned.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Mahmud Zahid Murghabi was a pupil of Mawlana Nizamuddin Harawi in the exoteric sciences. In following the path of the prophet he made great strides, and his piety reached perfection. He was constantly engaged in acts of obedience and piety. His death occurred in Dhu'l-Hijja 778 [April 1377], and he was buried in Murghab, Herat, where he had lived.

Amir Sayyid Ali b. Shihab b. Muhammad al-Hamadani encompassed exoteric and esoteric knowledge and united external and internal virtues. In his youth he became a disciple of Shaykh Sharafuddin Mahmud b. Abdullah al-Mazdiqani, but he acquired the accoutrements of his order from Shaykh Taqiyuddin Ali al-Dosti. After Shaykh Taqiyuddin's death he returned to Shaykh Sharafuddin Mahmud and asked, "What would you command me?" [543] The shaykh turned to him and said, "It is ordained that you wander to the farthest reaches of the earth." In obedience Amir Sayyid Ali traversed the inhabited quarter of the globe three times and met 1,400 saints, 400 hundred of them in one assembly.

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[9] In *Mu'izz al-ansab* (folio 97) the names of 24 concubines are given; it adds Qutlu Bey Agha and another Nigar Agha.

Amir Sayyid Ali's works, such as *Asrar al-nuqat*, his commentaries on the names of God, [Ibn 'Arabi's] *Fusus al-hikam* and Ibn al-Farid's *Khamriyya*, and his *Dhakhirat al-muluk*, are well known among mystics. He died on the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja 786 [January 19, 1385] and is buried in Khuttalan.

Baba Sangu was a eccentric dervish who effected many miracles and preternatural events. In 782 when the Sahib-Qiran set out to conquer Khurasan, he crossed the Oxus and met Baba Sangu in Andkhud. As one of his acts of eccentricity he threw a breast of meat at Amir Timur Kürägän. The Sahib-Qiran took this as a good omen and said, "God has given us a breast flat on the ground, and that is Khurasan." And that is exactly what happened. Baba Sangu died in Andkhud, and his tomb is there.

Mawlana Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr Tayabadi united both outward and inner perfection. In the exoteric sciences he was the pupil of Mawlana Nizamuddin Harawi. As recorded in the *Nafahat*,[10] Mawlana Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr was a true Uwaysi and received training in spirituality from [the spirit of] Shaykh al-Islam Ahmad Jami. When Amir Timur Kürägän set out to conquer Herat he met with him in Tayabad. The mawlana spoke to His Majesty and gave him good advice. It is related that during their conversation the Sahib-Qiran asked the master, "Why did you never caution Malik Ghiyathuddin Pir Ali to cease his discreditable actions?"

"I did so advise him," Mawlana Zaynuddin said, "but he never listened to me. Therefore God has set you over him. If you too do not conduct yourself on the path of justice towards God's servants, he will set another over you."

Amir Timur Kürägän said, "Who is the person he will give dominion over me?"

"Azrael, the angel of death," replied the mawlana.

The Sahib-Qiran took these words as a good omen and said, "Then he will not make any sultan victorious over me, and I shall depart this vale of tears of natural causes."

Mawlana Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr died at noon on Thursday the last day of Muharram 791 [January 29, 1389]. Malik Imaduddin Zawzani composed the following chronogram on his death:

> In the year one and ninety after seven hundred,
> on the last of Muharram, it was midday
> Thursday when the great mawlana's pure soul
> departed for paradise eternal, and the angels all
> said, "Blessed be his arrival."

His grave is in Tayabad.

Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband, whose name was Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, was adopted by Khwaja Muhammad Baba Samasi and learned the etiquette of the order from Sayyid Amir Kulal. It is recorded in the *Nafahat* that Khwaja Baha'uddin was truly an Uwaysi and [544] acquired spirituality from Khwaja Abdul-Khaliq Ghijduwani.[11] Someone once asked him whether his dervishhood was inherited or acquired. He replied, "I attained this felicity in accordance with the dictum, 'One tug from God is equivalent to the force of the whole world.' " Another time he was asked whether the silent *dhikr*, solitary retreat and music were allowed in his order. "They are not," he replied. "Then upon what is your order based?" he was asked. He answered, "Solitude in a crowd—externally with people but internally with God."[12]

[10]Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 498.

[11]Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 384f.

[12]One of the distinguishing features of the Naqshbandi Order was their concept of *khalwat dar anjuman* (solitude in the midst of a crowd).

Be outwardly acquainted but inwardly like a stranger. Such beautiful conduct is rarely found in the world.

Khwaja Baha'uddin's death occurred on Monday eve the 3rd of Rabi' I 791 [March 2, 1389], and in order to fix the date a learned person composed this verse:

The great Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband, whose perfect band is known throughout the realm—since his abode of retreat was the castle of mystics, the date of his departure is CASTLE OF GNOSIS.[13]

Khwaja Ala'uddin Attar. Named Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, he was among Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband's companions, and during his lifetime the khwaja turned over the training of some aspirants to him and often said, "Ala'uddin has lightened our load." Khwaja Ala'uddin died on Wednesday eve the 30th of Rajab 802 [March 28, 1400]. His grave is in Naw village in Chaghaniyan.

Mawlana Sa'duddin Mas'ud b. Umar al-Taftazani. The blessed birth of this great divine occurred in the month of Safar 722 [February 1322] in the village of al-Rijal al-Taftazan in Nasa district. When he left infancy and reached the age of boyhood he began to study the sciences and attain perfection in the physical and intellectual arts. In a short time he had surpassed the ancients and moderns in learning, and the brilliance of his mind lent fertility to the meadows of hope for those who borrow from the illumination of perfection. At age sixteen he began to write and composed a commentary on Zanjani's *Sarf.* Next he wrote the *Mutawwal* and dedicated it to Mu'izzuddin Husayn Kart. Then, at Khwarazm, which was the seat of learning in the world at that time, he wrote a compendium on the *Talkhis* dedicated to Jani Beg Khan. Without fear of exaggeration it can be said that in his writings graceful composition and eloquent exposition, clarification of difficulties and resolution of obscurities reached their pinnacle with his critical mind.

When Amir Timur Kürägän set out on his Khwarazm campaign, Malik Muhammad Sarakhsi, the younger son of Malik Mu'izzuddin Husayn, sent a message to his nephew Malik Pir Muhammad b. Malik Ghiyathuddin Pir Ali, who was accompanying the royal train on that expedition, saying, "When Khwarazm is conquered, request permission from His Majesty to sent Mawlana Sa'duddin to Sarakhs." When the Sahib-Qiran's world-conquering sword had brought that area under domination, and he ordered the people of note and lords to migrate thence, Malik Pir Muhammad knelt and requested His Majesty to allow Mawlana Sad'uddin to go to Sarakhs. [545] Amir Timur granted the young *malik*'s request, and the mawlana went to Sarakhs. When the Sahib-Qiran returned to Samarqand, the ulema and shaykhs of Transoxiana said to him, "Although the slaves of the sultan's threshold were able to subdue Khwarazm, the kingdom really belongs to Malik Muhammad Sarakhsi." When he asked for an explanation of this statement, they said, "Now the leader of the ulema of the world, the prime erudite of mankind, is Mawlana Sa'duddin Mas'ud al-Taftazani, by the brilliance of whose eloquent writings the world is illuminated. The breaths of his books are like spring breezes that bestow fertility and verdure upon the north and south of the face of the earth.

The appearance of his writing has so seized the world that the sun is but a dust-mote when it appears....

An order was issued summoning the mawlana from Sarakhs. First Mawlana Sa'duddin used his intention to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca as a pretext not to

[13] *Qaṣr-i 'irfān* = 791.

obey the summons, but when the Sahib-Qiran's order was repeated a second time, he set out for Samarqand, where he lived in glory for several years, leaving a number of important works as mementos upon the pages of time. Amir Timur was extravagant in honoring that emperor of learned men and prince of the wise and used to make room for him on his own *töshäk* in his assemblies and escort him back to his quarters.

Mawlana Sa'duddin's death occurred in 797 [1394–95], and he is buried in Sarakhs. His works are so famous that they need no elaboration. He had one son named Mawlana Muhammad, who was also among the learned and for a time served Amir Timur. The Shaykh al-Islam Sayfuddin Ahmad...was heard to say, "When Mawlana [Sa'duddin] was in Samarqand, my grandfather Mawlana Muhammad lived in Herat. News reached the ascetics of Murghab and some other pious persons that Mawlana Sa'duddin ate some food of uncertain licitness in the Sahib-Qiran's assembly, and they loosed their tongues in censure of the mawlana, asking how the chief of the ulema of the age dared to eat a suspect morsel. When Mawlana Muhammad heard this, he flared up and wrote a letter to his father, demanding that he not partake of any food in the Sahib-Qiran's assemblies. He gave the letter to a courier who was going from Herat to Transoxiana, and the courier put it in his pouch with the rest of his letters. [546] When he reached Samarqand he gave the pouch to Amir Timur. While reading his correspondence the Sahib-Qiran's eye fell on Mawlana Muhammad's letter. Apprising himself of the contents, he said nothing and did not show the letter to Mawlana Sa'duddin. After some time had passed, Mawlana Muhammad came to Samarqand and joined the Sahib-Qiran's retinue. His Majesty honored the young mawlana and showed him great favor. At the end of the assembly he told Khwaja Mahmud Shihab, who held the post of vizier, to give the young mawlana five thousand Kepeki dinars to spend on his provisions. As he had been coached by the amir, Khwaja Mahmud said, "We don't have so much in cash in the treasury, but if you so order I can write him a voucher on the farmers of the province."

Amir Timur said, "It will take time to collect so much from the farmers, and we don't want the young mawlana to be inconvenienced in this city."

"I could collect the sum in two days from the sales tax," the khwaja said, "and if you so order I can make it payable to the young mawlana as maintenance."

The Sahib-Qiran said, "Write out a voucher at once and give it to him." At that very assembly Khwaja Mahmud wrote a voucher against the sales tax of Samarqand and placed it before him. Mawlana Muhammad recited the *Fatiha*, picked up the voucher and strutted out of court. As he was putting his foot in his stirrup, the Sahib-Qiran sent somebody to bring him back into court. Smiling, Amir Timur said, "My young mawlana, how can a person who accepts a gift from me from the sales tax, which is the most illicit source possible, presume to forbid such a father, who in all the world has no equal in learning and knowledge, to eat Timur's food?"

When he heard this chastisement, the mawlana was ashamed and said, "I had an inner calling to send the voucher back to Khwaja Mahmud."

"If that were true," the Sahib-Qiran said, "some trace of distaste would have shown on your face when the voucher was written out, whereas you accepted it with glee." Then he ordered the voucher to be taken from the mawlana and five thousand dinars in cash paid from the treasury.

After the Sahib-Qiran's death Mawlana Muhammad lived in Herat, where he died of the plague in 838 [1434–35].

Amir Sayyid Sharifuddin Ali al-Jurjani was born in 740 [1339–40] in the village of Taghu, a dependency of Astarabad, and the whole world was ennobled by his advent. When he reached the age of maturity and discrimination he began to study, and in a short time he had become the chief scholar of the age. It is recorded in the *Rawdat al-safa* that in the year 779 [1377–78], when Shah Shuja' b. Muhammad Muzaffar was residing in Qasr-i Zard, Amir Sayyid Sharifuddin approached the camp, desirous of meeting the padishah and having himself proclaimed a scholar without anyone's intermediary. Just then he saw Mawlana Sa'duddin Mas'ud Unsi on his way to the padishah. He presented himself to Mawlana Sa'duddin in military garb and said, "I am a stranger, an archer from Mazanderan, and I have come in hopes of proving my ability in archery to Shah Shuja'. I hope that when you have a chance you will convey my request to him." And he walked next to Mawlana Sa'duddin's horse all the way to the gate of the court. [547]

"Wait here," the mawlana said, "until I get you permission to enter." When the mawlana met the padishah he told him of the strange archer. Shah Shuja' summoned him at once, and Amir Sayyid Sharif entered the court. When Shah Shuja' asked him about archery he pulled out of his pocket a pamphlet he had written in refutation of other authors and handed it to Shah Shuja', who was delighted by what he read. So Sharif was proclaimed a scholar and was showered with honor and favor. He then accompanied the padishah to Shiraz, where he was appointed to a teaching post in the king's hospital. Sayyid Sharif spent ten years in Fars. In 789 [1387], when Amir Timur Kürägän took Shiraz, he ordered him to go to Samarqand, where he remained until the Sahib-Qiran's death. During that time there were many deliberations held between him and Mawlana Sa'duddin Taftazani, and usually Amir Sayyid Sharif bested the mawlana with his keen intellect.

God, who created high and low, created an underling for every hand.

When Amir Timur Kürägän passed away that excellent sayyid left Transoxiana for Shiraz, where he died in 816 [1413–14]. Amir Sayyid Sharif's works are many and very well known. He has glosses on most books by the ancients and moderns in the curriculum. Indeed from his own time until the present no lesson is given without the benefit of his glosses and studies. He lived for seventy-six years.

Mawlana Abdullah b. Mawlana Lisanuddin Muhammad was the most excellent metaphysician of his time and the most learned astronomer of the age. His astrological predictions were never wrong.... The Sahib-Qiran greatly patronized this peerless erudite, and he was constant and faithful in his service.

Mawlana Nizamuddin Shami is also called Shambighazani. Most of the Sahib-Qiran's exploits and career has been taken from this learned man's history. It is recorded in *Matla'-i sa'dayn* that Mawlana Nizamuddin said, "The first time Amir Timur led his army to Baghdad and defeated Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, I was the first of the Baghdadis to go to the court of world refuge. His Majesty looked upon me with favor and said, 'May God have mercy upon you, for you are the first of your countrymen to come before us.' And he patronized me." It is also mentioned in that book that when Aleppo was being besieged Mawlana Nizamuddin was residing in that city. After it was conquered Amir Jalal al-Islam took him before the commander-in-chief of humanity, where he was received with favor. Well, it is no secret that it is difficult to reconcile these two statements, which are both recorded in one book.

[548] At any rate, in this writer's opinion it is certainly true that after Mawlana Nizamuddin joined the Sahib-Qiran's service, he constantly enjoyed the patronage and favor of the court and wrote a history of Timur's exploits.

Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Jazari was the leader of the exalted *muhaddiths* and learned men. He was known for his asceticism and piety. In the *Zafarnama* and *Matla'-i sa'dayn* it is mentioned that when Amir Timur Kürägän captured Ildïrïm Bayezid, he sent Mirza Muhammad-Sultan and Amir Shaykh Nuruddin to Bursa. A number of people fled before them toward the sea, but the Invincible Army pursued and caught most of them. Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Jazari, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhari and Mawlana Shamsuddin Fanari were among them. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin took Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad to the foot of the exalted throne, and he met the Sahib-Qiran in Kütahya. He was shown favor and sent to Samarqand. He lived in Transoxiana until Amir Timur died, and there he composed his *Tashih al-masabih*. After His Majesty's death he went to Herat. He died in Shiraz during Mirza Shahrukh's reign on the 5th of Rabi' I 833 [December 2, 1429].

Qazi Qutbuddin Abdullah al-Imami was the most outstanding and exceptional of all the grandees and prominent men of Khurasan, where he long held the post of chief cadi with the utmost impartiality. The trusteeship of provincial endowments was also under his jurisdiction for a time, and he sat firmly until the end of his days upon the seat of status and dignity and made his judgments in trustworthiness and faithfulness. His noble lineage goes back to Abu-Bakr Siddiq, and in view of that connection he used to sign himself simply "Abdullah."

Sayyid Burhanuddin Ashraf b. Mubarakshah was among the great sayyids, ulema, teachers and muftis. In 803 [1400–1] he set forth on the journey to the afterlife.

Mawlana Kamal Khujandi was among the greatest of the shaykhs and ascetics of the age. He constantly spent his time in spiritual exercises and acts of devotion. Occasionally he deigned to compose poetry. In the *Nafahat* it is recorded that the reason for Shaykh Kamal's outward occupation with poetry was so that his outer aspect not be overwhelmed by his inner spirituality....[14]

It is related that Khwaja Ubaydullah said, "Shaykh Kamal lived for a time in Shash [Tashkent]. During that time he showed no appetite at all for meat. Once my father said, 'What would happen if you were to eat some food that contained meat?' As a joke he answered, 'When you kill your cow, we will eat meat.' Now my father had an extremely fat cow. [549] As soon as he heard this, he slaughtered the cow, had the meat cooked and set it before the shaykh. For my father's sake the shaykh had a bit of the meat."[15]

His Excellency Mawlana Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami says in the *Baharistan* that Shaykh Kamal reached a degree of refinement and precision in poetry that had not previously been imagined possible—of course he has exaggerated the worth of Shaykh Kamal's poetry beyond the borders of credibility. Stylistically he followed Khwaja Hasan of Delhi, but the delicate meanings contained in his poetry are not to be found in Hasan's. It is due to his imitation of Hasan that some accused him of plagiarism. In some copies of his divan the following verse is found:

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[14]Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 611.

[15]A similar version of the story is given by Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 612.

No one has discovered a flaw in my work: no one will know if I have stolen from Hasan.

I heard from my late father that Mirza Miranshah was particularly devoted to Shaykh Kamal. One day he went to the shaykh and placed before him a jewel-studded belt as an offering. Contrary to his custom, the shaykh picked it up and took it to another room. A moment later he returned and found his companions incommoded. "Friends," he asked, "why are you all out of sorts?" One of those present said, "They have backaches."[16] The shaykh smiled and said, "Bring the belt and distribute it [to the poor]." Shaykh Kamal's death occurred in 803 [1400–1], and his grave is in Tabriz. The following verse is inscribed on his tombstone:

Kamal, you went from the Ka'ba to your beloved's door. Well done, a thousand times well done: it was courageous of you so to go.

Mawlana Muhammad Shirin, who was known as *Maghribi*, was a disciple of Shaykh Isma'il Sisi, who was a companion of Shaykh Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Isfarayini. Shaykh Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman was one of the greatest shaykhs of his time and lived in Baghdad. In the year 795 [1393] he was sent by Sultan Ahmad [Jalayir] as an envoy to Amir Timur Kürägän and, honorably received by His Majesty, he was graciously permitted to withdraw. Mawlana Muhammad Shirin and Shaykh Kamal Khujandi were contemporaries and constantly in each other's company. Mawlana Muhammad's divan is well known, and the following verse from one of his *ghazals* is included in the *Nafahat*:[17]

We saw your sun and passed beyond its motes. We pursued its essence beyond all qualifications.

He died in 809 [1406–7] at the age of sixty.

Mawlana Safiyuddin Khuttalani was among the learned men of Transoxiana. He wrote accounts of some of the Sahib-Qiran's exploits in Turkish.

Shaykh Mahmud Zangi Ajami Kirmani was a man characterized by excellence and delicacy of nature. In conversation he usually spoke in verse. It is said that the first time he accompanied Shaykh-Ali Turk to the Sahib-Qiran's presence, His Majesty asked them who they were, to which he replied:

We are two broken-down old men, Ali Turk and Mahmud Zangi Ajam.

Shaykh Mahmud versified many of the Sahib-Qiran's exploits and entitled the work *Josh u khurosh*. In 806 [1403–4], when the Sahib-Qiran returned from the Anatolian Campaign and was occupied with holy war, a group of grandees from Kerman, like Mawlana Ziya'uddin Sarraj, Shaykh Sadruddin [550] the cadi of Kerman, and Sayyid Hamza, set out for the capital. Shaykh Mahmud too accompanied that group in order to present his *Josh u khurosh* and thus re-establish himself in favor. However, as fate would have it, when he was crossing a bridge that had been constructed at Tiflis he fell into the water, and the fire of his life was extinguished. May his soul be always inundated by the sea of mercy. Shaykh Mahmud's son, Mawlana Qutbuddin, presented the manuscript and was generously rewarded. This line is from one of Shaykh Mahmud's *ghazals*:

[16]The point of this story is not apparent in English. "Backache" in Persian is euphemistically called "waist ache," the same word as belt (*kamar*). Because he did not immediately distribute the worth of the belt to the poor and deserving, as a sufi should do when he receives a gift, his companions were stricken.

[17]Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 613.

Write Mahmud's poetry if it pleases you, for no more elegant Negro children (*ibn-i zangi*) will be born of Persians (*ajam*).

Mawlana Ali Badr was one of the poets of Herat. In 791 [1388], when Mirza Miranshah went to Herat to deal with Hajji Beg Jäüni-Qorbani's revolt, he camped in the Bagh-i Zaghan. Mawlana Ali Badr was honored to be introduced to the prince's retinue and presented a *qasida*, the first two lines of which are as follows:

The moon is lit by the splendor of your countenance; the world is perfumed by the aroma of your tresses.
The musky down on the camphor page of your cheek is a verse (sign) of beauty scriven.

The prince favored the mawlana and gave him a suitable reward.

Khwaja Ismatullah Bukhari was enrolled among the great versifiers. His divan is famous, and his eloquent verses are inscribed upon the minds of the learned. One of his works, a *qasida* in elegy of the Sahib-Qiran, he presented to Prince Khalil-Sultan and was rewarded. The opening verse of that *qasida* is this:

O celestial sphere, destroy the pavilion, for the sultan is absent. Tell the throne to fall to the ground, for Solomon is absent.

Since Khwaja Ismatullah imitated Amir Khusraw of Delhi in much of his poetry and included many of his conceits in his works, one of the learned has said:

I had a dream of 'Mir Khusraw (may he rest in peace) and said to him, "Ismat is a gleaner of your harvest. How is it that his poetry is more famous than your own?" He said, "Never mind, his poetry *is* my own."

A poet has thus versified the date of Khwaja Ismat's death:

Everyone who heard the date of Khwaja Ismat's death said, "IT IS FINISHED."[18]

Mawlana Najmuddin al-Tarumi, who was without peer during his time in epistolary composition and stylistics, was in Mirza Miranshah's retinue. At that prince's command he translated Ibn Athir's *Kamil al-tawarikh* from Arabic to Persian, in which he achieved perfect eloquence and rhetoric.[19]

Khwaja Ali Tabrizi Shatranji (the chess player) had the Koran memorized and had read the entirety of Bukhari's *Sahih* with Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Jazari and attained expertise in the science of *hadith*. Khwaja Ali was so knowledgeable in chess that he could play away from the board as well as he did with the board in front of him. He used to play the game **[551]** constantly in Amir Timur Kürägän's assemblies.

Mawlana Husamuddin Ibrahim Shah Kirmani, possessed of personal excellence, effected miraculous medical treatment and cures. He too was an expert at backgammon and chess and attended court as a member of the Sahib-Qiran's retinue.

Also among the Sahibqiranid chess players who were constantly in the court retinue were Khwaja Abdul-Wahhab Tabrizi, Khwaja Yusuf Bukhari and Ustad Shamsuddin Kazaruni....

AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED AFTER AMIR TIMUR KÜRÄGÄN'S DEATH TO MIRZA MIRANSHAH AND HIS MIGHTY SONS, AND A MENTION OF MIRZA UMAR'S ARRIVAL AT THE COURT OF THE JUST EMPEROR

As the Sahib-Qiran of exalted lineage was returning from his Seven-Year

[18] *Tammat* = 840.

[19] Ibn al-Athīr (555–630/1160–1234), author of *al-Kāmil fi'l-tārīkh*, a well known universal history.

Campaign, he appointed Mirza Umar b. Mirza Miranshah to the throne of Hülägü Khan, and his elder brother Mirza Aba-Bakr he confirmed as governor of Baghdad, stipulating that Mirza Miranshah was to live in Baghdad and that Mirza Aba-Bakr was to be at Mirza Umar's beck and call, not to transgress his authority. However, when the news of Amir Timur Kürägän's death reached Azerbaijan, Mirza Umar, taking no account of his father or elder brother, not only had the *khutba* read and coinage issued in his own name but also assumed autonomous control of fiscal affairs.

After verifying Amir Timur's death, Amir Jahanshah Chäkü, Mirza Umar's *amir al-umara*, instigated by a group of corruptors, decided to kill Mirza Umar's most important *nökärs*. On the morning of the 22nd of Ramadan [807 = March 24, 1405] he attacked the court and put to the sword Mawlana Qutbuddin Awbihi, Darab Fushanji, Shaykh-Muhammad Tovachï, Abdul-Khaliq son of Temür Shükürchi, and several other innocents. This done, he set out for the royal enclosure, dreaming of independence. Mirza Umar stood firm and sent in a group of his *ïnaq*s and household slaves, fully armed, to fight Amir Jahanshah. Moment by moment the prince's men increased in number while the amir's followers decreased. Realizing this, Amir Jahanshah fled, but Umar Taban pursued him with a group of his men. They caught up with him at noon that day and killed him on the spot. Mirza Umar, contrary to expectations, punished Umar Taban and rewarded those who remained of Amir Jahanshah's men. [561]

Concurrently Mirza Aba-Bakr, tired of the heat in Baghdad, set out for the summer pastures of Hamadan, and to obtain permission he sent an emissary to his brother. Mirza Umar welcomed the emissary and gave him the following message: "It is hoped that my brother will hasten hither as quickly as possible in order that we may make decisions with one another on matters administrative and financial." Trusting in this message, Mirza Aba-Bakr and two hundred mounted men joined Mirza Umar. However, he was seized that very day and imprisoned in Qahqaha Fortress. When Mirza Miranshah learned of Mirza Aba-Bakr's imprisonment, he set out for Khurasan, riding without halt as far as Kalyus, Astarabad. After his brother had been imprisoned and his father had fled, Mirza Umar conciliated the army and citizenry at his leisure.

During that time a dervish named Begi Baba appeared in Maragha and performed miracles and caused preternatural events. Mirza Umar ordered the dervish to be killed. As he was about to set out for the next world Baba said, "Our lot was thus. However, he shall learn henceforth what strife will occur." Three days after Baba's execution, on the 7th of Muharram 808 [July 5, 1405], news spread abroad that Mirza Aba-Bakr had escaped, and this came about as follows.

After a short stay in prison Mirza Aba-Bakr won over a group of the fortress guards and agreed with them to end the lives of Adil Khizanachi, Isa Qorchï and Shaykh Hajji, who were among his wardens. He took over the fort at Sultaniyya, thus gaining control of the treasury and armory. The money and arms he distributed among his retinue and set out for Khurasan. Joining his father at Kalyus, Astarabad, he then headed back. However, after hearing of this, Mirza Umar went to Sultaniyya, entrusted the town to a group of men loyal to him and set out via Sijas and Saray Abaqa. Concurrently, Shaykh Khusrawshahi arrived from Samarqand and undertook to replace in a short time all that Mirza Aba-Bakr had taken from the Sultaniyya treasury. He enlisted the tax collectors for an expropriation and imposed exorbitant assessments upon the rich of Tabriz. Mirza Umar, in order to get hold of Amir Bis-

tam Chakir, who was acting hypocritically with him, set out for his city. Bistam joined Amir Shaykh Ibrahim Shirwani at Qara Bagh. Therefore the fire of contention between Mirza Umar and Amir Shaykh Ibrahim blazed up, and each hastened with his soldiers to the banks of the Kura River, where they camped opposite each other. After a week news reached Mirza Umar's camp that Mirza Miranshah and Mirza Aba-Bakr had taken control of the Sultaniyya fort, taking prisoner everyone they saw there and plundering all they could find. Therefore, Mirza Umar made a truce with Amir Shaykh Ibrahim and withdrew. After reaching the Miyanaj station, Umar Taban, Sultan-Sanjar, Hajji Sayfuddin, Abdul-Razzaq Khudadad, Amir Buyan Qauchin, and Shaykh Khusrawshahi deserted him and joined Mirza Aba-Bakr and Mirza Miranshah. Mirza Aba-Bakr received Umar Taban and his sons with favor, but he had executed the tyrannical shaykh and all the others who had deserted. Then, acting upon the advice of some of those who steered his course of action, he had a golden throne made upon which he seated Mirza Miranshah and proclaimed him padishah. [562]

A few days passed in celebration, and after the army was dispersed Mirza Umar went to Maragha via Gav Rud to request the assistance of Amir Khaliq the Turcoman, Sayïq Barlas and a band of the Sulduz. Then he headed toward Tabriz. Alika b. Khaliq had gone before to Tabriz and begun an aggressive reign of tyranny, as a consequence of which the populace at large had attacked and put to death Khwaja Pir-Ali, who had amassed a fortune in the amount of one hundred thousand dinars. They had also driven the Turcomans from the city and secured the gates. Mirza Umar gave the Turcomans permission to fight, but just then news of the imminent arrival of Mirza Aba-Bakr was ascertained, and since Mirza Umar did not have the force to resist, he retreated to Isfahan. The governor there, Mirza Rustam, went out to greet him and treated him with honor, giving regal banquets and neglecting not the minutest detail of hospitality. Then the two brave padishahs attacked Mirza Aba-Bakr's *ağruq*, which was camped unawares in Suq Balan. Having amassed much matériel and riches, they returned to Isfahan.

Mirza Rustam stayed in his splendid residence while Mirza Umar went to Shiraz. Mirza Pir-Muhammad escorted him with all honors and dignity into the city and gave princely banquets, showering him with trays full of regal gifts. Mirza Umar spent that winter luxuriating in Shiraz, returning in early spring to Isfahan accompanied by Mirza Pir-Muhammad. Mirza Iskandar also moved from Yazd and joined them.

Meanwhile, several days after proclaiming his father padishah, Mirza Aba-Bakr removed his father from office and took the throne himself. At the end of Jumada II of that year [December 1405] he hastened to Tabriz, where his soldiers entered the homes of the citizens and created much havoc among the old and infirm. When news of Mirza Umar-Shaykh's sons' *entente* with Mirza Umar reached Mirza Aba-Bakr's hearing, he set out for Isfahan. Upon reaching Jurbadiqan he heard that Amir Bistam Chakir had taken Tabriz but withdrew, thinking that Azerbaijan was more important than a campaign against Isfahan. When Mirza Umar-Shaykh's sons and Mirza Umar heard this news, they hastened out of Isfahan and galloped without halt in pursuit of Mirza Aba-Bakr. Mirza Aba-Bakr learned of this while in Qurun Arghun, conciliated his soldiers and returned to do battle. In the vicinity of Dargazin the sultans clashed, and from both sides brave warriors hurled themselves into the battlefield. From dawn to dusk they dispatched each other to nonexistence. That day nearly four thousand cavalrymen and footsoldiers from

both sides were killed. At eventide each side withdrew to their camp and kept watch throughout the night.

The next day, when the Jamshid of the sun charged with his glittering golden sword amongst the hosts of stars, once again battle cries arose on both sides and the spark of battle burst into flame. Mirza Muzaffaruddin Aba-Bakr, with seven hundred cavalry, charged the center of the opposing army, where Mirza Pir-Muhammad was. [The center] having been removed, the right and left flanks could not stand, and the Isfahanis, holed up in the city, were put to siege by Mirza Aba-Bakr. **[563]** When Isfahan was near to falling, Mirza Aba-Bakr heard that Amir Shaykh Ibrahim and Amir Bistam Chakir were comfortably in charge of Tabriz, while Shaykh Hajji Iraqi was besieging Sultaniyya. He therefore made a truce with the Isfahanis and returned to Azerbaijan. Mirza Umar, realizing that Mirza Umar-Shaykh's sons were no longer able to withstand Mirza Aba-Bakr, separated himself from them and went to the world-receiving court of the Emperor Shahrukh.

On the first of Rabi' I 809 [August 16, 1406] in the summer pastures of Baylaqan, in a place called Khwaja Qambar, he attained the felicity of kissing the imperial hand and was warmly and favorably received. All his retainers and servants were honored to receive robes and Arabian horses. Concurrently, Mengli Temür, who had gone as emissary to Berk Padishah, returned with an unfavorable message. Therefore, the emperor set out from the Baylaqan summer pasture to conquer Jurjan.

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR DOES BATTLE WITH BERK PADISHAH AND TRANSFERS THE RULE OF ASTARABAD TO MIRZA UMAR B. MIRANSHAH

In early fall, when the cold foe began to plunder and pillage around the fringes of the garden and orchard and, as the frigid winds of the autumnal army began to blow, the warmth of the summer air turned to retreat, the emperor entered the plains of Mazanderan with divine assistance. When Siyah Bilad was selected as a camp site, Berk Padishah, along with Sayyid Khwaja, Abdul-Samad, Hajji Sayfuddin and Shamsuddin Uch-Qara, with center and flanks arrayed, emerged like rapacious lions from the forests of Mazanderan. The imperial army stood opposite the enemy, the right flank commanded by Mirza Ulughbeg, Amir Shah Malik and Amir Musaka, and the left by Mirza Umar, Amir Yusuf Khalil and Amir Jahanmalik. The emperor took his place in the center with the Tarkhan amirs, and the two armies clashed like two blue seas churned by the wind of attacking warriors, the dust of the fray rose, and gleaming, fiery swords cast the heads of champions into the dust of humiliation.

> The earth became a tulip garden with the blood of heros; in every direction flowed oceans of blood. By the blood-raining sword of every hero of renown there fell countless heads severed from their bodies.

Finally the breeze of divine favor blew through the banners of the exalted emperor, and Berk Padishah and his minions, all blue of lip, pale of countenance, and red of tear, stepped into the valley of flight. Berk Padishah escaped to Khwarazm, Sayyid Khwaja and Abdul-Samad took the long road to Shiraz, and Shamsuddin Uch-Qara and Sayyid Husam, the nephew of Sayyid Khwaja, sought refuge and found favor at the court of world refuge. The entire region of Jurjan entered the dominion of the world-conquering emperor, and Sayyid Izzuddin Hazarjaribi sent his brother to court with appropriate tribute. **[564]** The *khutba* was read in the imperial name, and levies and taxes were imposed. The governor of Sari, Sayyid Murtaza, also paid fealty, opening the gates of devotion and obedience.

The mighty emperor gave the province of Astarabad to Mirza Umar, assigning him the implements of rule, and then set forth for Herat. Along the way he appointed Mirza Ulughbeg to the governorship of Tus, Khabushan, Kalat, Abiward, Nasa, Yarz, Sabzawar and Nishapur. On the 4th of Jumada II [November 16, 1406] he reached the capital under divine protection.

MIRZA PIR-MUHAMMAD B. JAHANGIR IS MARTYRED BY DIVINE DECREE

Mirza Pir-Muhammad Jahangir, an equanimous, mild-mannered prince and a noble and just padishah, turned over the reins of his administration to Pir-Ali Taz and spent most of his time quaffing fire-colored liquid and listening to the sound of the lute and harp. The enchanting voice of the reed told the tale of the passing of his rule, and the exhilarating melody of the rebec struck a dirge while he was unconscious from pure wine, as has been said:

> When the sultan's head nods from wine, he does not realize that the royal crown is falling from his head.

Consequently, as Pir-Ali's dominance increased, dreams of autonomy began to fill his head. In Ramadan 809 [February 1407], while Mirza Pir-Muhammad was inwardly lighting the lamp of penitence and the candle of repentance, the villain Pir-Ali and a band of ruffians surrounded the royal enclosure and martyred the hapless prince on the 14th of the month [February 22, 1407].

From Sirghan Mirza Sayyid-Ahmad "Mirak," fearing for his life on account of this event, hastened like the wind to Herat and reported Pir-Ali's iniquity to the emperor, who was grieved to hear the sad news. He assigned Amir Mizrab, Amir Hasan Sufi Tarkhan and Amir Nushirwan to escort Mirza Sayyid-Ahmad "Mirak" to Balkh. The emperor had wanted to follow them himself, but suddenly the news of Mirza Umar's rebellion caused a tremor to reverberate throughout the realm of Khurasan.

MIRZA UMAR REBELS AGAINST HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND IS KILLED BY DIVINE DESTINY

When Mirza Umar raised the banner of dominion in Jurjan, he sent a detachment of warriors to Rayy and forced a thousand Mughul households who were there with Mirza Aba-Bakr's *ağruq* to migrate to Mazanderan. Thereupon Mirza Umar's power began to wax, and a fantasy of independence began to evolve within him. Concurrently Shaykh Hasan Mihaffachï and a band of Amir Shah Malik's retainers fled to Jurjan, saying, "The Khurasan army is discontent with Amir Shah Malik. Whenever your invincible banners are raised in that direction, most will hasten to join you." Mirza Umar believed these words and put on the shelf of oblivion the ledger of the obligations he owed the emperor and with the speed of lightning and wind raced from Astarabad to Khurasan. When Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur heard this, he met Mirza Umar on the 18th of Shawwal [March 28, 1407]. On Monday the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [April 17, 1407], in the vicinity of the village of Bardawayh in the province of Jam, the Jurjan and the Khurasan armies met. Jäkä Tovachï, one of Umar Taban's elite, turned his back on Mirza Umar—as luck and fortune were also doing—and joined the imperial court. Seeing that, the other amirs and soldiers fled in all directions, "and the victory that was the key to security came to be."

Mirza Umar fled before the oncoming dagger of fate to Marv Rud, but he was captured by a band of Amir Mizrab's *nökärs* on the banks of the river and taken, wounded in the head and chains on his feet, to the imperial camp at Amrudak. The emperor had compassion on him and

ordered a litter and appointed a physician and surgeon to accompany him to Herat.

On the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [May 3, 1407] Mirza Umar departed this life at Toquz Ribat and was buried in the cemetery of Imam Fakhruddin Razi.

On the first of Dhu'l-Hijja [May 9] the imperial train reached Herat. The middle of that month the emperor set out to summer in Badghis.

PIR-ALI'S INIQUITY IS REPULSED BY THE EMPEROR'S FELICITOUS ATTENTION

When the triumphant emperor's mind was at ease concerning Mirza Umar, he turned his attention to repulsing Pir-Ali Taz. On the 19th of Muharram 810 [June 26, 1407] the victory-emblazoned banners set out from the Badghis summer pasture for Balkh, the Dome of Islam, arriving in Andkhud the beginning of Safar. Pir-Ali Taz had audaciously advanced as far as Sar-i Pul, but when the imperial train reached Khwaja Dugah, Pir-Ali retreated into the badlands. The emperor dispatched Mirza Sidi-Ahmad with Amir Yadgarshah, Amir Nushirwan and Hasan Sufi Tarkhan in pursuit of him. The amirs reached Pir-Ali and seized his baggage, though he escaped with a few men to Yäkä Öläng. The amirs returned and joined the imperial train in Balkh.

While the magnificent emperor was camped in Balkh, he turned his attention to repairing the Hinduan Citadel, which had lain in ruins from the time of Amir Timur Kürägän's triumph over Amir Husayn. Within a short while the citadel was made strong and most impregnable. [566] Mirza Qaydu, son of Mirza Pir-Muhammad, was then appointed as governor of Balkh, and the imperial standards moved back to Herat.

Once again Pir-Ali Taz gathered an army and approached Balkh, but he was defeated by the imperial army, and during the retreat a group of his senior officers said to each other, "If this bald ingrate remains our leader, we will suffer the consequences of his raids and rebellions against crowned heads." Therefore of one accord they severed the head of that chief of discord from his body and sent it to Herat, thus delivering the people from further disturbances and strife.

THE EMPEROR GOES TO JURJAN A SECOND TIME, AND AMIR JAHANMALIK REBELS BECAUSE OF KHWAJA GHIYATHUDDIN SALAR SIMNANI'S AUDIT

When, under divine protection, the imperial train had reached Herat from Balkh, a messenger came from Mirza Ulughbeg to report that Berk Padishah had gathered a large band of Jäüni-Qorbani hoodlums and Tükäl rogues and gone to Mazanderan and put Shamsuddin Ali Jamshid Qaran, the warden of the Astarabad Fort, into dangerous and dire straits. Therefore, the emperor left Abu'l-Fath Ibrahim-Sultan in power in Herat, and on the 18th of Jumada II 810 [November 20, 1407] the imperial banners set out for Jurjan. At the Turuq station Amir Shahmalik arrived; Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän joined the retinue in Jurjan and presented tribute. When Khwaja Qambar became the object of jealousy of the celestial sphere by the arrival of the imperial parasol, Abu-Muslim son of Uch-Qara came from Mazanderan and reported that when Berk Padishah had heard of the approach of the imperial train he had fled to Rustamdar.

The emperor then went to Astarabad and spent the winter in Mazanderan. Sayyid Izzuddin Hazarjaribi hastened to the imperial court and received much favor. The region of Damghan was given him in fief, and the province of Astarabad was given to Mirza Ulughbeg. The world-conquering reins were then turned toward Khurasan, and on the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [April 6, 1408] the emperor entered Herat like a spirit entering a body.

Concurrently, Jahanmalik and some other high-ranking amirs rebelled and

paid the price for their actions. The details are as follows.

That year Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Salar Simnani, who held the post of *sahib-divan*, began an audit. He made a ledger [567] and listed by name what the office-holders had acquired from every source. Not only that, but he weighed every molehill like a mountain, every straw like a haystack and every *dâng* like a dinar. Since the prices of goods were then very inflated, some of the amirs thought that when the ledger was shown to the emperor they would be charged for everything they had acquired above and beyond their salaries—without taking inflation into account—and for that reason they would not escape without retribution. Amir Jahanmalik, who was from the Qochi tribe, had served in the imperial retinue for a long time with great power and dignity. He, Amir Hasan Jandar and his son Yusuf Khalil, Sa'adat Temürtash and his brother Bahlul Buyan Temür, Sultan-Bayazid Uthman and Namadak agreed to rebel. They left the city without warning and stopped in Jaz' Öläng. The emperor immediately placed his foot in the stirrup of victory, but Amir Mizrab reached the rebels first and was wounded in a pitched battle. When the phœnix of the imperial parasol spread its wing of fortune over the air of Jaz' Öläng, Amir Jahanmalik and his followers crossed back over the Kard River and took up a defensive position. The emperor stood on the riverbank while the invincible army, troop by troop, joined the imperial train. The rebels fled in all directions in fear.

Wretched Sa'adat, his brother Ahmad and Aq Buqa were captured in Badghis by the men of Hasan Sufi Tarkhan's company and brought back. [Sa'adat] was executed, but his brother Ahmad and Aq Buqa were set free. Jahanmalik and Namadak were captured by Amir Charkas in Makhan and sent back in chains to Herat; they were killed in Chihil Dukhtaran. Hasan Jandar and his son Yusuf Khalil went across the Tabas desert to Mirza Rustam in Isfahan. Sultan-Bayazid was captured in Jam, but he was saved through Mirza Ibrahim's intercession....

ON SOME EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN IRAQ AND AZERBAIJAN IN RELATION TO THE EMERGENCE OF SULTAN AHMAD JALAYIR AND QARA YUSUF THE TURCOMAN

As has been seen, one of the results of Amir Timur Kürägän's seven-year campaign was that Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and Amir Qara Yusuf went to Egypt when His Majesty headed for Anatolia. Since at that time Malik Faraj[20] pretended love and affection for the Sahib-Qiran, he seized these two rulers and kept them imprisoned in a fortress tower, although they were not prevented from keeping company with each other. There in that citadel a son was born to Qara Yusuf, and Sultan [Ahmad], bouncing the child on his knee, accepted him as his own son and kept him near himself. It was then that pacts and pledges were sealed between Sultan Ahmad and Qara Yusuf to the effect that if they escaped their bondage and once again gained power, they would act in unity and accord, with Baghdad belonging to Sultan Ahmad and Qara Yusuf ruling from Tabriz. One night Qara Yusuf dreamed that Amir Timur Kürägän took a ring [568] from his hand and put it on Qara Yusuf's finger. The next morning he told Sultan Ahmad of his dream, and the sultan said, "The rule of one of the Sahib-Qiran's dominions will be yours."

After these two kings had spent some time in prison, the news of Amir Timur's death reached Egypt, and Malik Faraj showed them favor and ordered that each one be allowed to have five hundred retainers, for which he gave them the nec-

[20] al-Malik al-Nasir Nasiruddin Faraj, ruled in Egypt 801–815/1399–1412.

essary horses, arms, gold, cash and goods. Of Sultan Ahmad's retainers there were only his personal slaves and body servants in Egypt, so he gave them what he got from the Egyptians. Amir Qara Yusuf's retainers, however, consisted of a large horde of warriors, and he quickly filled his complement of five hundred men. Every day when he rode out that group was at his side magnificently caparisoned, but the Turcomans' splendor stuck in the Egyptians' throats, and they determined to bring them down. One day when the padishah of Egypt came out with his elite corps to play polo, Qara Yusuf and his retainers came out as opponents to Malik Faraj. The Egyptians were not pleased by the Turcomans' exaggerated show and told Qara Yusuf's retainers to dismount and sweep the gravel from the field. They refused to obey this order, and Qara Yusuf rode warily over to the sultan of Egypt and said, "We are foreigners in this country. The padishah has withheld no favor from us, but now, with your permission, we will return to our own region." So saying, he turned his reins and left the field with all his retainers. Hastening at once to his quarters, he took his womenfolk and children and set out for Diyar Bakr.

The amirs of Egypt said to Malik Faraj, "For this group to leave like this is a blow to the honor of the sultanate. With your permission we will pursue them."

The padishah answered, "The Turcomans are very impetuous and reckless. They are ready to sacrifice their lives at a moment's notice. It is not wise for anyone to attempt to pursue them. Let them go to their homeland."

From the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates, Qara Yusuf challenged and fought a hundred and eighty times with the wardens of the fortresses he encountered along the way, and in all those encounters he was victorious. When he reached Diyar Bakr, there was harmony and agreement between him and Malik Shamsuddin, the governor of Khlat and Bitlis who married Qara Yusuf's daughter. At Malik Shamsuddin's instigation Amir Qara Yusuf led his forces to Van and Vastan and swept clean that region of flocks, herds and property with the broom of plunder and pillage. With the entire Turcoman nation at his side he brought Avnik Fort under his domination.

Sultan Ahmad, on the other hand, fell from grace in Egypt after Qara Yusuf left, and since he had neither the force nor the capacity in that region to leave as Qara Yusuf had, he set out for Syria with a shepherd's cloak on his back and accompanied by a handful of ragtags. From there he went to Diyar Bakr and from there to Hilla, where he sat in a corner while some belligerent ruffians in his service made petty raids. When Sultan Ahmad's arrival was learned of in Arab Iraq, so many false rumors spread abroad in Baghdad that the governor, Dawlat Khwaja Inaq, could no longer remain there. He abandoned his post and [569] went to Mirza Umar's camp. A week after Dawlat Khwaja left, Sultan Ahmad returned to his homeland and once again sat upon the throne in splendor.

At the end of 808 [1406], when Mirza Aba-Bakr was occupied with the siege of Isfahan, and Amir Shaykh Ibrahim Shirwani had come to Tabriz to repel the evil of the tyrants and transgressors, Sultan Ahmad gathered a large group of rabble and collected the Turcoman tribes and clans and set out for Tabriz. In Muharram of 809 [June 1406] the news reached Amir Shaykh Ibrahim, who advised his amirs, saying, "For many years Azerbaijan has belonged to the throne of Sultan Ahmad's fathers and forefathers, and we have trod the path of affection and harmony with this dynasty. We came here to unloose the grasp of tyrants from the throat of the subjects. Now that the lord of the realm has returned home, we too

should return to our land." So saying, Amir Shaykh Ibrahim retired to Shirwan.

Toward the end of that same month Sultan Ahmad Jalayir encamped in Tabriz. The citizens decorated the city and made their joy manifest. They imagined that since the sultan had endured the trial of exile for so long and had experienced so many vicissitudes, he would have abandoned his wicked ways. However, he had not changed his ways at all, and while he was in Tabriz he spread the carpet of revelry and pleasure and spent most of his time playing with doves and in the company of smooth-cheeked boys. Consequently his amirs and the dignitaries of the kingdom were inclined to Mirza Aba-Bakr, who had then made a truce with the Isfahanis and was headed in vengeance to Tabriz. When the sultan heard of the mirza's approach, he flew into a rage and set out for Baghdad.

That year many reversals of fortune afflicted the Tabrizis. Since the pestilence had come, the people had dispersed, and when Mirza Aba-Bakr entered the city on the 8th of Rabi' I [August 23, 1406] he found no one there. He established justice and sent letters of conciliation to the surrounding countryside, ordering that no one, for any reason whatsoever, was to harass the subjects. Meanwhile he heard that Qara Yusuf had taken Avnik Fort from Walad Dulday and that many Turcomans had joined him with all their abundant possessions. Mirza Aba-Bakr then decided to make war on Qara Yusuf and set out to find him. When the two sides met there were hostilities for three consecutive days. On the third day Mirza Aba-Bakr fled without apparent cause, and the Turcomans took booty beyond reckoning. Mirza Aba-Bakr did not stop until he reached Marand, where his army pillaged everything they could find. Then he went to Tabriz and put it to plunder. That night Shaykh Qassab, who had fled from the city with a large number of Tabrizis, ordered many fires to be kindled in the plain. When Mirza Aba-Bakr's men saw the fires, they thought the Turcomans had come in pursuit of them. The next morning Mirza Aba-Bakr abandoned Tabriz and headed for Sultaniyya.

Amir Qara Yusuf went to Nakhichevan, and Khwaja Sidi-Muhammad Kechächi, a scion of a great shaykhly family, went there to report the calamities that had befallen the Tabrizis. Receiving an escort and a safe pass, he withdrew, having successfully accomplished his mission. **[570]** Amir Qara Yusuf spent that winter in the vicinity of Marand, and in Jumada II 809 [November 1406] Amir Bistam Chakir came to him and received the post of commander in chief. Other commanders too joined him, and he assigned them all appropriate stipends according to their ranks.

MIRZA ABA-BAKR DOES BATTLE A SECOND TIME WITH AMIR QARA YUSUF THE TURCOMAN; MIRZA MU'IZZUDDIN MIRANSHAH KÜRÄGÄN IS KILLED

When Mirza Aba-Bakr abandoned Tabriz, he went to the Sultaniyya Fort. With troops from Hamadan, Dargazin and Qazwin, he set out in vengeance for Tabriz. Amir Qara Yusuf, with Amir Bistam Chakir and a large group of commanders of Azerbaijan, prepared for battle, and on the 24th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 809 [May 2, 1407],[21] at Sard Rud, the two sides clashed. With left, right and center arrayed, both sides charged the battlefield. First, from Amir Qara Yusuf's side Amir Bistam charged Mirza Aba-Bakr's forces and annihilated two men. Pir-Umar, Bayram Beg and Jalaluddin Khalifa also wounded several and forced them to flee. When Mirza Aba-Bakr saw the agility of the enemy, he charged the field like a lion after a gazelle. He unhorsed the clever

[21]There seems to be some confusion as to the year of this battle. Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 179), Mirkhwand (*RS*, VI, 559) and Abdul-Razzaq (*Matla'*, II, 67) give 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da 810.

Jalaluddin and routed the Turcomans who had come forward. Then both armies clashed.

From Tabriz up to the foot of Sard Rud the blood of soldiers flowed like a river.

Mirza Aba-Bakr set out in pursuit of Berk and his brother Yadgarshah from Qara Yusuf's right flank and did not draw his reins until he had Berk's head on the end of his spear. However, during his absence, the Turcomans had broken the center, which was under Mirza Miranshah's command. A young Turcoman, not realizing who he was, wounded Mirza Miranshah and unhorsed him. He appropriated his weapons and clothes and severed his head from his body. After three sidereal hours Mirza Aba-Bakr returned from chasing Berk and found not a living soul of his army on the battlefield. Consequently he fled, and the victory went to Amir Qara Yusuf.

Qara Yusuf ordered the murderer of Mirza Miranshah killed and said, "If he had brought him to me alive, I would have given him the greatest reward possible." The veiled ladies of Mirza Aba-Bakr's harem who fell captive into the hands of the soldiers he sent under his protection to join his own ladies. He also commanded the prince's head and body to be buried with royal honors in Surkhab. After a time Shamsuddin Ghuri took the body to Transoxiana, where it was entombed in Kish. **[571]**

MIRZA ABA-BAKR GOES TO KERMAN, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE END OF THE UNFORTUNATE PRINCE

When Mirza Aba-Bakr escaped the clutches of Amir Qara Yusuf's army, he stepped into the valley of flight and turned his reins toward Kerman. Just then Amir Edigü Barlas, who had long held the jurisdiction of that area under Amir Timur Kürägän, died, and his son Sultan-Uways took over the rule in his stead. When Sultan-Uways learned of Mirza Aba-Bakr's approach, he went out to greet him as was proper. Entering Kerman, Mirza Aba-Bakr found Sultan-Uways ruling independently as a king; as flames of jealousy flared up within him, he determined to exterminate Sultan-Uways. For his part, Sultan-Uways thought of imprisoning the prince, and in the end he beat the drums of war and surrounded Mirza Aba-Bakr's palace. When the peacemakers intervened, it was decided that the Kermanis would not offend Mirza Aba-Bakr's dignity by an attack if he would leave the city without inflicting injury and go to another place. Mirza Aba-Bakr left Kerman for Sistan, where he got along well with the governor, Shah Qutbuddin. This finally resulted in Shahrukh's having to lead the army to Farah and Sistan and subdue the area with both peaceful persuasion and violence.

Once again Mirza Aba-Bakr went to Kerman, and toward the end of Jumada II 811 [November 1408] he camped in Bam. Sultan-Uways was stunned at this news, and just at that time the army he had sent to Garmser arrived. Thus reinforced, he moved toward Bam on the 4th of Rajab [November 23, 1408], and several skirmishes took place between him and Mirza Aba-Bakr. Sometimes Mirza Aba-Bakr was gladdened by the sight of victory, and sometimes Sultan-Uways beheld the countenance of triumph. Finally the prince was decisively defeated and received a mortal wound of which he died.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MIRZA PIR-MUHAMMAD, MIRZA RUSTAM AND MIRZA ISKANDAR AFTER THE DEATH OF THE MIGHTY SAHIB-QIRAN

When the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän died, Mirza Pir-Muhammad son of Umar-Shaykh held sway in Shiraz. His brother Mirza Rustam was ruling in Isfahan, and his

other brother Mirza Iskandar was in Hamadan. When the grievous news reached Fars, Mirza Pir-Muhammad took counsel and, based upon the fact that his mother Malikat Agha, the daughter of Khizr Oghlan, [572] was among the emperor [Shahrukh]'s wives,[22] he had the *khutba* read and coins struck in Shahrukh's name, and in order to show his allegiance he sent an envoy to Khurasan with the following line of poetry:

> We are all slaves who worship Shahrukh: I, Rustam, Iskandar and everyone else.

The emperor received his envoy most graciously and gave him permission to return.

When Mirza Umar killed Amir Jahanshah and imprisoned Mirza Aba-Bakr, Mirza Iskandar fled in fear from Hamadan to Shiraz. Mirza Pir-Muhammad received him warmly and transferred the province of Yazd to him. For a long time there was harmony among the brothers—until 809 [1406–7], when the harmony was shattered by some mischief makers, and Mirza Pir-Muhammad seized Mirza Iskandar and sent him in shackles to Khurasan. However, Iskandar broke his bonds at the Tabas crossroads, escaped his jailers and went to Isfahan, where Mirza Rustam welcomed him, and the two brothers set out together for Shiraz. Mirza Pir-Muhammad determined to oppose them and sent a company of great amirs and *noyans* as a vanguard, cautioning them to guard well the river crossings between the two sides. When the Isfahanis reached the river and saw that it was secure against crossing, they were at a loss, but finally one rainy night Mirza Iskandar crossed by a secret ford. When the guards of the other crossings learned that he had made it across, they lost their nerve and fled toward Shiraz, joining Mirza Pir-Muhammad and making ready for siege in the city. Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar encircled Shiraz and besieged the city for forty days. When the Isfahanis realized that they were unlikely to subdue the city, they plundered the cultivated areas of Fars and returned to Isfahan.

In 810 [1408] Mirza Pir-Muhammad gathered a huge army and set out, intent upon doing battle with Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar. Because of the outbreak of an epidemic, Mirza Rustam had left Isfahan and was staying in Kunduman. When the news of the approach of the Fars army was heard, some of his supporters advised him to sue for peace, but he replied, "Rest assured that the Shiraz caravan is bringing us gifts and presents." When the Shirazis drew near, the two armies were arrayed. Mirza Rustam first attacked the Fars army, but Mirza Pir-Muhammad repelled the attack with the champions of Shiraz. Then the two armies clashed, and after a heated battle the Isfahanis suffered defeat. Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar took flight and headed for Khurasan. In the flush of victory Mirza Pir-Muhammad ordered that the soldiers were to harass no one in Isfahan but give quarter to all. When the people of Isfahan heard this good news, they rushed hopefully in throngs to Mirza Pir-Muhammad's court to praise the noble and generous prince. He remained in Shahrak Meadow and Kunduman for a few days to fatten up his horses before bringing Kashan, Jurbadiqan and the other dependencies of Isfahan [573] under his control. Although the sun was then in Virgo,[23] the crops of Isfahan had not been reaped because of the epidemic. However, when Mirza Pir-Muhammad again entered the city, the plague and epi-

[22]Malikat Agha, the mother of Pir-Muhammad, Iskandar, Ahmad and Bayqara, had been married first to Mirza Umar-Shaykh; after Umar-Shaykh's death in 796/1394 she was married to Shahrukh, by whom she bore Soyurghatmïsh.

[23]Virgo: August 21–September 21.

demic died down and Isfahan flourished once again. Mirza Pir-Muhammad gave the governorship of the province to his son Mirza Umar-Shaykh, and the fiscal divan was assigned to Khwaja Muzaffaruddin Nazari. When Mirza Pir-Muhammad's mind was at ease with regard to such matters, he withdrew in state to Shiraz.

MIRZA RUSTAM GOES TO THE EMPEROR'S THRESHOLD, AND MIRZA ISKANDAR RETURNS TO SHIRAZ

When Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar headed for Khurasan after the Battle of Kunduman, Mirza Rustam relied upon the emperor's good will and went to Herat, where he was honored and favorably received. Mirza Iskandar stayed some days in the village of Ahmad, which lies between Tun and Tabas, but when his whereabouts were discovered, he lit out in the middle of the night, taking the back roads to Balkh and Shuburghan, where he was joined by a group of his men. Mirza Qaydu, the governor of Balkh, set out in pursuit. Mirza Iskandar, unable to withstand an attack, withdrew toward the Oxus and from there entered Andkhud. The governor of that province, Sidi-Ahmad Tarkhan, gave him an appropriate place to stay and reported the situation to the emperor, who magnanimously wrote suggesting that Mirza Iskandar be sent to Mirza Pir-Muhammad. To Sidi-Ahmad Tarkhan he sent a message instructing him to hand the letter to Mirza Iskandar and let him go free. With the arrival of the letter, Mirza Iskandar set out for Fars.

On the evening of the 26th[24] of Ramadan 811 [February 12, 1409] he entered Shiraz on foot. Learning of his brother's arrival, Mirza Pir-Muhammad left his dinner and had him brought that very hour, receiving him warmly and affectionately to reassure him of his good will.

MIRZA PIR-MUHAMMAD IS MARTYRED BY HUSAYN SHARBATDAR'S TREACHEROUS SWORD, AND MIRZA ISKANDAR TAKES HIS BROTHER'S PLACE

In the year 812 Mirza Pir-Muhammad set out accompanied by Mirza Iskandar to conquer Kerman. When they reached a place called Duchaha, the wretched Husayn Sharbatdar, who had been promoted by the padishah's patronage from physician to the rank of amir, [574] headed a conspiracy of evil men who surrounded Mirza Pir-Muhammad's tent and forced the prince to taste the potion *(sharbat)* of martyrdom. The instant Mirza Iskandar learned of this event, he set out with two companions and reached Shiraz in two days. Going straight to the house of Amir Temür Khwaja, who had ruled Shiraz for the late padishah [Timur], he explained what had taken place. Temür Khwaja and the other nobles of Shiraz first suspected that Mirza Iskandar was behind his brother's murder, but when other men arrived from the camp and reported what had happened, the amirs and nobles made obeisance to Mirza Iskandar.

After pouring the draught of martyrdom into the cup of Mirza Pir-Muhammad's life, Husayn Sharbatdar sent his brother Khwaja Ali to give Mirza Iskandar a taste of the same mortal poison. However, he had "flown on wings of wind" to Shiraz, just as Amir Abdul-Samad had fled to Yazd. The rest of the amirs submitted to Husayn, who hastened with unbelievable pomp to Shiraz. Mirza Iskandar made fast the city against him, and the next day the two sides fired arrows and stones at each other from dawn to dusk. As darkness settled, the amirs and soldiers paid homage to Iskandar, and the next day the ill-starred traitor fled to Kerman. Along the way he ran into Mirza Pir-Muhammad's amirs who had gone on an advance raid and were on their way back from Ker-

[24]Misprinted in figures in the text as 29; see Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 190.

man. Amir Siddiq seized him and brought him to Shiraz. At the shrine of Shaykh Muslihuddin Sa'di they shaved some of his moustache and beard, smeared his face with rouge, put a dunce-cap on his head, mounted him on a cow and took him in this state to Mirza Iskandar.

"Why did you kill my brother?" the prince asked him.

"If I did kill him," he replied, "you weren't sorry."

Iskandar flew into a rage at this reply and wrenched that accursed one's eye from its socket with his own hand. He then ordered him to clubbed to death. His evil head was sent to Isfahan and his vile body was thrown into the fire two days later.

SULTAN MU'TASIM REBELS AND IS KILLED DURING THE ONSLAUGHT OF MIRZA ISKANDAR'S ARMY; MIRZA RUSTAM TAKES OVER THE GOVERNANCE OF ISFAHAN A SECOND TIME

When the noble Sultan Zaynul-Abidin b. Shah-Shuja' b. Amir Muhammad the Muzaffarid was exiled to Transoxiana, his son Sultan Mu'tasim fled to Syria. [575] During the time of the aforementioned affairs, he went to Azerbaijan, where he enjoyed Amir Qara Yusuf's favor. After spending a few luxurious days in Tabriz, he set out for Isfahan accompanied by Amir Bistam Chakir and led by Qazi Ahmad Sâ'idi. When Mirza Pir-Muhammad's son Mirza Umar-Shaykh, Amir Sa'id Barlas and Amir Cholpanshah, all of whom were in Isfahan, learned of his approach, they went out of the city, intent on battle. However, without entering the battlefield, they turned aside toward Yazd because the prefect there was speaking about Mirza Iskandar's rebellion. Amir Fazil chose to separate himself from Mirza Umar-Shaykh and reported the situation to Mirza Iskandar in Qasr-i Zard. Although Iskandar was on his way to Yazd, he thought it more worthwhile to tend to Isfahan, so he headed there. Amir Siddiq, Amir Gayomarth and Amir Buyan were sent after Mirza Umar-Shaykh and his henchmen. The two groups clashed near Yazd, and the Iskandarids were victorious. Amir Cholpanshah joined them, and the others took the road to Khurasan. When they arrived they induced Mirza Rustam to seek permission from the emperor and go to Isfahan. However, when Mirza Iskandar arrived near Isfahan, Sultan Mu'tasim met Iskandar's train, and a battle erupted between the two armies near Atashkada. While the battle was raging, some of the officers of Fars joined Sultan Mu'tasim. With that the Isfahanis took courage and charged up to Mirza Iskandar's center. However, in the end the breeze of victory and superiority blew through the Iskandarid banners, and the supporters of the Muzaffarid house took flight. Most of the leaders of the army of Iraq and Azerbaijan were taken prisoner. While fleeing in rout Sultan Mu'tasim reached the bank of a river and wanted to make his horse jump across. Being a large man, he was unable to maintain his seat and landed on his back. One of the Shiraz soldiers reached him and snuffed out the flame of his life right there on the riverbank.

Nonetheless, Qazi Nizamuddin Ahmad Sâ'idi, the band of rebellion bound across his forehead, refused to open the city gates to Mirza Iskandar. Therefore massive destruction was wrought outside the city, and while it was going on Mirza Rustam arrived in the vicinity. Qazi Ahmad and the other leaders of Iraq met him and brought him into the city. After hearing the news, Mirza Iskandar went to Shiraz. At the same time, his amirs who had gone to besiege Yazd conquered that city, and he sent Amir Yusuf Khalil as governor. He also sent a report to the emperor in which, while manifesting his allegiance and obedience, he entreated the emperor to send as reinforcement whichever of his brothers he saw fit. The emperor received his emissary favorably and

dispatched Mirza Bayqara b. Mirza Umar-Shaykh with drums, standards and retinue to Mirza Iskandar, to whom he wrote, "In view of the dictum, 'Your help is in your brother,' we have sent you your brother, in whom the signs of greatness are manifest. It is incumbent upon you to treat him with brotherliness and affection so that the bond [576] of family ties may be maintained and the breaches of that area may be healed."

AN ACCOUNT OF AMIR QARA YUSUF AND SULTAN AHMAD OF BAGHDAD, AND HOW SULTAN AHMAD WAS VENGEFULLY AND UNJUSTLY KILLED IN TABRIZ

After the martyrdom of Mirza Miranshah Kürägän and the flight of Mirza Aba-Bakr to Kerman, Amir Qara Yusuf brought all of the region of Azerbaijan and Arran under his control and established justice and equity. On the pretext that Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, to whom Azerbaijan belonged by heredity and acquisition, called Qara Yusuf's son Pir-Budaq "son," he set him on the throne and had the *khutba* read and coinage in the whole realm issued in his name. He ordered that the superscription of his edicts and orders be written thus: *Pir-Budaq Bahadur Khan yarlïğïdïn Abu'l-Nasr Yusuf Bahadur sözümiz* (By the authority vested by Pir-Budaq Bahadur Khan in Abu'l-Nasr Yusuf Bahadur: our word).[25] Whenever Pir-Budaq came into the assembly Qara Yusuf took him by the hand and sat him on the throne while he himself knelt politely below him.

When this news reached the kings and rulers of the surrounding areas, they sent emissaries with presents and gifts to Amir Qara Yusuf's court to offer congratulations. Amir Qara Yusuf sent a messenger to Sultan Ahmad with this message: "Since His Majesty accepted Pir-Budaq as a son, we have elevated that dear son to the throne and are ourselves ready to lead the army to repel any opposition. Let this be clear to you." Sultan Ahmad received Qara Yusuf's emissary graciously and sent Pir-Budaq a parasol and other regal paraphernalia. For some time things went well between Sultan Ahmad and Amir Qara Yusuf, but finally the basis of their friendship was shattered for the following reason.

Sultan Ahmad's son Ala'uddawla escaped from prison in Samarqand and hastened to Azerbaijan. Amir Qara Yusuf was favorable toward him for a few days, but in the end he gave him permission to go to his father. Ala'uddawla, who was a ne'er-do-well, turned aside along the way and, while Amir Qara Yusuf was in Khoy, entered Tabriz and gathered a band of ruffians.[26] When Qara Yusuf heard this, he sent someone to have Hajji Küchük Rikabdar, his governor in Tabriz, arrest Ala'uddawla and imprison him in the Adiljevaz Fort. When Sultan Ahmad heard this he made fast the towers and ramparts of Baghdad and sent a message to Amir Qara Yusuf and Pir-Budaq Khan that due to his weak constitution and the extreme heat of Baghdad he would go to the Hamadan meadows for the spring. Of Ala'uddawla's imprisonment he said nothing. Qara Yusuf was angered by the message and by the lack of respect and so paid scant attention to the sultan's emissaries.

[25]For an example of such a document, in this case an order by Miranshah through the authority vested by Sultan-Mahmud Khan, see Fekete, *Einführung*, plate 1.

[26]Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 191) narrates the story of Ala'uddawla in which there is no mention of Samarqand. According to him, Ala'uddawla quarreled with his father and went to Qara Yusuf in Azerbaijan, who received him warmly but then advised him to return to his father. When he reached Khoy, the governor Malik Izzuddin Sher entertained him for some time, but Qara Yusuf wrote that it was better not to detain him. Ala-'uddawla started for Ardabil to become a Sufi but was captured by Turcomans who turned him over to Qara Yusuf, who imprisoned him in Adiljevaz.

That spring Qara Yusuf went to the Ala Tagh summer pasture and occupied himself with consolidating those regions as far as Erjish and Adiljevaz. From the other direction Sultan [577] Ahmad proceeded with all pomp and ceremony to the Hamadan summer pasture. Bistam Chakir's men who were in that province holed up in fear in the fort. Sultan Ahmad spent the summer in Hamadan and set out that autumn for Sultaniyya. Bistam Chakir's brother Ma'sum, who was ruling there, secured the outskirts of the city while the sultan besieged the fort for eighteen days, although he was unable to make any headway. Then he heard that in Baghdad somebody named Uways had gathered a band of ruffians and was claiming to be his son. Therefore he set out for Baghdad. Upon his arrival he seized Uways and executed some troublesome men.

Amir Qara Yusuf spent that winter in Tabriz. At the beginning of the spring he went to Azerbaijan to help Walad Tahartan the governor against Amir Qara Uthman's predations, installing his own son Shah Muhammad as viceroy in Azerbaijan. Sultan Ahmad seized the opportunity and set out from Baghdad for Tabriz with a large army in Muharram 813 [May 1410]. Shah Muhammad fled to Khoy, and at the beginning of Rabi' I the sultan entered Tabriz with all pomp and circumstance. After Qara Yusuf conquered Erzinjan and installed his deputy Pir-Umar as his governor, he headed back to Tabriz as soon as he heard of the arrival of the sultan's train. When the sultan learned of his return he prepared for war. On Friday the 28th of Rabi' II 813 [August 30, 1410], near Shamb-i Ghazan, a fierce battle broke out. Amir Qara Yusuf was the victor, and the sultan fled toward the city. A Turcoman, not knowing who he was, unhorsed him with two blows of the sword, took his clothes and weapons and left him there.

The sultan crept into a garden through the water conduit. An old cobbler recognized him and rushed to help him. "Sultan of the world," he said, "what has happened?"

"Be quiet!" the sultan said. "Don't give me away. There are many of our men in this city. When it is night we'll go and get gold and horses and everything we need from them. We will reward you. When I reach Baghdad I will give you the Ba'quba District as a fief." The old cobbler agreed and went home.

Now he had an old wife who could tell the future and make predictions. The old man told his wife what had happened and asked her, "What should be done?" The old woman set about casting a prediction, and when she was finished she said to her husband, "There is a great distance between us and Ba'quba, and no profit will come to us across it. It is likely that by the time night falls there will be so many men around the sultan that you won't have a chance to meet with him, and such a prey will escape your net. You should go before the hour to Qara Yusuf, tell him everything and get a reward from him."

This seemed reasonable to the old man, so he went to Qara Yusuf and told him where the sultan was. Amir Qara Yusuf sent his henchmen [Satïlmïsh and Tängribermish[27]] to seize the king. They put an old cloak over his shoulders and a tattered cap on his head and brought him to court. Amir Qara Yusuf rose to honor the sultan, but as he seated him next to himself he spoke roughly to him and chastised him for breaking his pact. Then [578] he dismissed that padishah, who had never lowered his head even to the revolving celestial spheres, from his side and sent him to the least honorable end of the room. Half jokingly and half in seriousness, he ordered him to write in gold ink with his own hand an order transferring

[27]Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 202.

the province of Azerbaijan to Pir-Budaq Khan and another edict giving the rulership of Baghdad to Shah Muhammad, who proceeded straight from that assembly to Baghdad.

Qara Yusuf did not want to harm the sultan, but the amirs of Baghdad urged him to put an end to the sultan's life, and finally Amir Qara Yusuf was forced to agree. Satïlmïsh took Sultan Ahmad to the Qazi Shaykh Ali Madrasa, where he was executed by Khwaja Ja'far Tabrizi and a bloodthirsty band. He was buried at the foot of his brother Sultan Husayn, whom he had treacherously killed. Some of Sultan Ahmad's sons who had been taken captive in the battle and Ala'ud-dawla, who was held prisoner in the Adiljevaz Fort, also tasted the same potion.

It is related that when the news of Sultan Ahmad's martyrdom reached Herat, Mirza Shahrukh addressed Khwaja Abdul-Qadir, the musician who had been Sultan Ahmad's companion for many years, and asked him, "What have you composed for your friend?" Khwaja Abdul-Qadir recited the following quatrain, which he had inserted into a musical composition:

Abdul-Qadir, shed bloody tears every moment.
With the revolution of the spheres there is no chance for your revenge.
The date of the untimely death of the sun of the princely sphere is ASSASSINATION IN TABRIZ.[28]

By the time Qara Yusuf's son Shah Muhammad reached Baghdad, Sultan Ahmad's young sons had entrenched themselves within the city. After a year and a half of siege, the beleaguered ones boarded ships and fled. Shah Muhammad took Baghdad and all of Arab Iraq and had the *khutba* read and coins issued in his own name. He never went before his father again, and Qara Yusuf made no objection to what he did.

SOME OF THE EVENTS THAT TRANSPIRED IN TRANSOXIANA, WHICH PROVINCE ENTERS THE EMPEROR'S DOMAIN

As the previously described events were taking place, the sun of Mirza Khalil-Sultan's fortune began to set, and a dispute occurred between him and Khudadad Husayni, who gathered a vast force in Turkistan and determined to conquer Transoxiana. As this news reached the capital in Herat, the impetus to subdue Samarqand took firm root in the emperor's mind. On the 5th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 811 [March 22, 1409] the banners of the rising sun set out from the capital toward Badghis. Mirza Khalil-Sultan, too, moved out of Samarqand with the Transoxianan army, halting in the vicinity of Kish, where he was informed that Khudadad Husayni had reached the banks of the Khujand River. He assigned Amir Allahdad and Arghun Shah three thousand cavalrymen to go there, and the two sides caught sight of each other near [579] Yazaq. They sat opposite one another for a few days while the amirs rushed for reinforcements from Mirza Khalil-Sultan. The prince marched with four thousand cavalrymen and, skirting Samarqand, camped in the village of Shîraz. When Khudadad learned of the prince's arrival he moved by night like the wind to Shîraz. At noon the next day he reached Mirza Khalil-Sultan, and war broke out. The Samarqandis were defeated, and Mirza Khalil-Sultan took refuge in the abandoned fort of Shîraz. At once Khudadad laid siege to the fort and overwhelmed the prince. He wrote out documents and ordered the prince to seal them so that he could send them wherever he wished and bring all of Transoxiana under his control. Mirza Khalil-Sultan was taken prisoner by Khudadad Husayni on

[28] *Qaṣd-i Tabrïz* = 813.

the 13th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 811 [March 30, 1409].

When the emperor heard the news in the Badghis summer quarters, he set out for there on the 21st, camping at the Oxus on the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 22].

Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, who was in Samarqand and supported the emperor, got himself to Bukhara, but Amir Khudadad had him pursued and dispersed his troops.

Shahrukh's train crossed the Oxus, and Mirza Mirak Ahmad and Mirza Sidi-Ahmad, who were in Hisar Shadman, hastened to join the imperial retinue, where they were royally welcomed. When the air of Khuzar was perfumed by the dust of the invincible imperial train, it was learned that Khudadad had fled to Mughulistan, taking Mirza Khalil-Sultan with him in chains. On the 20th of Dhu'l-Hijja [May 6[29]] Samarqand was elevated to glory by the advent of the emperor, and not only Mirza Muhammad Jahangir and the officials but high and low alike were honored to kiss the imperial carpet.

Meanwhile Nadayla[30] Tarkhan had been ordered by the emperor to go to Amir Khudadad to convince him to join the imperial retinue. Amir Khudadad replied, "I know that the imperial temperament is inclined to look upon me with favor, but apparently Shaykh Nuruddin's corruption will prevent him from doing so. If His Majesty wants me to gird my loins in sincere service, he must send [Nuruddin] in chains to me." When Mirza Shahrukh heard this improper reply he was angry. In Muharram 812 [May 1409] he proceeded from Samarqand to Mughulistan, whence he had sent as a vanguard some of the princes, Amir Shah Malik and Amir Ali Tarkhan.

During this time an event occurred that was stranger than anyone could have imagined. Amir Khudadad had sought aid from the ruler of Mughulistan, Muhammad Khan, who had appointed his brother Sham'-i Jahan to help him. When Khudadad learned of Sham'-i Jahan's approach, his hopes increased and he hastened to greet him. After the two had met, Sham'-i Jahan conferred with his counselors and said, "Khudadad is an ungrateful and faithless man. With all the favor and patronage he received from Amir Timur Kürägän, he has chosen to tread the path of ingratitude with the amir's sons. This is how he acts." **[580]** Then he decided to kill him and, with a blaze of his sharp sword, he burned the harvest of Khudadad's life, severing head from body. He sent the head to Amir Shah Malik, who returned with the other amirs of the vanguard and took Khudadad's head and that of his son Allahdad, who lived in Shahrukhiyya, to the royal camp, where they were received with infinite favor.

Then Amir Shaykh Nuruddin reported, "The Mughuls have entered Turkistan and are wreaking havoc. If the emperor commands, I will hasten there and repel their evil." The emperor gave him permission to withdraw immediately.

During all of this Mirza Mirak Ahmad, the son of Mirza Umar-Shaykh, was favored with the rule of Uzjand province.

MIRZA KHALIL-SULTAN JOINS THE EMPEROR'S RETINUE, AND PROVINCES AND STATES ARE ASSIGNED TO THE PRINCES

After Amir Khudadad was killed, Mirza Khalil-Sultan entered into an agreement with those who had been set to watch him and went to Alan Fort to join Amir Abdul-Khaliq, Amir Khudadad's son in Hisar. When this news reached the imperial hearing, Amir Shah Malik was dispatched thither with a group of warriors. The emperor himself set out for Samarqand, and Amir Shah Malik

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[29]The 27th (May 13, 1409) according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 189).

[30]LDNYA in the text; Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 192) and Shami (*Zafarnama*, I, 96) have LDYNA; "Nadayla" is from Yazdi, *Zafarnama* and *Mu'izz al-ansab*.

reached the fort and laid siege. Mirza Khalil-Sultan sent him a message, saying, "Leave the way open for me to come through the pass to join Mirza Shahrukh's retinue." Amir Shah Malik considered it best to withdraw from the siege and left for the imperial camp.

Meanwhile it became known that Amir Shaykh Nuruddin was thinking of rebelling. Therefore the emperor sent Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi and Tükäl Qarqara to investigate why he was rebelling. They met with him and heard this answer: "The royal favors to me have been many. I am ashamed of shortcoming in my service and beg to be released from further service. When the invincible banners return from Transoxiana I shall hasten to kiss the imperial threshold."

At that point Mirza Khalil-Sultan came down from Alan Fort and joined Amir Shaykh Nuruddin. When Mawlana Qutbuddin and Tükäl returned, they reported what Amir Shaykh Nuruddin had said. The emperor detected the aroma of rebellion in these words and turned his reins toward that place.

At Aqsulat Mirza Khalil-Sultan's old *nökär*, Yahyaka by name, came and represented the prince's fidelity. Showered with royal favor, he returned successful in his mission. Then Mirza Khalil-Sultan sent Yahyaka to make a pact with the emperor [581] to send whichever of the *noyans* he thought best so that Mirza Khalil-Sultan might hasten to his presence. The emperor swore in Yahyaka's presence, saying, "So long as I live I shall never make an attempt on my son Khalil-Sultan's life. I shall honor and respect him."

Amir Shah Malik, Amir Hasan Sufi Tarkhan and Amir Alika Kükältäsh were sent with Yahyaka to escort the prince to the throne. When the amirs reached the vicinity of Anzar, where Prince Khalil-Sultan and Amir Shaykh Nuruddin resided, Amir Shah Malik stopped at the river bank while Amir Hasan Sufi and Amir Alika went on to Anzar. Prince Khalil-Sultan was given hopes of imperial favor, and they accompanied him to the imperial camp. At a place called Uzun Aq the prince was honored to kiss the imperial hand and seated in the assembly on the carpet of favor.

Immediately afterwards the emperor returned to Khurasan, giving the kingdom of Samarqand with its dependencies and tributaries to Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, to be assisted by Amir Shah Malik. The province of Hisar Shadman was given to Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir b. Mirza Muhammad-Sultan.

When the imperial train crossed the Oxus, Balkh was given to Mirza Abu'l-Fath Ibrahim-Sultan, and Mirza Qaydu was sent as governor of Kabul, Ghaznin and Qandahar.

The invincible banners crossed the vast distances speedily, reaching the capital on the 16th of Sha'ban 812 [December 24, 1409]. Several days later Mirza Khalil-Sultan's appointment was confirmed, and Amir Hamza Qutuqu, Beg Pulad, Khizr Sipahi, Sadr Hasan, Khwajagi and ten thousand men were assigned to the prince, who was told to go to Persian Iraq and reconquer what he could of the territories that had belonged to Mirza Miranshah and Mirza Umar. Mirza Khalil-Sultan set out in obedience on the 17th of Dhu'l-Qa'da of that year [March 23, 1410].

AMIR SHAYKH NURUDDIN'S REVOLT, AND HOW HE WAS KILLED BY THE EMPEROR'S FELICITOUS ATTENTION

When he gave Samarqand to Mirza Ulughbeg, and Amir Ghiyathuddin Shah Malik was assigned to serve the prince, the emperor himself set out for Herat. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin then rallied the army of Turkistan and set out in all rancor and vengeance to take Samarqand. Amir Shah Malik came out of the city and stood against the enemy, but he was routed and took refuge in Aq Saraq

mountain between Kish and Samarqand. Amir Wafadar was taken prisoner by Amir Shaykh Nuruddin and put into chains. Thinking he would enter the city, the amir hastened to the city gates on Friday the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja 812 [April 11, 1410]. [582] The leaders of Samarqand, like Khwaja Isamuddin, Khwaja Abdul-Qadir, Khwaja Abdul-Awwal, Qazi Salahuddin, and the sons of Shaykhzada Saghrïchï, made fast the city and prepared for siege, so Shaykh Nuruddin was forced to withdraw in disappointment to Tirmidh. He managed to flatter and cajole the governor of Hisar, Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir, into joining him, and he had Amir Wafadar killed.

When the emperor learned of Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's revolt, he left Herat with Mirza Baysunghur and set out on the 14th of Muharram 813 [May 18, 1410] for Transoxiana. Traversing the stages, he reached the Kilif crossing, and Mirza Ulughbeg Küräkän, who was waiting for the arrival of the imperial train, was honored to kiss the royal hand.

On Friday the 17th of Safar [June 21] the banners of the Invincible Army crossed the Oxus, and Mirza Mirak Ahmad and Amir Shah Malik also joined the exalted camp.

Amir Shaykh Nuruddin audaciously came forth and drew up his forces opposite the emperor in the vicinity of Qïzïl Ribat and Ab Yam. Just about then he began to suspect Amir Mubashshir, and an end was put to him.

Then the champions of the two armies drew their swords, arrows and daggers, and battle ensued. By the grace of God the breeze of victory and triumph blew through the emperor's banners, and Amir Shaykh Nuruddin stepped hurriedly into the valley of flight. This victory took place on Saturday, the 9th of Rabi' I [July 12, 1410]:

On Monday the 11th of that month the regal parasol spread its happy wings over Samarqand, and the emperor showed favor to the leaders of the city who had exerted such effort in defending the city. Amir Shah Malik was dispatched with a detachment in pursuit of Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, while the emperor retired to the capital, which he reached at the beginning of Rabi' II [August].

During that year the building of the *madrasa* and *khanaqah* opposite Ikhtiyaruddin Fort inside Herat was begun, and in a short time the elaborately decorated and beautiful edifice was completed. At that time too the Bagh-i Safed, which is to the northeast of Herat, was laid out.

At the beginning of 814 [April–May 1411] Mirza Umar-Shaykh b. Mirza Pir-Muhammad b. Mirza Umar-Shaykh arrived from Iraq and joined the ranks of the great princes.

Then news arrived from Transoxiana that Amir Shah Malik had returned to Samarqand from Turkistan with a great deal of booty. However, Amir Shaykh Nuruddin had sought assistance from Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Mughulistan, and a slight difference of opinion had occurred between Mirza Ulughbeg and Amir Shah Malik. The amir had gone yet again to Mughulistan[31] to repel the shaykh and it was not known what the end would be. Therefore the emperor set out again for Transoxiana, crossing the Oxus on the 21st of Jumada I [September 10, 1411] and riding without halt until he reached the Qashqa. There Mirza Ulughbeg and the nobles of Samarqand attained the honor of kissing the imperial carpet and were warmly received. Kan-i Gil was selected as the padishah's campsite.

Several days later Amir Shah [583] Malik arrived from Turkistan, bringing Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's head. The saga of his death is as follows.

When Amir Shah Malik went to Turkistan and reached the vicinity of Savran Fort, where Amir Shaykh Nuruddin was holed up, [Nuruddin] got nervous and

[31]Text has Kurdistan (!).

sent a message to some of his amirs saying, "Do something so that a truce can be made between Amir Shah Malik and me."

The amirs spoke with Amir Shah Malik in this regard, and it was established that the two amirs would negotiate indirectly with each other. And this took place near Savran Fort the very next day. No matter how much Amir Shah Malik advised Amir Shaykh Nuruddin to withdraw from his stance of revolt and go to the court of world refuge, it was to no avail.

When the heat of the day became unbearable, Amir Shah Malik got up and said to Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, "Send us a tent and some food so that we can rest for a little while in the area." He withdrew a little way from the fort and stopped, while Amir Shaykh Nuruddin stood mounted by the fortress gate.

Amir Shah Malik said to Amir Musaka and Amir Dawlat Khwaja, "Go once more to that wretch and advise him that if he doesn't go on his own to the emperor, at least let him send one of his sons or brothers and then we'll have an excuse to leave." The amirs went to Amir Shaykh Nuruddin and began to deliberate with him.

While they were there, Amir Shah Malik inveigled Amir Harqudaq, an old friend of Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's, saying, "If you dare do today what I'm going to tell you, there is hope that the countenance of victory may show itself, and your name will go down in the annals of bravery and heroism forever."

Harqudaq replied, "I will willingly do whatever you say."

"Here is the best plan," Amir Shah Malik said. "When the amirs return from Shaykh Nuruddin, you go to him. Without doubt when he sees you he will call you over and embrace you. As you pull him down from his horse, we will join you and put an end to this affair."

Harqudaq accepted willingly and gladly to perform this treacherous act. After the amirs returned he put himself in Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's sight, and the plan was agreeable to destiny: the amir called out, "Brother Harqudaq, come over here!" Harqudaq dismounted and knelt several times. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin leaned over from his horse to embrace him. Just as Harqudaq's arms encircled Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's neck, he pulled him from his horse with all his strength and threw him to the ground. Pinning him with a knee to the chest, he drew his sword. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's bodyguard, who were waiting mounted by the fortress gate, charged Amir Harqudaq. One of them brandished a sword at him, but Harqudaq sliced the man's horse's lip with his blade. Witnessing this, Amir Shah Malik whipped his horse into action and galloped with several warriors to where Amir Harqudaq was. When Harqudaq saw that help was on the way, he jumped up, and with one or two blows of his sword, Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's severed head rolled ignobly in the dust.

This marvelous thing happened through the power of His Imperial Majesty's fortune. Amir Shah Malik praised Harqudaq and rewarded him greatly. With such success he returned and attained the great felicity of joining the emperor at Kan-i Gil, [584] where he was encompassed by the rays of princely favor.

THE RETURN OF THE VICTORIOUS BANNERS FROM TRANSOXIANA TO HERAT, AND SEVERAL OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE

When the world-conquering emperor's mind was at ease concerning Amir Shaykh Nuruddin and the consolidation of Turkistan and Transoxiana, he assigned Amir Shah Malik to the imperial train and set out for the capital. After his arrival in Herat, Her Highness Tümän Agha, who had been married after the Sahib-Qiran's death to Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, followed from Savran to Herat. His Majesty received her with honor and respect and assigned her as fief the

town of Kusuya, where until today the monuments of her charity may be seen.

On the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 814 [February 22, 1412] the emperor bound himself with the pilgrim's garb to circumambulate the angelic shrine of the Martyr of Khurasan, the pure Imam Ali [Riza b.] Musa b. Ja'far [b.] Muhammad-Baqir, where he gladdened the hearts of the noble custodians, exalted sayyids, and all the others in residence with various gifts and beneficence. This done, he returned to Herat.

On Friday the 10th of Muharram 815 [April 22, 1412] the royal train reached Bagh-i Zaghan, and just at that time the emissaries of the Emperor of China Dayming Khan arrived and presented letters from that emperor, which were written in various languages and contained expressions of greetings and well-wishing and special good wishes for Mirza Khalil-Sultan. His Imperial Majesty received the emissaries favorably and ordered the princes and amirs to give them a feast.

Meanwhile, Malik Qutbuddin, the governor of Sistan who had formerly been hand in glove with Mirza Aba-Bakr but who had fled from the blood-thirsty falcon of the imperial army, approached the court of world refuge, relying upon the emperor's generosity, and apologized and sought pardon for his weakness and shortcomings. He accepted to pay a fine, and the padishah disregarded his faults, reinstating him in favor with the rule of Sistan. He also dealt with the matters of the Chinese emissaries and sent Shaykh Muhammad [Ba]khshï to accompany them.[32]

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS IN THE PROVINCE OF KHWARAZM, WHICH ENTERS THE IMPERIAL DOMAIN WITHOUT BATTLE OR BLOODSHED

It is recorded in the pages of *Matla'-i sa'dayn*[33] that when Amir Timur Kürägän died, the rule of Khwarazm was held by Amir Musaka. In Rajab [585] of 808 [December–January 1405] Amir Edigü, who was the commander-in-chief of the padishah of Qïpchaq Steppe, Shadi Khan, raised his banners and set out to conquer that province. When Amir Musaka fled to Transoxiana, Amir Edigü left Amir Engä as prince of the region and returned to the steppe.

During 811 [1408], when Shadi Khan died, Pulad Khan became sultan of the Uzbeks. Amir Edigü recalled Amir Engä and sent Buqulcha in his stead.

Pulad Khan died in 813 [1410], and Temür Khan b. Temür Qutlugh, who then became the ruler of the Qïpchaq Steppe, attacked Edigü, who fled to Khwarazm.

At the beginning of 814 [1411] Dakna and Ghazan came to the vicinity of that city and besieged Edigü. After six months of besieging Khwarazm, the news was heard that Jalaluddin, the son of Toqtamïsh Khan, had defeated Temür Khan and assumed the throne. Contemporary with the spread of this news, the unfortunate Temür joined Dakna and Ghazan and kept them occupied with drinking wine. [Jalaluddin] ordered one of his *nökärs*, named Jan Khwaja, to kill Temür, and since Jalaluddin was then under an obligation to Ghazan, he sent out an edict, saying, "Ghazan is one of our chosen. The amirs of Khwarazm must not disobey his orders."

Ghazan made peace with Edigü and withdrew to the steppe. Along the way he encountered Qachulay Bahadur in Buluqiya and reviled him, saying, "Why have you withdrawn without conquering Khwarazm?" He replied, "We besieged Edigü for seven months with ten thousand men and got nowhere; therefore we retired. It would behoove you to do likewise because you will never be able to

[32]See Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 131.

[33]Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 136–39.

conquer it with the three or four thousand men you have." Qachulay said, "Alone I shall overcome Edigü." And with all conceit he went to the borders of Khwarazm. Edigü met him, and a fierce battle broke out between the two sides. As determined by fate, Qachulay bit the dust of annihilation.

In the year 815 [1412–13] His Imperial Majesty assigned Amir Alika Kükältäsh, Amir Ilyas Khwaja and Amir Musaka to conquer Khwarazm. At that time Edigü's son Mubarakshah was the padishah of that region. When the amirs approached Khwarazm, peace was discussed and the Khwarazmians sent tribute. However, in the meantime, Amir Ilyas Khwaja's *nökärs* had gone to one of the districts of the region and killed many people and took others prisoner. For this reason the people of Khwarazm determined to fight. Commoners and nobles alike came out and fought bravely all day until evening. That night the drums proclaimed the good tidings that Amir Edigü had arrived. Hearing this, some of the amirs abandoned their goods and betook themselves to Khurasan.

The emperor was disturbed at this news and again sent Amir Sayyid-Ali Tarkhan and Amir Shah Malik to conquer the region. When they had camped in the vicinity of Khwarazm, Edigü's son became apprehensive of the nobles of the area because of the tyranny he had done to the subjects, and fled.

The sayyids, ulema and grandees went out to welcome Amir Shah Malik and turn the keys of the city over to him. He entered the city and within a few days had consolidated affairs and laid the foundations for justice and equity. When that task was finished, he set out [586] for Herat. Then the emperor assigned the province of Khwarazm and its dependencies to the amir, and until the end of Shahrukh's reign that province was under Amir Shah Malik's and Sultan-Ibrahim's control.

A MENTION OF MIRZA RUSTAM AND MIRZA ISKANDAR; MIRZA KHALIL-SULTAN PASSES ON TO GOD'S MERCY

When Mirza Iskandar had consolidated Fars, his ambitious mind began to think of conquering the provinces of Persian Iraq. He sent Amir Abdul-Samad and Amir Siddiq to Isfahan, and they went to Warzana and made fast the fortress there. Mirza Rustam attacked the fortress and laid siege. When Mirza Iskandar learned of this, he sent a detachment under Amir Tüläk and Amir Yusuf Khalil to assist those under siege. Learning of the approach of the Shirazis, Mirza Rustam went out to meet them. Having insufficient force to resist, the detachment took refuge in Dastjird Fort.

Meanwhile, Mirza Bayqara, who was on his way to Shiraz, reached Iraq, and Mirza Rustam persuaded him to join forces with him, and the two brothers together laid siege to Dastjird. Suddenly news came that Mirza Iskandar had reached Qasr-i Zard, so Mirza Rustam went to Isfahan and Mirza Iskandar set out in pursuit of him. The two mighty padishahs met three parasangs from the city, and after a skirmish Mirza Rustam fled to Isfahan while Mirza Iskandar camped in Atashgah.

Mirza Rustam requested assistance from Mirza Khalil-Sultan, who had come to Rayy. He set out for Isfahan. No matter how many envoys he sent to Mirza Iskandar to sue for truce, it was useless. Despairing of him, all at once he entered Isfahan. During that time fierce battles took place between the Shirazis and the Isfahanis, and within Isfahan drought and inflation had reached a crisis point. Mirza Rustam abandoned the city and set out for Qara Yusuf's camp, while Mirza Khalil-Sultan remained under siege for a few days.

Meanwhile a detachment of Kurdish and Shul [?] soldiers, without Mirza Iskandar's permission, left for Shiraz,

and Mirza Iskandar too abandoned the siege and retired to his own region.

Within Isfahan famine and deprivation had escalated to such an extent that Mirza Khalil-Sultan tired of defending the city and ordered a retreat. When Mirza Rustam reached the outskirts of Tabriz, Amir Qara Yusuf came out ten parasangs to meet him and hosted regal feasts. Mirza Rustam too presented appropriate gifts, and the two padishahs deliberated together on how to organize their affairs. [587] Amir Qara Yusuf was inclined to give Mirza Rustam a section of Azerbaijan as a fief so that they might join forces and attack Syria. Mirza Rustam, however, did not agree, insisting upon returning to Isfahan. Amir Qara Yusuf ordered a troop of Turcoman cavalry to accompany Mirza Rustam to Isfahan. Along the way the Turcomans turned back, and Mirza Rustam continued to Isfahan with his personal troops. Khwaja Ahmad Sâ'idi met the prince's train, and he entered the city, where he stayed for two months with ease of mind. Since Khwaja Ahmad was making decisions contrary to the prince's will, he was put to Mirza Rustam's sword of execution. For this reason the nobles of Isfahan wiped clean their love for the prince from their hearts, and he realized that it was impolitic to remain there. Accompanied by Mirza Bayqara, he set out for Khurasan and attained the honor of kissing the imperial hand at the end of 814 [March–April 1412].

Thereafter Mirza Iskandar became the ruler of all of Fars and Persian Iraq with Isfahan as his seat. Meanwhile Mirza Khalil-Sultan fell ill in Rayy, where he died on the 16th of Rajab 814 [November 3, 1411]. When His Imperial Majesty heard, he was greatly bereaved, and scarcely had the wound of this loss healed when Mirza Khalil's mother, Khanzada, passed away in Mashhad. She was laid to rest in the shrine of Imam Riza.

No sooner does one scar heal than another is burned.

THE BANNERS OF THE RISING SUN SET OUT FOR AZERBAIJAN AND IRAQ, AND NEWS ARRIVES OF THE REBELLION OF ISKANDAR'S MINIONS

From the time that the late Mirza Miranshah was martyred in battle by Amir Qara Yusuf the Turcoman, His Imperial Majesty constantly contemplated how to take revenge on these opponents, but none of these thoughts was translated into action. During the year 816[34] the imperial mind was at ease concerning the provinces of Transoxiana and Khurasan, but as news of Amir Qara Yusuf's subjugation of Azerbaijan, Arran and Arabian Iraq and dependencies repeatedly reached the emperor's hearing, he decided to set out for that region. The mighty *tovachi*s moved to gather the armies of the protected realms from all directions, and an army as numerous as raindrops, all armed with sword and spear, having been collected, the finial of the invincible banner [588] was raised in Herat on the 18th of Rajab [October 14, 1413] for Mazanderan.

Arriving in Nishapur, His Imperial Majesty wrote a letter to Mirza Iskandar as follows: "The exalted banners are proceeding to Azerbaijan to repel Qara Yusuf the Turcoman's sedition, and it is incumbent upon my dear son to follow in the path of unity and harmony and join the royal train with the armies of Fars and Iraq in the vicinity of Rayy."[35] At the Jurjan winter quarters Abu-Sa'id Malik was appointed to deliver the message to Isfahan. The rulers of Mazanderan, Hazar Jarib and Gilan who had joined the retinue were inundated with favor and

[34]The text has, in figures, 819, clearly a misprint. See Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 143.

[35]Full text of the letter is given in Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 144–45.

beneficence and given permission to withdraw. When Abu-Sa'id reached Isfahan and delivered His Majesty's letter to Mirza Iskandar, the prince thought that the emperor was actually moving against his realm using Azerbaijan as a pretext, and therefore, heedless of the wisdom of the dictum, "Some suspicions are sinful," he gave Abu-Sa'id harsh replies and sent one of his *nökärs* back with him. Abu-Sa'id took Mirza Iskandar's *nökär* to the imperial court at winter quarters in Mazanderan, where he delivered the answer he had been given. His Majesty did not pay much attention to those words and said, "If our son Mirza Iskandar cannot come himself on the Azerbaijan campaign, let him send his army." So saying, he dismissed the *nökär*. However, after the return of the *nökär*, Mirza Iskandar made clear his revolt against the padishah by deleting Shahrukh's name from the *khutba* within his realm and issuing coinage in his own name. He sent edicts with emissaries to all parts of the provinces of Qandahar, Kabul, Ghaznin and Sistan and called upon the rulers of those areas to obey him. The seal on his orders contained this device: "Regent of Muslims, Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, Sultan Iskandar: of his command, which is to be obeyed..."

Malik Qutbuddin, the ruler of Sistan, threw Mirza Iskandar's emissary, whose name was Kafi Islam, into chains and sent him along with the letter to Mirza Soyurghatmïsh, who was then his father's deputy in Herat. Mirza Soyurghatmïsh forwarded the letter to the royal camp, and consequently Mirza Iskandar's rebellion was known for certain. His Imperial Majesty cancelled the campaign to Azerbaijan and, at the beginning of spring, send Mirza Baysunghur to Herat and set forth himself for Rayy on the 14th of Muharram 817 [April 5, 1414].

When Rayy became the camp ground for the invincible army, a group of Mirza Iskandar's *nökärs* fled to the court of world refuge and reported that Prince Iskandar had assigned a company of amirs and soldiers to besiege Sawa.

As it happened, while the imperial train was camped in Mazanderan for the winter, Nasrullah Sahrai of Sawa sent a messenger to the court begging to be made prefect. As this request was acceptable, one of the attendants of Shahrukh's court went to Sawa. When Mirza Iskandar heard of this, he assigned Amir Yusuf Khalil, Cholpanshah Barlas, Buyan Qauchin, Abdullah Parwanachï and Sa'dullah to take Sawa. When the emperor learned from Mirza Iskandar's *nökärs* that those men were headed for Sawa, [589] he assigned Amir Hasan Sufi Tarkhan, Dawlat Khwaja, Amir Jahanshah Inaq and Amir Chaharshamba ten thousand cavalrymen to reinforce Nasrullah and the subjects of Sawa. When Mirza Iskandar's amirs became aware of this force, they took counsel amongst themselves and, forgetting their pact and promises to Mirza Iskandar, went as sincere supporters to the amirs of the emperor's vanguard and joined the imperial camp. Buyan Qauchin, Abdullah Parwanachï and Sa'dullah were graciously received in the vicinity of Shahryar Fort, and the royal train hastened to Sawa. When Amir Hasan Sufi, Amir Sayyid-Ali and the rest of Mirza Iskandar's officers were brought to the imperial presence, His Majesty was merciful and gracious to them.

In the delightful atmosphere of Sawa His Majesty enjoyed a hunt, and then the world-conquering banners were raised in the direction of Isfahan.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE INVINCIBLE TRAIN AT ISFAHAN, AND SOME OF THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED AT THAT TIME

When the emperor had finished hunting in Sawa, the falcon of his exalted mind took flight to hunt territory, and he concentrated his attention upon the Isfahan campaign. After traversing many stages,

Bagh-i Rustam, which is within two parasangs of Isfahan, became the envy of the Garden of Iram because of the padishah's arrival. Shaykh-Muhammad, a relative of Amir Abbas, and Shaykh-Ali Qazaq fled from Mirza Iskandar with around three hundred mounted men and were received by the emperor. Some of the clansmen and nomads of that region also came to the royal camp and were enrolled among the imperial servants.

Mirza Iskandar, beginning to worry when he realized this, met with his amirs and counsellors. All were of the opinion that the fire of battle should be kindled, and so with an army as innumerable as raindrops from the clouds they set out from Isfahan to the field.

The emperor issued a command to face the enemy, and the army turned towards Isfahan, churning like the sea and roaring like thunder. After battle lines were arrayed but before swords were brought into play, Mirza Iskandar gazed upon the imperial troops and realized that he was not able to withstand the emperor, and therefore he and his generals of Fars and Iraq turned their backs on the battle and fled to Isfahan, pursued by the heros of the Shahrukhid army, who cut down many of them. With much guile Mirza Iskandar managed to get himself into the city. On the 14th[36] of Rabi' I [June 3, 1414] the emperor commanded the army to make encampment outside of Isfahan and [590] lay siege to the city.

When news of this reached Shiraz, the district and quarter chiefs joined with Mirza Iskandar's prefect Shaykh-Muhammad Sarïq[37] and had the *khutba* read and coins struck in Shahrukh's name. Mirza Iskandar's son, Mirza Abdul-Samad's children, Shaykh Yasaul, Yusuf Qorchï and Darab, who were all trusted men at Iskandar's court, were seized, and this good service was reported to the emperor. His Imperial Majesty was glad when he heard the news and assigned Büktä[38] Bakhshï and Lutfullah Buyan Temür to take charge of the fiscal affairs of Fars. Hasan Sufi Tarkhan and Cholpanshah Barlas were dispatched to bring Mirza Iskandar's son and Mirza Abdul-Samad's children. Several days later Büktä Bakhshï returned from Shiraz, reporting that Amir Lutfullah, imagining that Amir Cholpanshah Barlas was going to rebel, had put him to death. His Majesty removed the stupid Lutfullah and Büktä Bakhshï from that post and sent Sayyid-Ali Tarkhan in their place, ordering him to ascertain the reason for Cholpanshah's murder.

His Imperial Majesty spent fifty days besieging Isfahan, and plead as he might Mirza Iskandar was not inclined to come into obedience. On the 2nd of Jumada I 817 [July 20, 1414] he initiated an all-out offensive, and as the invincible armor-plated warriors emerged, golden trumpets and clarions sent a reverberation to the celestial spheres and a tremor through the earth.

The beat of the drums and war cries made the celestial sphere put cotton in its ears.

From within the city also came innumerable armed warriors, and both sides wielded their bows and arrows, swords and spears. Finally it came to hand-to-hand combat, and commanders' heads rolled on the field.

Commanders' heads fallen into the dust,
warriors' sides split.

From the time the Jamshid sun rose over the roof of the turquoise-studded fortress of heaven until the dark stars of night attacked the chameleon world, both armies wielded the sword and poured bitter draughts over each other. The plain took

[36] *HS* has the 4th; 14th from Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 216.

[37] Sarïq per Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 217; *HS* has Sawa.

[38] Bükätä (?): *HS* has N.kba; Fasihi has B.kta.

on the aspect of mountains and hillocks with the wounded and dead, and Isfahan's Zindarud flowed with the hue of anemonies from the blood of the slain. In the end the lot of victory fell to the attendants of the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the earth, and the breeze of imperial victory and triumph began to blow calamity into the banners of Mirza Iskandar, whose troops were routed. Mirza Iskandar himself, with a group of his closest officers and supporters, entered the citadel of Isfahan. The victorious soldiers put ladders against the city walls, and after the Anatolian Turk of day fled to the west, torches were lit as they dealt with the city walls. In the meantime Amir Abdul-Samad fled from the city and joined the emperor. With that Mirza Iskandar lost his resolve and fled.

The next morning, when the coins of the sky were plundered with the arrival of the shining sun, the victorious soldiers poured into Isfahan and began to pillage and loot. So much gold, jewels, precious textiles and rare commodities fell into their hands that the tumult of greed in their hearts was quelled by the vastness of that wealth, and the great value of the **[591]** booty closed the gates of need in their minds. Mirza Shahrukh sent a company of soldiers in pursuit of Mirza Iskandar. They caught him and brought him to the foot of the sublime throne. It was ordered that he be entrusted to Mirza Rustam, who, casting the dust of perfidy into the eye of humane feeling, had a fiery needle drawn across his brother's world-seeing eye.

Better to be deaf and dumb than to hear and speak this.

"God does what he wills and commands what he wishes."

PROVINCIAL RULE IS TRANSFERRED TO THE PRINCES, AND THE VICTORIOUS BANNERS RETURN TO HERAT

When the sun of victory loomed over the horizon of desire, Isfahan entered the domain of the emperor's conquest. The wings of safety and security were spread over the heads of the inhabitants of that area, and the emperor donated one hundred thousand Kepeki dinars to shrines for the poor and needy. He also forgave the subjects of the province one third of that year's taxes.

He made Mirza Rustam the governor of Iraq and favored Mirza Bayqara, the son of Umar-Shaykh Mirza, with the rule of Hamadan, Qila', Burujird, Nihawand and Luristan. Mirza Ejil, the son of Mirza Miranshah, was ordered to govern Rayy, and Qum and its dependencies were given to Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas. The princes' ears were ornamented with pearls of good advice from the emperor, and when his mind was at ease concerning Iraq, the victorious banners were spread and flew toward Shiraz, to which Solomonic capital Amir Mizrab was assigned as governor. As fate would have it, the amir was stricken with an illness the physicians were unable to treat, and the bird of his spirit, breaking free of the cage of the body, took wing to the ghostly world. The emperor showered the bereaved with infinite favor and turned the reins of the governorship of Fars over to the powerful grasp of Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan. He counseled that darling of the caliphate and world rule to lay the foundations of justice and good maintenance of the subjects and then turned his reins from Fars to Yazd. From there he went via the Quhistan desert road and on the 22nd of Rajab [October 7, 1414] reached Herat, where the gates of magnanimity and justice were opened to the inhabitants of that region. After that manifestation of justice and equity arrived, the noble rulers and heads of all factions in the capital rushed like fortune and felicity to the threshold of the state, where they were received with graciousness and stood in their stations praising the emperor. Amir

Bistam Chakir, who had turned away from Qara Yusuf, Tajuddawla, Amir Gayomarth Rustamdari's brother, and Nasrullah Sahrai of Sawa were among that group.

During those same days Sayyid Abdul-Malik Mukannif, brother of Sayyid Abdul-Latif, arrived at court from Mecca, [592] bringing from the *wali* of that blessed place a letter full of manifestations of love and affection.

CERTAIN SITUATIONS IN TRANSOXIANA AND TURKISTAN; MIRZA ULUGHBEG KÜRÄGÄN COMES TO THE IMPERIAL THRESHOLD

While the emperor was in Isfahan, Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän sent a messenger from Samarqand to summon Mirza Mirak Ahmad, who was ruling in Uzjand. Mirza Mirak Ahmad made some displeasing excuses to avoid coming, and Ulughbeg sent Amir Bayazid Parwanachï, one of his close companions, on the mission to Uzjand. Amir Bayazid returned no more successful than the former emissary, so Mirza Ulughbeg set out for Andigan, and Mirza Mirak Ahmad fortified the fortresses of that area and took refuge in inaccessible mountains. Mirza Ulughbeg took Hasi Fort and, entrusting it to Payanda Bäkäül, continued on toward Andigan. When he arrived it was ascertained that Mirza Mirak Ahmad had established a foothold that was impossible to take, so Mirza Ulughbeg withdrew, stationing Amir Musaka, Amir Muhammad Taban and Amir Ali Qauchin with a company of soldiers in that province. When Mirza Mirak Ahmad learned of Mirza Ulughbeg's retreat, he came down from the mountains, and the amirs hastened to the steppe from Andigan to do battle with him. Suddenly Mirza Mirak Ahmad attacked them, and most of the leaders were cast into the dust of annihilation with blows of the sword. The remnants of the troops got themselves to Andigan fort and secured the areas around the tower and walls. Mirza Mirak Ahmad besieged them for a few days, but when he realized that it was impossible to win, he withdrew.

When the news of the imperial arrival in Herat spread through Transoxiana, Mirza Ulughbeg set out for Khurasan to join his father. On the 12th of Ramadan [November 25, 1414] he reached the threshold of the sultanate and was honored with much favor. After passing a few days in luxury and ease, he was permitted to retire. During those same days the rays of light of imperial favor shone upon Mirza Baysunghur, who was given the provinces of Tus and Holy Mashhad, Abiward, Samalqan, Jarmaqan, Khabushan, Nasa, Yarz, Astarabad, Shamasan and Kabud Jama with all their dependencies and appendages.

In the year 818 [1415] the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the globe turned his attention to repairing the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, which the late Sahib-Qiran had destroyed while conquering Herat. In a short time that celestial citadel was completed as it can be seen today. It is mentioned in *Matla'-i sa'dayn* that seven hundred thousand men labored to complete the fortress,[39] but God knows best. [593]

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE PROVINCES OF IRAQ AND FARS AFTER THE EMPEROR'S RETURN, AND HIS MAJESTY'S PROCEEDING A SECOND TIME TO SHIRAZ UNDER GOD'S PROTECTION

One of the events that took place after the return of the sublime banners from Iraq and Fars is as follows. Mirza Ejil, who was the governor of the province of Rayy, fell ill and died at the end of Muharram 818 [April 1415]. When the news reached Herat, His Imperial Majesty showed favor to Mirza Eläŋgir and dispatched him with Amir Yusuf Khwaja,

[39] Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 174.

Amir Ghiyathuddin and Ajab Sher to take over the rule of Rayy and secure the borders of Azerbaijan.

Another thing that happened was that the Turcoman Amir Qara Yusuf raised his campaign banners to conquer Sultaniyya Fort, and Amir Bistam Chakir,[40] who was then commanding the fortress by imperial order, fled to Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas in Qum. The foolish prince put Amir Bistam in chains and sent a report to the throne. The pure-minded emperor was not pleased by Bistam Chakir's imprisonment, and he sent a threatening letter commanding that he be released. However, Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas disregarded the order. Leaving Qutl[ugh] Khwaja in Qum with the baggage train, he took Bistam to Amir Qara Yusuf and was received with great honor and favor, greedy as Qara Yusuf was to get hold of Persian Iraq. He set Bistam free and restored him to favor. He sent his son Akhi Farrukh,[41] with a company of Turcomans to Qum to transport Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas's wife, Agha Begi, the daughter of Mirza Miranshah, to Azerbaijan. When Akhi Farrukh arrived in Qum, Agha Begi, an intelligent woman, said to herself, "Sa'd-Waqqas has done a terrible thing in disobeying Mirza Shahrukh's command and going to Qara Yusuf, who is known to be an enemy of this house. Qara Yusuf may soon make an attempt on his life, and we will wind up captive amongst the Turcomans." So saying, she armed her *nökärs*, had all the Turcomans seized, killed them along with Temür Shaykh, Qutlugh Khwaja, Shaykh-[Hasan Zinda[42] and Shaykh]-Ali Zinda, who were the ones who had enticed Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas to go over to Qara Yusuf, and sent their heads to the emperor [by her *nökär* Sherzad] to explain the situation to him. Mirza Shahrukh was amazed at that lioness's manliness and showed favor to her emissaries. He also wrote threatening letters to Qum.

Were all women like this one, women would be superior to men.

Another thing that happened was as follows. Prince Bayqara, the ruler of Hamadan, Nihawand and Burujird, was instigated to rebel by his brother Mirza Iskandar, who lived under the shadow of his favor after being blinded. Dreaming of conquering Shiraz, he mustered two or three thousand soldiers and set out. Mirza Rustam learned of this affair [from Iskandar's *nökär* Murad Telbä[43]] and dispatched a company of Isfahan troops to block the brothers' way. **[594]** They encountered them near Jurbadiqan, and as fate ordained, Mirza Iskandar was taken captive by Ulus Beg and Asil [Beg]. These two took him to Mirza Rustam to hold prisoner. For this reason Mirza Bayqara left the arrow of his intent in the quiver of patience and the sword of endeavor in the scabbard of opposition, and he spent a few days in Kunduman. When the news of Mirza Bayqara's rebellion reached Shiraz, Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan put Mirza Iskandar's *nökärs* in Shiraz—like Sevinch Khwaja, Ardawan and Muzid—in chains and sent them off to Khurasan with a trusted servant. The prisoners killed their guards and hastened to Kunduman, where they said to Mirza Bayqara:

"World conquest does not endure patience."

Once again Mirza Bayqara went to Shiraz, and Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan gathered his forces and went out to meet him. They clashed in the vicinity of Bayza, and battle

[40]An early supporter of Qara Yusuf Qaraqoyunlu, Amir Bistam Chakir took Sultaniyya in 810 and again in 811. Later he turned Sultaniyya over to Shahrukh, retaining his post as warden of the fort (*Mujmal*, pp. 211, 215).

[41]Or Akhi Faraj, as in Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 221).

[42]Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 221.

[43]Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 221.

was enjoined with the left, right and center arrayed. In the first assault Mirza Ibrahim's left and right flanks annihilated Mirza Bayqara's left and right. However, Amir Abu-Sa'id Khing [?], who was in command of the right, turned during the retreat and galloped to the center, where he joined the prince, and Mirza Bayqara bravely and courageously spurred the steed of agility beside the aforementioned amir and charged the Shirazi center. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan was incapable of withstanding that attack and withdrew to Abarquh. Mirza Bayqara set off for his father's capital in triumph, and entered Shiraz in glory at the end of Rabi' I 818 [June 1415], where he raised the banners of revelry and pleasure. Goblets of crimson wine were poured by rose-cheeked cupbearers. After hearing the news, Mirza Rustam had Mirza Iskandar, who had fomented the strife, executed.

When the emperor learned of the events in Fars and Iraq, he rightly discerned that before Mirza Bayqara grew any stronger he would have to take Fars from his control. Therefore he commanded the army to be mustered, and on the 17th of Jumada II [August 24] the world-conquering banners were raised and the cry for the imperial train to move echoed beneath the celestial dome.

No matter how often Mirza Bayqara's amirs warned him of the emperor's approach so that he would stop drinking and carousing and pay attention to the necessary battle arrangements and prepare for siege, it was to no avail. He only answered, "The emperor is too magnificent a padishah to lead an army himself to this region to take Shiraz. Any amir or prince he may send will be routed by the mere sight of the sun's reflection on our army's spears." But on the 3rd of Ramadan [November 6] the finial atop the standard of the emperor of the seven climes rose over the Allahu Akbar Hill, and Mirza Bayqara was undone. After some reflection, he sent Amir Abu-Sa'id Khing to Mirza Baysunghur and begged him to intercede with the emperor to forgive his offenses. Since Mirza Baysunghur was very fond of that audacious prince, he accepted the charge and immediately took Amir Abu-Sa'id to the court of world refuge and spoke in intercession. In order to placate Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur [595] drew a line of forgiveness through the record of Mirza Bayqara's crimes and showed favor to Amir Abu-Sa'id. He swore that when the prince came out he would be clement and gracious to him. Successful in his mission, Amir Abu-Sa'id arose from before the throne and went as far as the door, then he turned, knelt and said, "It is hoped that if the servants of the respected one intend to take revenge upon Mirza Bayqara, they will punish me first." Once again the emperor repeated his compassionate words, and Amir Abu-Sa'id turned and left the royal assembly with peace of mind. When he was gone His Majesty said, "Why should anyone who has ten servants like this fellow not think of independence?"

In short, after Amir Abu-Sa'id's return on Friday evening the 5th of Ramadan [November 8] Mirza Bayqara left Shiraz and went to Mirza Baysunghur's quarters. The next day Mirza Baysunghur took him to court, and the emperor, as promised, exposed the prince to no retribution, but he did send him in the company of some trusted men to Mirza Qaydu in Qandahar to live under house arrest.

Once again, through the watchful favor of the Almighty, Shiraz entered the dominion of the exalted emperor, who stayed there until the end of Ramadan. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan was showered with favor, and the reins of provincial governorship were again given into his powerful hands. The rule of Qum, Kashan, Rayy and Rustamdar up to the borders of Gilan was given to Amir Ilyas Khwaja Bahadur, and the amirs and rulers of

those regions were given permission to depart. The emperor himself set out for Kerman.

ON THE DEATHS OF SEVERAL PRINCES, AND MIRZA BAYSUNGHUR'S ASSUMPTION OF THE POST OF AMIR-DIVAN

When the exalted emperor returned from the Fars campaign and mounted the throne of splendor and awe [mid-Muharram 819/mid-March 1416], Mirza Mirak Ahmad, who had formerly rebelled against Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, had killed a group of *noyan*s in Andigan. Relying on the just emperor's generosity, he hastened to the capital Herat and was shown infinite favor and became friendly with Mirza Elängir, the son of Mirza Aba-Bakr. These two princes conspired to rebel against His Majesty the emperor, but a tale-bearer reported it.

At the same time an emissary from Mirza Qaydu arrived at the court of world refuge and presented a report, the contents of which were as follows: "Mirza Bayqara, in collusion with a group of evil doers, made an assassination attempt on me. I have therefore seized him and am holding him fast to carry out whatever is commanded." His Imperial Majesty ordered Mirza Qaydu to send Mirza Bayqara across the River Indus and let him go wherever he wanted.

Mirza Mirak Ahmad set out for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Mirza Elängir chose to board a ship for a sea voyage. Several trusty men were ordered to accompany these two princes to insure that they complied with orders. These two "went such that there was no return."

In order to placate Mirza Baysunghur, who was a good friend of Mirza Bayqara, Mirza Qaydu did not send the prince across the Indus. In the year 820 [1417], when the exalted emperor set out for Qandahar, he sent him to the royal camp, and His Imperial Majesty dispatched the prince with a company of trusted men to Samarqand. He was never heard of again.

When the all-conquering emperor had pruned the thorns and brambles of corruption from the garden of the sultanate and adorned the throne of the *amir-divan* with the noble Ghiyathuddin Mirza Baysunghur, a royal command was issued to the effect that this sapling of the imperial garden should sit every day in the divan and decide cases impartially and dispense justice to the oppressed in accordance with the royal dictum, "Judge rightly among people." [597]

Respond to the cries of the oppressed, and sympathize with those seeking justice.

Mirza Baysunghur accepted Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur's command, and the gardens of religion and the state, watered from the cloud of his justice, once again turned verdant, and the sapling of the kingdom and subjects once more flourished from the brilliant light of his mercy.

The garden of the kingdom blossomed through the glory of his fortune....

MIRZA SHAHRUKH BAHADUR IS STABBED IN THE CONGREGATIONAL MOSQUE AT HERAT BY AHMAD THE LUR

His Majesty, who was most particular in attending to his religious duties and works of supererogation, spent all his free time in the performance of various acts of religious devotion, assisting most Fridays at the congregational mosque, where he rubbed the forehead of needfulness on the ground of devotion and raised the banner of intimate conversation with the deity to petition his needs.

On Friday the 23rd of Rabi' II 830 [February 21, 1427], having performed the prayer at the congregational mosque outside the city of Herat, he was mounting to leave the prayer-place when a man wearing a shepherd's cloak, Ahmad the Lur, a disciple of Mawlana Fazlullah Astarabadi, appeared on the roadside in

the guise of a plaintiff holding a paper in his hand. His Majesty said to one of those nearby, "See what this person has to say." And Ahmad the Lur, seizing the opportunity, rushed fearlessly and plunged a knife into His Majesty's stomach. However, as the Omnipotent was protecting the blessed person of the auspicious emperor, the knife did not inflict a serious wound or touch the vital organs. Ali-Sultan Qurchin obtained permission to kill that accursed one and immediately despatched him.

Amir Alika [Kükältäsh] and Amir [Jalaluddin] Firozshah [616] were waiting mounted at the mosque, and the *naqarachis* had begun the *naqara* as usual, when suddenly they heard the dreadful news and ceased what they were doing, at which the people were overcome by perplexity and astonishment. His Majesty summoned Amir Firozshah, who rode posthaste to the mosque. When he realized that the wound was not serious, he loosened his tongue in thanksgiving to the Gracious Protector. His Majesty was inclined to sit in the litter, but Amir Firozshah objected, saying, "If the people do not see Your Majesty on horseback, they will doubt whether you are alive or dead, and grave sedition will ensue." Therefore with His Majesty mounted and the drums being beaten, His Majesty proceeded through the marketplace to the Bagh-i Zaghan. The physicians and surgeons treated the wound, and within a few days it had healed completely. As a chronogram, a litterateur composed the following:

> The year was eight hundred and thirty, on a Friday after the prayers, when a very strange event occurred in Khurasan in the city of Herat. Someone moving as crookedly across the board as the queen tried to take the king's rook *(shah rukh)*.

After this strange occurrence, when Mirza Baysunghur and the amirs began an inquiry into the affairs of Ahmad the Lur, they regretted that he had been killed. Among his effects they found a key that opened the door in a commercial establishment. The people of the building said that a person fitting his description made felt caps there, and many learned people came to him, among them Mawlana Ma'ruf the calligrapher.

This Mawlana Ma'ruf was possessed of great learning and skill, renowned for his calligraphy and wit, well spoken and, on account of his abundant talents, was sought out by the learned. He wore a felt cloak of the highest quality and on his head a tall cap of the same type. Formerly he had been in Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's retinue, but he had grown to despise [Sultan-Ahmad] and went to Shiraz, where Mirza Iskandar, then the governor of that region, held him in high esteem and offered him work copying in the princely library. Mawlana Ma'ruf had accepted to copy five hundred *bayts* a day, but [after a time he wrote nothing for two days.] Since change in what was fixed in Mirza Iskandar's establishment was seldom [allowed to occur, the prince] summoned Mawlana Ma'ruf and asked the reason for his delay in copying. He replied, saying, "I wish to write fifteen hundred *bayts* in one day [and thus write three days' worth at once."]

Mirza Iskandar was delighted and ordered a tent and pavilions to be pitched in an appropriate place, and Mawlana Ma'ruf sat down and began to write. He appointed one of his apprentices to cut his pen, and by the time of the afternoon prayer he had written fifteen hundred *bayts* of extraordinary grace, for which Mirza Iskandar rewarded him.

After the conquest of Shiraz His Majesty [Shahrukh] brought Mawlana Ma'ruf to Herat and employed him in the royal library. The people of Khurasan were glad to associate with him to learn calligraphy and for the sake of his company and conversation. He himself was so self-confident and lordly in his bearing

that for over a year he kept some paper Mirza Baysunghur had given him for copying the *Khamsa* of Shaykh Nizami before he returned it unwritten. For this reason [617] Mawlana Ma'ruf was in ill favor with Mirza Baysunghur, and when he was accused of collusion with Ahmad the Lur, he was sentenced to death and was taken several times to the gallows. In the end he was imprisoned in the dungeon of Ikhtiyaruddin Fort.

This line is of his own composition:

Every arrow-glance that has sailed straight from the quiver of your eyes has lodged in my breast just as my heart desired.

Khwaja Azududdin, a nephew of Mawlana Fazlullah Astarabadi, and a number of Ahmad the Lur's other associates were put to death. Then Mirza Baysunghur learned that Ahmad the Lur had occasionally associated with Amir Sayyid Qasim-i Anwar, and the [sayyid] was ordered to leave Khurasan. As Amir Qasim set out for Transoxiana, he composed a *ghazal*, the first line of which is:

I know not what has befallen us from the hand of fate that from this court we are chased from pillar to post.

When the noble sayyid reached Samarqand, Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän considered his arrival a wonderful event and honored him greatly....

AN AMBASSADOR NAMED CHECHÄK-BUQA COMES TO HERAT FROM THE RULER OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

When Malik Ashraf[44] died, the pillars of state found Chaqmaq Beg, one of the great amirs, to be worthy of rule. Although it was not customary for a master of the stable to succeed a sultan, they enthroned him king and emperor and styled him al-Malik al-Zahir....[45] [628]

In accordance with the foregoing, to the court of the Refuge of the World [Chaqmaq Beg] sent Chechäk-Buqa,[46] who was among the elite corps of amirs, with appropriate greetings and gifts in order to spread the carpet of friendship and harmony and eradicate differences and strife, and Chechäk-Buqa arrived in the capital Herat in the year 843 [1439].

[Shahrukh] appointed him a place at the right hand in the circle of the great *noyans* and that day gave a magnificent banquet, wherein most of the vessels and utensils brought into the royal assembly were chased with red gold and studded with jewels. After eating prodigiously, Chechäk-Buqa returned to his place with all honor; and the great princes and respected amirs,[47] each in turn, gave him a banquet and sent him Arabian horses with gold-filled saddles and regal robes of honor.

During those days Chechäk-Buqa said that Sultan Chaqmaq wanted five highly esteemed books from the emperor's library: Shaykh Abu-Mansur Maturidi's *Ta'wilat*,[48] the *Tafsir-i kabir* of Allama Razi,[49] Khwaja Mas'ud Bukhari's *Sharh-i Talkhis-i Jami'*,[50] the *Sharh-i*

[44]al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayfuddin Barsbay, Mamluk sultan, r. 825-41/1422-37.

[45]al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Sayfuddin Chaqmāq (Jaqmāq), r. 842-57/1438-53.

[46]Text has JYJKTWQ', a manifest error for Chechäk-Buqa.

[47]Mirza Muhammad-Juki, Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Abdul-Latif gave elaborate banquets and horses; Amir Alika Kükältäsh, Amir Jalaluddin Firozshah and Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad gave entertainments (Mirkhwand, *RS*, VI, 715; Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'*, II, 724).

[48]*Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān* by Abū-Manṣūr Muhammad b. Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī (d. 944).

[49]*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, the great Koranic commentary by Fakhruddīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 1210).

[50]Presumably a gloss by Mas'ūd Bukhārī (perhaps Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghujduwānī, d. 772/1370, who wrote *al-Tanwīr* on Ḥanafī fiqh, a MS of which exists in Cairo[2] I, 441, fiqh ḥan. 96; see Sezgin, *GAS* I, 427) to 'Alā'uddīn 'Alī al-Numayrī's commentary on Muḥammad b.

Kashshaf of Mawlana 'Ala'uddin Pahlawan,[51] and the *Rawda* on the Shafi'i sect.[52]

Since all of these books were in the royal library, His Majesty ordered that each of the five books should be calligraphed and ruled and presented to Chechäk-Buqa....

ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE EMPEROR TO PARADISE, AND SOME OTHER EVENTS

The import of the words, "Everyone upon [the earth] shall pass away," is unavoidable, and the universal rule, "Every soul shall taste death," is immutable. Even the solar lord who is enthroned in splendor in the fourth heaven "trembles in fear of passing away."

The sun, the sovereign of the sublime sphere, has the entire earth under his sway. Yet every day his perfection is coupled with transition, and this is the constant rule of the world.

Apropos of this introduction, His Imperial Majesty had subjugated most of the inhabited quarter of the globe and was the envy of heaven when suddenly by God's decree the evil eye appeared and the shaft of affliction was fired by the hand of cruelty. The details of this sad event are as follows.

While the emperor was camped at Rayy, he occasionally complained of abdominal pain and general weakness. On Sunday morning the 25th of Dhu'l-Hijja 850 [March 13, 1447], which was Nawroz, he quaffed the wine of devotion, placed his royal foot in the stirrup of felicity and set out to visit the graves of the shaykhs of Tabrak Fort. Along the way the steed upon which the horseman of the field of renown was riding began to act recalcitrant. Unable to control the reins, [the emperor] dismounted and got into a litter. That very moment the pain in his abdomen so overwhelmed him that it was beyond remedy. In accordance with the Koranic verse, "When their term is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall they be anticipated,"[53] the padishah of the inhabited quarter of the globe, before arriving at his exalted quarters, set off for the afterlife, the bird of the caliphal emperor's noble soul joining those traveling to the next world and taking refuge in the sanctuaries of paradise.

O heart, life is not forever, for the world is not stable. Although thrones and fortune may reach the apex of perfection, they set like the shining sun. Come, let me tell with the voice of the flute who Jamshid and Kaus Kay were.

That day of tribulation there were no princes in the imperial camp aside from Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur son of Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Abdul-Latif son of Mirza Ulughbeg, and Mirza Khalil-Sultan son of Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir, who was a grandson of the emperor by one of his daughters. Aside from Luqman Barlas, none of the great amirs was present either, the other *noyans* having gone to Mirza Sultan-Muhammad. For the rest of the day and that night the truth of the affair was kept secret.

Thinking of her dear son Mirza Ulughbeg Küräkän, Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha sent a trusted messenger [637] to Mirza Abdul-Latif with this message: "The ruler of the realm and subjects has passed away, and the nation and people are left leaderless. It would be appropriate

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'Abbād al-Khilāṭī's compendium of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī's *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* on Ḥanafī fiqh.

[51]A supergloss by 'Alā'uddīn 'Alī Pahlawān ("al-Bahlamān" in Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 508) to al-Taftazānī's commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's Koranic exegesis, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*. A MS exists in Cairo[2] I, 45 (Tafsīr 25M).

[52]Perhaps the *Rawḍat al-muntahā fī mawlid al-Shāfi'ī* by Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058); see Sezgin, *GAS* I, 486.

[53]Koran 7:34.

for you to take the people by the hand and prevent disorder from finding its way into the imperial camp." Mirza Abdul-Latif acted upon her request and left the right flank for headquarters.

The next morning, when the prince of the orient ripped the collar of the horizon in terror over this event and donned the indigo garb of the celestial sphere to mourn the emperor, wailing arose like the cry of doomsday. The moans of amir and vizier, young and old, rose past the highest celestial sphere, beauties clad themselves in sackcloth of the hue of night, while those with plaited tresses scratched their sunlike cheeks, as was appropriate.

Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur headed again for Khurasan with a detachment of warriors, his elite corps, and Mirza Khalil-Sultan also set out in that direction, intent upon joining the Baburid retinue. These two princes' retainers fell to pillage and plunder in Ordu Bazar, which was on the way, and confusion and chaos spread. Mirza Abdul-Latif got to horse and lit out in the dust of the camp, ordered several people executed and quelled the disturbance by the sword. After two or three days of effort to consolidate the civil and military population, he sent a messenger to his father in Samarqand to announce the news.

On the third day the emperor's body was placed on a litter, and the cortege set out from the winter quarters for Khurasan. After one or two stages a group of ignorant, evil men carried a tale to [Mirza Abdul-Latif] that Gawharshad Agha was in collusion with the Tarkhan amirs and had some treachery in mind. Since the prince was endowed with a rather large portion of exuberant youthful folly and knew full well the measure of his grandmother's love for Mirza Ala'uddawla, he believed what he was told. Between Khwar, Rayy and Simnan on the last day of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [March 17, 1447] he pillaged and plundered Her Majesty and the Tarkhans, taking prisoner everyone who did not flee to safety.

It has been heard from the royal intimate Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher that Mirza Abdul-Latif carried the plunder of Her Majesty's goods and chattels to such an extent that when the attack was halted she could not find a mount. Taking a staff in her hand, she set out on foot. A Barlas amir's liegeman came upon her in that state and offered her his horse to ride.

When Mirza Abdul-Latif reached Damghan, the prefect sealed the city and showed his opposition. After a skirmish and siege, the prince took the city by force and gave it over to general plunder. From Damghan Mirza Abdul-Latif went to Bistam, where he heard that Mirza Babur had gone to Jurjan at the invitation of Amir Hinduka and mounted the throne. Consequently [Mirza Abdul-Latif] set off in that direction, determined to wreak more havoc as the royal camp began to march to Sabzawar. Along the way news arrived that Amir Sultanshah Barlas and the other amirs who had gone to Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's camp had returned and were coming to pay homage—all except Amir Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, who had remained there, [638] and Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Firozshah, who had gone from Turshiz to Herat. The next day Amir Sultanshah joined the train, and Mirza Abdul-Latif proceeded from Sabzawar to Nishapur, where he heard that Mirza Ala'uddawla had thrown open the doors of the treasury, given a lot of gold to the soldiers and sent a detachment of his men to Mashhad. In his conceit [Mirza Abdul-Latif] paid no attention to the news and proceeded incautiously until his camp was taken unawares. The details of this are as follows.

The day the emperor died in Rayy, Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha sent a messenger in haste to Herat to announce the situation. When Mirza Ala'uddawla, who was the governor there, heard the news, he burst into tears. Summoning his amirs

and advisors in private, he took counsel with them. After deliberations he decided to make obeisance to Mirza Ulughbeg and sent a huge sum to Samarqand. By sending valuable presents he hoped to gain his uncle's support; however, after news came from the royal camp that Mirza Abdul-Latif had acted disgracefully toward Gawharshad Agha, Mirza Ala-'uddawla rose up in wrath and rebelled. He went to Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, opened the treasury and gave away to the soldiery more gold and jewels than could be imagined. Then he assigned Mirza Salih, a son of Mirza Pir-Muhammad Shirazi, to go with Amir Uways Tarkhan, Ahmad Tarkhan and a group of brave warriors to repel Mirza Abdul-Latif. When Mirza Salih and his companions reached Mashhad, they heard of the pandemonium in the prince's camp and consequently galloped to Nishapur in hope of victory.

On Saturday morning the 13th of Safar [April 30, 1447] he made a surprise attack on Mirza Abdul-Latif's center and got Her Majesty and the Tarkhan amirs away from the enemy. Battle lines were arrayed in a suitable place, and the shout for battle was given. Until that time Mirza Abdul-Latif was as asleep as his luck, but when he heard the shouts and cries, he woke up and got ready for battle, arraying his lines and charging the enemy over and over again, casting the heads of his opponents beneath his horse's feet like polo balls and displaying great bravery. However, as his fleet-footed steed became exhausted, he fell from the saddle, and his opponents gained the upper hand. A squad of the Khurasan army seized him and took him before Mirza Salih. Then, raising the banner of might, they plundered the prince's center.

By the time you twist your ring, the world has taken on a different complexion.

Thereafter Mirza Salih and the Tarkhans accompanied the emperor's body and Gawharshad Agha to Herat. Mirza Ala'uddawla came out as far as Sa'dabad, Jam to meet them. When he saw his grandmother, he thanked God for her rescue and for the capture of Mirza Abdul-Latif. Seated upon the throne of fortune, he had the court most elaborately adorned and then summoned Mirza Abdul-Latif. As ordered, [639] the prince was brought in like a common criminal from the left side, his belt undone, and taken to the foot of the throne. Mirza Ala'uddawla addressed him pompously, saying, "Why were you disrespectful to your grandmother?"

"I did wrong and have suffered for it. You do right so that you can see fidelity," Mirza Abdul-Latif answered.

Mirza Ala'uddawla pardoned his cousin's misdeeds and assigned him a special tent, also appointing trusted men to guard him. Then he went to Herat and imprisoned the prince in shackles in Ikhtiyaruddin Fort.

The emperor's body was laid to rest in the Gawharshad Agha Madrasa, and for several days the Koran was recited and food was distributed to the nobles, commoners, the poor and orphans.

His Imperial Majesty had seven sons: Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan, Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Soyurghatmïsh, Mirza Muhammad-Juki, Jan Oghlan, and Yarudï. Jan Oghlan and Yarudï died in infancy. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan, Mirza Baysunghur and Mirza Juki also died during the emperor's lifetime. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan left one son, Mirza Abdullah, who was governor in Shiraz at the time of his grandfather's death. Mirza Soyurghatmïsh had two sons, Mirza Sultan-Mas'ud and Mirza Qarachar. Mirza Baysunghur had three sons, Mirza Ala'uddawla, Mirza Sultan-Muhammad and Mirza Babur. Mirza Muhammad-Juki had two sons, Mirza Muhammad-Qasim and Mirza Aba-Bakr.

His Imperial Majesty had two daughters, one of whom was married to Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir b. Mirza Muham-

mad-Sultan, and she was the mother of Mirza Khalil-Sultan.[54]

THE LATE EMPEROR'S *SADRS*

As derived from history books, Mawlana Jalaluddin Lutfullah, Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim, Mawlana Kamaluddin Abdul-Hamid b. Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi, and Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Amin b. Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim attained the post of *sadr* during the emperor's reign, and they all endeavored greatly to conduct the affairs of sayyids, the ulema and the learned and to make charitable institutions flourish.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Lutfullah held precedence over his colleagues, and he continually strove to increase the number of endowments and to patronize the learned. Mawlana Lutfullah died in the year 842 [1438–39], and one of his monuments is a *madrasa* he had built outside of Herat, near the shrine of Khwaja Abu'l-Walid Ahmad.

Mawlana Sadruddin was of a noble lineage and the scion of a splendid family from Samarqand. He was raised to the post of *sadr* early during Shahrukh's reign and constantly endeavored to favor the learned. He was so scrupulous in expending the income of the endowments **[640]** and so meticulous in his observation of the strictures of the *shari'a* that until the end of his days no hint of scandal ever touched him, and day by day he enjoyed the ever-increasing favor of the padishah. Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim passed away in 832 [1428–29] at the age of eighty-three.

Mawlana Abdul-Hamid was the son of Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi, who had served as *sadr* for a while during Amir Timur's reign. During the emperor [Shahrukh's] time Mawlana Abdul-Hamid served for a few years jointly with Mawlana Jalaluddin Lutfullah.

After Mawlana Lutfullah's death Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Amin gained the emperor's favor and was given the post of *sadr*, which his father, Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim, had held. He discharged the duties of that office until the emperor's reign. When the emperor passed to the eternal realm, he chose to retire and never again waited upon sultans and rulers. No matter how Mirza Abu'l-Qasim and Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id tried to get him to accept his inherited office, he refused. Happily he lived, and happily he died in 887 [1482] at the age of seventy-seven. One of his monuments is a mosque he built outside of Herat in Bazarcha-i Qichan and two caravanserais he had constructed on the two sides of the pass at the village of Qïlïch in the province of Herat Rud—may they be acceptable in God's sight.

The mighty emperor's viziers will be described next. **[IV, 2]**

A SHORT MENTION OF THE EMPEROR'S VIZIERS

It has been derived from pages penned in the past that in the emperor's early days Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Salar Simnani, Sayyid Fakhruddin Muhammad, and Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad b. Daud were raised to the post of vizier, sometimes independently and sometimes jointly. At the end of 820 Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Khwafi gained the emperor's favor and performed miraculously in administering fiscal and financial affairs jointly with Khwaja Ahmad Daud. These two clever viziers constantly kept the carpet of enjoyment unrolled and joked with each other, thus keeping the rust of boredom from their minds with the polish of elegant *bons mots*. When Khwaja Ahmad Daud passed away, Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad served

[54]This was Maryam Sultan Agha, wife of Muhammad-Jahangir b. Muhammad-Sultan b. Jahangir and mother of Muhammad-Khalil (not Khalil-Sultan b. Miranshah). The other daughter, not named here, was Payanda Sultan Agha.

independently, and for nearly thirty years he passed his days in fortune and favor, the rays of his favor and beneficence shining upon the inhabitants of Iraq and Khurasan. During his time he had charitable institutions built throughout the provinces and endowed flourishing villages and choice holdings to benefit the poor and unfortunate. After the emperor's death and the capture of Mirza Abdul-Latif he hastened to Herat and, finding favor with Mirza Ala'uddawla, he once again wielded power through the important post of vizier until Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän's invasion. Since much of this praiseworthy khwaja's career will be mentioned in the following narrations, it need not be given here in detail.

Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Sidi-Ahmad b. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Shirazi stood out among his peers for the nobility of his lineage, the aristocracy of his family and the high station of his forefathers. In Safar 838 [September 1434] he became vizier jointly with Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad. It is recorded in the *Rawdat al-safa* that one day during his term as vizier Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad went on business to the home of Mawlana Fasih Khwafi, who was Mirza Baysunghur's vizier. Some noodles with sheep fat were served. Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad looked upon the food with the eye of experience, turned to Mawlana Fasih and said reproachfully, "People who take bribes eat like this." Just then the khwaja's hand hit a plate, and some broth spilled on the tablecloth. The next day the mawlana was saying to some people at the divan in the khwaja's presence, "Yesterday Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad came to our house and 'greased the tablecloth.' "

"Don't worry," Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad said, [3] "there wasn't enough fat in the broth to grease your tablecloth."

Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad died on the 20th of Sa'ban 839 [March 9, 1436] in Qarabagh, Arran. His worthy son, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, brought his body to Herat, where it was buried in the precincts of the Khwaja Abu'l-Walid shrine.

For several years during Shahrukh's reign Amir Ala'uddin [Ali] Shaqani served the vizierate jointly with Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad. Once they had a disagreement, and each reported to the emperor that the other had embezzled funds. Therefore the emperor ordered Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad to audit Amir Ali, and Amir Ali was ordered to investigate Khwaja Pir-Ahmad.

Now Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad had leased for a pittance the village of Yahyaabad, an appendage of Herat with a large annual income, to Safiyuddin, the son of Khwaja Abdul-Qadir the singer, a jovial man who made jokes in the royal assembly about the amirs and ministers. When Amir Ali realized the discrepancy he first set out to investigate the income of Yahyaabad.

Safiyuddin invited the vizier into his house and began to serve food, offering him a bowl of *mufarrih*, one side of which had been laced with intoxicants and narcotics. Amir Ali refused the mixture, saying that it might contain a narcotic. Safiyuddin swore that it did not, indicating the side that was innocent. He took one or two tiny morsels and ate them. Amir Ali was convinced and ate nearly half a seer of the paste. Immediately he passed out, his head falling on his ledger. Safiyuddin quickly got on his horse and went to Shahrukh, saying, "The vizier you appointed to investigate the holdings of Khwaja Pir-Ahmad has come to the plantation I lease and consumed so much narcotic that if one of his limbs were cut off he wouldn't feel it." The religious and just padishah could scarcely believe it and sent a trusted servant to see Amir Ali. The messenger hurried to Yahyaabad and, finding Amir Ali unconscious, returned and reported what he had seen with his own eyes. Consequently the emperor's wrath flared

up, and he dispatched an equerry to bring Amir Ali in. In Yahyaabad the equerry got Amir Ali, who was in a state to which the words "neither dead nor alive"[55] were appropriate, onto a horse and took him to the throne room. Amir Ali was chastised, heavily fined and fell from power and status.

Thereafter he followed Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad's suggestions before making any decisions and never again disagreed with him....

SOME OF THE SAYYIDS, SHAYKHS AND LEARNED MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE EMPEROR [SHAHRUKH]

It cannot be hidden from the minds of those possessed of insight that due to the length of His Late Majesty's reign and the perfection of that padishah's justice and equity during his reign, a great number of sayyids, ulema, learned men, and poets were gathered in the realms of Iran and Turan, especially in Khurasan. In the shade of His Majesty's mercy and protection they engaged in the dissemination of learning in freedom from want. Since to name them all would take too long, we will content ourselves with a mention of a few of the most famous, in chronological order by date of death.

Khwaja Muhammad Parsa was the son of Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Hafizi al-Bukhari. He was among the great companions of Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband and a descendant of Abdullah b. Ja'far Tayyar. In Muharram 822 [January 1419] he set out and crossed the Oxus to perform the pilgrimage and circumambulate the blessed tomb [5] of the Prophet Muhammad. On that trip he was met with honor by the sayyids, ulema and learned men of every city and town he came to. After arriving in Mecca and discharging the rites of pilgrimage, he was afflicted by a illness so severe that without being carried in a litter he would have been unable to perform the farewell circumambulation of the Ka'ba. In extreme weakness and infirmity he proceeded to Medina. One day along the way he summoned his companions and told one of them to write down these words: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The Lord of the [Sufi] Confraternity, al-Junayd, came to me while I was in a state of consciousness on Saturday the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja in the year 822 [January 6, 1420]. We had left Holy Mecca and were proceeding with a traveling party, and I was in a state between wakefulness and sleep. He gave me glad tidings, saying, 'Your intent is accepted.' I remembered these words and rejoiced in them. Then I woke from my state and vision between sleep and wakefulness, praise God."

On Wednesday the 23rd of the month [January 10] he reached Medina and died on Thursday. Mawlana Shamsuddin Fanari and the people in the caravan prayed over him, and on Friday he was entrusted to the earth in the environs of the shrine of Abbas.

One of Khwaja Muhammad Parsa's works is *Fasl al-khitab*, which comprises many encomia and eulogies of the Twelve Imams. However, since sections that contradict the Shiite sect are also included in *Fasl al-khitab*, the Shiite ulema do not regard the book favorably. Some have reckoned the title to be a chronogram of his death.[56]

After Khwaja Muhammad Parsa's death his son Khwaja Hafizuddin Abu-Nasr Parsa, who was known for his knowledge and practice, took his father's place and surpassed him in asceticism and spiritual poverty. His death occurred in 865 [1460–61], and he is buried in Balkh. As a chronogram for his death a poet composed the following:

When the great Khwaja Abu-Nasr reclined
upon the bolster of eternity, since his

[55]Koran 20:74.

[56]Not likely since *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* renders 843.

mysterium had joined God, the date became
GOD'S MYSTERIUM.[57]

Khwaja Lutfullah b. Khwaja Aziz was a learned preacher, and for many years he gave the people in the congregational mosque of Herat the benefit of his advice. His death occurred in 823 [1420], and he is buried in the Khiyaban in Herat in the environs of Allama Razi's shrine.

Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad was a great wayfarer on the path of certainty. His felicitous interior was a resting place for the light of divine knowledge, and his enlightened mind betrayed traces of eternal perfection. In his holiness's youth he spent time in the service of ascetics and engaged in various spiritual disciplines and acts of devotion. When he had progressed to the degree of perfection, he went to Badghis and took up residence in the location where his blessed hospice *(langar)* is now. After a short time in that place, so many canals began to flow and it flourished so agriculturally that it took on the attributes of a metropolis, and [6] Amir Ghiyathuddin's magnificence reached such a degree that His Holiness Amir Qasim-i Anwar used to go from Herat to meet with the saint at his blessed hospice, and His Imperial Majesty also went once to Langar, where he stayed for a day or two professing his devotion to the saint.

On the day that His Majesty Shahrukh met with Amir Ghiyathuddin, the holy man summoned Amir Jalaluddin Firozshah, placed before him the keys to the storerooms and warehouses of the hospice and said, "Our dervishes are not able to distribute all the items that are in these storehouses. It is hoped that you will be so kind as to pack them up and give them all away to the deserving." Amir Firozshah gloried in this task, which he performed as requested. Based on this, in the time of His Majesty Sultan-Husayn Mirza, Amir Firozshah's descendants always claimed the hereditary right to the office of overseer of Langar, and for this reason Amir Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah held that post for some time.

Amir Ghiyathuddin's death occurred in 824 [1421].

Mawlana Ya'qub Charkhi and *Mawlana Nizamuddin Khamosh* were among the shaykhs of Transoxiana who were followers of Shaykh Baha'uddin Naqshband.

Khwaja Hasan Attar, the son of Khwaja Ala'uddawla Attar, was among the great shaykhs. His death occurred in Shiraz in 826[58] [1423] while he was on his way to the Hejaz. His companions bore his body from there to Chaghaniyan and entrusted it to the earth.

Shaykh Muhyiddin Muhammad al-Ghazali of Tus was an extremely learned, ascetic and religiously observant man. He met sultans and princes with the greatest of reluctance. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times. The last time he was going to the Hejaz he died in the vicinity of Aleppo[59] in the middle of Ramadan 830 [July 1427]. Of him a learned man has said:

The death of the axis of the world, Shaykh Muhyi Tusi, occurred in the midst of Aleppo in the middle of Ramadan.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Awbihi was the most learned of his age and most excellent of his time. He studied with ... Mawlana Sa'iduddin Mas'ud al-Taftazani, and his expertise in the rational and traditional sciences was so great that the mawlawi wrote the following in the licenses he penned for him: "If he discovers a mistake in expression in my

[57] *Sirr-i Khudā* = 865.

[58] 827 according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 254).

[59] Text has Kh.lbānī; the following poem has Ḥalab (Aleppo). Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 260) also has Aleppo.

works, let him, upon reflection and exercise of caution, rectify and change it."

In 813 [1410–11], when the *madrasa* and *khanaqah* His Imperial Majesty [Shahrukh] had constructed outside of Herat opposite the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort were completed, His Majesty chose Mawlana Yusuf to be the first to give lessons there, attending the inaugural lecture himself and rewarding Mawlana Yusuf with a robe of honor. That same day His Majesty appointed Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Hallaj, Mawlana Nizamuddin Abdul-Rahim [b.] Yar-Ahmad [7] and Khwaja Nasiruddin Lutfullah [b.] Khwaja Azizullah to teaching posts in the *madrasa*. The post of shaykh of the *khanaqah* was awarded to Khwaja Ala'uddin Ali al-Chishti.

It has been heard from reliable sources that some time after the appointment of these learned men Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Jajarmi took the place of one of them. On his inaugural day Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Jazari of the great ulema and Amir Alika and Amir Firozshah of the great amirs went to that noble edifice. Mawlana Muhammad was giving a lecture on the *Kashshaf* on an interpretation of the Koranic verse, "God hath borne witness that there is no God but he; and the angels, and those who are endowed with wisdom, profess the same; who executeth righteousness."[60] He said, "I have ten objections to the marginalia that Mawlana Sa'duddin al-Taftazani wrote on this topic." Since Shaykh Jazari did not understand Persian, he expressed his objections in Arabic.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Awbihi, who was among those present at the assembly, said, "Could you state the doubts you mentioned once more in Persian so that the amirs and the others in attendance might understand?" Mawlana Muhammad Jajarmi attributed this request to sympathy for the others and explained the objections in Persian. Then Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf rose in contention and rebuttal and dealt with six of the objections in such a way that the soundness of his logic was obvious to all. Then he turned to the amirs and said, "The other four you may deduce by analogy. Know further that if Mawlana Sa'duddin were such a person that ten objections could be made to his marginalia, his works would not have conquered the east and west."

Amir Firozshah spoke in praise of Mawlana Yusuf, saying, "What you have done today absolves you from any obligations you may have owed Mawlana Sa'duddin."

"The obligations I owe him are of such a degree," he replied, "that if I were to sweep his threshold with my eyelashes for a hundred years, I would not have discharged a fraction of my indebtedness."

Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Awbihi was a great devotee of his holiness Amir Sayyid Qasim-i Anwar. He died in Herat on Saturday eve the 5th of Sha'ban 833 [April 29, 1430].

Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Khalilullah Jami was the son of Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud Buland. He held exceptional status among the descendants of Shaykh al-Islam Ahmad of Jam. He died in Shawwal 833 [June–July 1430], and the shaykhs of Khurasan grieved over his loss.

Amir Nuruddin Ni'matullah Wali was the chief of the lords of Arabs and Persians. In performing miracles and bringing about preternatural events he surpassed all miracle-working shaykhs. The sultans of the time and rulers of the age held their foreheads in devotion upon the threshold of his guidance, and the ulema and great Sufis of the age considered his court the focus of their needs. This sayyid's divan is famous.... He passed from this vale of sorrow in the village of Mahan in Kerman on the 25th of Rajab

[60]Koran 3:18.

834 [April 8, 1431]. In intoxication the sweet parrot [8] of his poetic nature composed these subtle verses:

Ni'matullah gave his life to his beloved and departed: he fell drunk at the tavern door and departed. He recited to the transitory world, "Everything shall pass away except HIS face," and departed. When he heard the cry "Return!" from God, he gladly gave his life to love and departed. He said, "Friends, remember Ni'matullah lest you think he has gone from memory," and departed.

Mawlana Nuruddin Lutfullah, who was known as Hafiz-i Abru, was among the great stylists and authors. He was a Herati by birth, but he grew up and studied in Hamadan. His Majesty Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän patronized him and constantly invited him to his private assemblies. After Timur's death the mawlawi served Shahrukh, by whom he was shown much favor. He composed the *Zubdat al-tawarikh-i Baysunghuri*, which contains the events of the world, accounts of various peoples at that felicitous time and the important events of the inhabited quarter of the globe until 829 [1425–26].

When Hafiz reached this point in his narrative, the celestial sphere rolled up the carpet of his speech.

The date and place of Hafiz-i Abru's death are contained in the following line:

In the year 834 in Shawwal [June 1431], Hafiz-i Abru's death occurred in the city of Zanjan.

Mawlana Ruknuddin Muhammad al-Khwafi taught for many years in Herat. The ulema and nobles of Khurasan frequented his threshold, and princes and the pillars of the emperor's state sought the blessing of his company. In his youth he set out on the pilgrimage and passed from Khurasan through Iraq and Fars, where he stayed in Shiraz, which was then the capital of Jalaluddin Shah Shuja'. Since Shah Shuja' was then ruling in Shiraz, he was anxious to meet the mawlana and summoned him to his presence several times with all honor. Only with great guile and cunning did the mawlana manage to obtain permission to leave for the Hejaz. He made the pilgrimage and visited the tomb of the prophet. When he returned to Khurasan from that trip he never again frequented the assembly of any sultan. He died on the 27th of Shawwal 834 [July 8, 1431] outside of Herat in the village of Ghura-u-Darwaza.

Khwaja Abu'l-Wafa Khwarazmi reached perfection in esoteric and exoteric knowledge. From his youth until his death he trod the Sufi path, and several of his prose works on the essential unity of God are well known. Some of his eloquent quatrains [9] are often quoted, the following being one of them:

I have never been separated from you so long as I have existed: this is proof of my lucky star. I am invisible in your essence when I am nonexistent, and I am apparent by your light when I exist.

Khwaja Abu'l-Wafa died in Khwarazm in 835 [1431–32] and is buried there.

Mawlana Kamaluddin Husayn Khwarazmi was one of the most famous learned men of the emperor's reign. In the *Majalis al-nafayis* by the royal friend Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher, it is mentioned that Mawlana Husayn wrote a poem, the first line of which is as follows:[61]

In all the world you are hidden yet evident; you are both the cause for the lover's pained heart and the remedy.

A group of vile Hanafi jurisprudents, imagining that some of the lines of this

[61] Sections on Kamaluddin Husayn are given in Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, pp. 106, 280, but the line quoted is not included.

ghazal were superficially contrary to jurisprudential matters, declared the mawlana a heretic and took the matter up with the emperor. The mawlana was brought from Khwarazm to Herat for an investigation of the affair, but no matter how hard his opponents tried they could not prove their claim. Mawlana Husayn replied correctly to his enemies' objections and escaped that calamity. *Maqsad-i aqsa*, a translation of the *Mustaqsa*,[62] is one of Mawlana Kamaluddin Husayn's works, and it is truly eloquently written, although some stories in it are not free of defect. He also has a commentary on Mawlana Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi's *Mathnawi*. Mawlana Husayn was martyred in Khwarazm, cut down by an Uzbek sword during the Uzbek invasion in 83[4[63]] [1430–31]. He is buried at the foot of his master, Khwaja Abu'l-Wafa.

Sayyid Sadruddin Yunus al-Husayni was one of the most magnificent sayyids of Khurasan. He constantly strove in the path of asceticism and piety. It has been heard from the Shaykh al-Islam Sayfuddin Ahmad Taftazani that Amir Fakhruddin the vizier one night dreamed of the prophet and asked him, "O Apostle of God, is Amir Sadruddin Yunus a descendant of yours or not?" The prophet answered, "Yes, he is a child of mine." The next day he was effulgent in his respect for the sayyid, and so long as he held the office of vizier he never let any of the grandees of Khurasan take precedence over him. Sayyid Sadruddin Yunus died in the year ... in Herat. He left one son, a most ascetic and pious youth, Sayyid Mu'inuddin Murtaza by name. Sayyid Mu'inuddin Murtaza died in the year .... He too had one son, Sayyid Raziyuddin Abdul-Awwal.

Khwaja Sayinuddin Ali Isfahani was renowned for his personal excellence and philanthropy. Among his works in Arabic and Persian on various topics are a commentary on the *Fusus al-hikam*, the *Kitab al-mafahis*, and a commentary on Ibn al-Farid's *qasida*. **[10]** He died in Herat on the 14th of Dhu'l-Hijja 83[5[64]] [August 12, 1432].

Mawlana Jamaluddin Abdul-Ghaffar was the son of Mawlana Jalaluddin Ishaq Samarqandi and the elder brother of Mawlana Kamaluddin Abdul-Razzaq the historian. He surpassed his peers in the religious sciences and mystical knowledge. He died on the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja in the same year [August 17, 1432].

Amir Qasim-i Anwar's greatness among mystics and Sufis is beyond being expressed on these pages.... In his youth he became a disciple of Shaykh Sadruddin Ardabili, and sometime later he joined Shaykh Sadruddin Ali Yamani, of whom he was also a devotee. Upon attaining formal and intangible perfection Amir Qasim left Azerbaijan, his birthplace, and went to Herat to train dervishes. In a short time most of the leaders and nobles of Khurasan had been enrolled among his disciples and resorted to his blessed threshold morning, noon and night. Since he was quite indifferent with regard to meeting Mirza Shahrukh and his exalted sons, he did not do them the honor they thought they should be paid. Mirza Baysunghur took offense and determined to have him exiled. However, he was unable to achieve his goal without a sufficient pretext. When in 830 [1427] Ahmad the Lur stabbed the emperor and it was learned that the would-be assassin had occasional contact with the holy man,

[62] A twelfth-century biography of the prophet and first five caliphs by 'Abd al-Salām al-Andarasfānī.

[63] Text has 830; apparently the "four" has been omitted. The Uzbek invasion of Khwarazm occurred in 834 according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 269).

[64] Last digit supplied by Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 270).

Mirza Baysunghur reported this to his father and obtained permission to exile Amir Qasim-i Anwar. A message to this effect was relayed to Amir Qasim's servants, and consequently he decided to travel to Transoxiana, at which time he composed a *ghazal*, the first line of which is as follows:

> Lovers, O lovers, the time has come for the bird of my heart to take flight from the world to beyond the seventh heaven.

The last line of this *ghazal* is:

> Qasim, cut short your speech, arise and go forth: cast sugar to the parrot, carrion to the vulture.

As Amir Qasim was approaching Samarqand, Mirza Ulughbeg's amirs and *sadrs* began to worry whether they should bring him to court to meet the padishah or whether they should take Mirza Ulughbeg to meet the sayyid. [11] When the amir entered Samarqand, it happened that he passed by the citadel gate. Knowing that Mirza Ulughbeg was there, he went up unceremoniously into the citadel and met with the prince. Mirza Ulughbeg was honored to see the great sayyid, listened to his words of mystical content, and at that very gathering placed the ring of devotion in his ear. For several years Amir Qasim-i Anwar lived there in magnificence. At the end of his life he returned to Khurasan, and in 837 [1433–34] he died in the town of Kharjird and was buried in the province of Jam.

He left a divan of *ghazals* that is very famous and a short *mathnawi* entitled *Anis al-'ashiqin*.

Mawlana Fasihuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ala was renowned in Khurasan for his learning and religiosity. He was constantly engaged in teaching and issuing legal opinions. Although the emperor begged him several times to accept an official post, he absolutely refused to accept. Nonetheless, Shahrukh made most of his judicial decisions with the approval of this excellent man, and he never made a religious judgment without consulting him. Mawlana Fasihuddin died at the age of more than eighty in Herat on the 15th of Jumada II 837 [January 27, 1434] and was buried in Gazargah at the foot of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari's tomb.

Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim [b.] Khwaja Ala'ulmulk, [son of] Khwanzada Mujirulmulk daughter of Khwanzada Ala-'ulmulk Tirmidhi was Mawlana Fasihuddin's nephew. He was one of the outstanding and exceptional *naqibs* of Tirmidh. Along with his exalted lineage, Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim was outstanding among the shaykhs of Jam—even among all the shaykhs of the day—in learning and literature. He wrote eloquent verse and prose compositions. He was also renowned for his generosity and good character. Mirza Shahrukh sent him at the end of his reign on a mission to Bengal, and Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim went obediently to that farthest region of Hindustan and delivered his message most eloquently to Sultan Mahmud, the ruler. In accordance with the Koranic verse "No soul knoweth in what land it shall die," the khwaja died there. Since the date of his death is not known to the writer, it has not been mentioned. Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim left three sons. One of them, Khwaja Abu'l-Fath, took his father's place in Jam, [12] and he too is renowned for his excellent character. Khwaja Muhammad Asghar, who is more famous throughout the world than the sun, was Khwaja Abu'l-Fath's eldest son. In his youth he studied with Mawlana Mu'izzuddin Shaykh Husayn and other learned men. In a short time he had progressed to the point of perfection and achieved precedence among his peers. Although Khwaja Muhammad Asghar possessed an exalted lineage, learning and personal worth, he was coarse of speech and loved to joke. He constantly wounded people

with his sharp tongue and took no notice of their offense. At the beginning of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's reign he spoke in all gatherings in praise of Amir Ali-Sher, and for that reason the emperor ordered him exiled.[65] He left Khurasan and went to Farāh [?] and Azerbaijan, where he found favor with Ya'qub Sultan. In 909 [1503], after Ya'qub's death, when he heard of Amir Ali-Sher's death also, he returned to Khurasan. He stayed in Herat for a short time, but at the end of his life he went to Turbat-i Jam, where he died in 913 [1507].

Khwaja Shihabuddin Abu'l-Makarim was descended in the sixth degree from Shaykh Ahmad of Jam. His grandfather, Mawlana Hamiduddin Atiqullah b. Mawlana Yahya was also among the great men of the time. He served as supervisor of public morals in Herat for several years. One morning in 833 [1429–30] he responded to God's invitation while he was performing his morning prayer, setting forth for paradise while in prostration. Since one branch of this writer's lineage goes back to this mawlana, we shall write no more.

Shaykh Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr al-Khwafi, one of the great saints, was outstanding for his adherence to religious practice. For a long time his residence outside of Herat attracted numerous followers. He was one of the successors of Shaykh Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Misri, and he made great progress in asceticism and mystical knowledge. The emperor, amirs and pillars of state were constant in their devotion to him, sought out his companionship and were devoted to him. He died of the plague on Sunday eve the 2nd of Shawwal 838 [May 1, 1435]. He was first interred in the village of Malin, then his body was taken to Darweshabad and finally from there to the Idgah in Herat. Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Khwafi constructed an edifice over his grave, traces of which can still be seen.

I heard from my grandfather, [13] Amir Khwand Muhammad, that when the plague and pestilence spread throughout Herat and environs that year, a group of nobles went to Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar and begged him to pray for the pestilence to be lifted. The shaykh replied, "The Lord of Revenge is in such wrath that he strikes down anyone who extends his hand in prayer, and if anyone opens his mouth in intercession, his tongue will fall out." The group went from Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar to Shaykh Zaynuddin and made the same request. Shaykh Zaynuddin prayed, mentioning the word plague in his prayer, and of that disease he succumbed.

Qazi Sadruddin Muhammad, son of Qazi Qutbuddin Abdullah al-Imami, worthily discharged the duties of judge in Herat, environs and dependencies for many long years. In rendering decisions and making judgments he was trustworthy and fair and was never biased or venal. He was known for his keen intellect, and occasionally he composed charming poetry. He died of the plague on the [1]6th[66] of Shawwal 838 [May 15, 1435] and is buried in Gazargah in the Shiite judges' enclosure.

Mawlana Ziya'uddin Nurullah al-Khwarazmi was an excellent and learned man. For many years he led the prayers and preached in the congregational mosque in Herat. It is well known that his Arabic was so good that every Friday he used to compose an inimitable sermon on the way to the mosque and then deliver it to the people. He too died in the above-mentioned year of the plague. His grave is in Gazargah, at the foot of Khwaja

[65] Clearly thus in the text; perhaps a negative has been dropped. He certainly would not have been exiled for speaking in praise of Sultan-Husayn's friend Mir Ali-Sher.

[66] 6 Shawwal in the text; 16 Shawwal according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 275).

Abdullah Ansari and next to the grave of Mawlana Fasihuddin Muhammad Ala.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Muhammad Qayini was a pious preacher and learned man. For some time he carried out the functions of the enforcer of public morals in Herat. He held a license in *hadith* from Shaykh Muhammad Jazari, and he constantly taught students of *hadith*. In the aforementioned year, when the people fled from the epidemic in the city, he forbade the [students of *hadith*] to leave. In the end he caught the plague and died. His grave is in the village of Chaghartan. Among his monuments is a *madrasa* on the southern side of the congregational mosque known as the Peshburd Madrasa.

Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, son of Shaykh Shamsuddin b. Qazi Jalaluddin Mahmud al-Imami, was a nephew of Qazi Qutbuddin Abdullah. He died in the same year of the same disease.

Khwaja Abdul-Qadir the singer possessed a share of perfection in various spheres of learning. In the science [14] of music and modes none of his contemporaries could dream of competing with him, and in Koranic recitation, poetry and calligraphy he was quite an expert. He produced miraculous examples of epigraphic calligraphy for charitable buildings.

In his youth he was a companion of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in Baghdad, and the sultan called him a "beloved friend" and constantly showed him great favor. When fate rolled up the canopy of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's reign, Khwaja Abdul-Qadir enrolled in Mirza Miranshah's service, and the ray of the exalted prince's favor shone upon him. It is mentioned in the *Majalis al-nafayis*[67] that when Mirza Miranshah had begun to engage in untoward acts because of a mental disequilibrium, Amir Timur Kürägän resolved to chastise him and ordered the prince's companions executed. Khwaja Abdul-Qadir managed to find a way to escape, and after a time he came to court in the guise of a wandering dervish. When the Sahib-Qiran's eyes fell upon him, he began to recite from the Koran in a loud voice. Seeing that, the mighty ruler smiled and quoted this poetry:

In fear the idiot grabbed the Koran.

He then pardoned the khwaja and took him into his favor and patronage. After the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran's death Khwaja Abdul-Qadir served Shahrukh until he died of the plague in 838 [1434–35].

Sayyid Nuruddin Muhammad, son of the great Amir Sayyid Sharifuddin Ali al-Jurjani, was known for his exalted lineage, great personal worth, superior education and good character. He died in Shiraz in the year 838 [1434–35].

Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Mawlana Shaykh Ali was known for his piety and religiosity. He was constantly engaged in performing his Islamic duties and extended his charity to young and old alike.

In the *Matla'-i sa'dayn*[68] it is mentioned that Mawlana Muhammad [b.] Shaykh Ali once said to the emperor, "The construction of a [state] soap factory is a heretical innovation, and it is illegal to forbid [individual] Muslims to engage in that activity." The emperor made some excuse, and there in the padishah's presence the mawlana turned his face to heaven and said, "O God, you see that I speak your law, but this child of the Mongols does not hear." The emperor grew angry at these words and immediately ordered that the soap factory be destroyed and that the citizenry not be hin-

[67] Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, pp. 123, 313.

[68] Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 720.

dered from making soap. Mawlana Muhammad died on Friday the 21st of Rabi' I 842[69] [September 11, 1438] aged a hundred and twenty-seven.

Ustad Qiwamuddin Mi'mar Shirazi was the greatest architect of the age. Among this rare master's monuments in Herat are the magnificent structures of the queen mother Gawharshad Agha. The story is well known and oft mentioned that once the emperor **[15]** was angry with Ustad Qiwamuddin over a building and for one year refused him permission to enter court. Since the master was an expert at astronomy, he produced an ephemeris. When he was again permitted at court he presented it as a gift to the emperor, who smiled and recited this line of poetry:

> You did the work of the earth so well that you took up the heavens too.

Ustad Qiwamuddin died on the first of Sha'ban 844 [December 26, 1440].[70]

Mawlana Imaduddin Abdul-Aziz Abhari was the chief of the ulema of the age and leading jurisprudent of the time. Toward the end of his life he set out from Khurasan to make the pilgrimage and visit Medina. After obtaining that sublime happiness and returning from Yathrib and Batha, he died in Syria in the village of 'Alla on the 18th of Rajab 843 [December 25, 1439].

Mawlana Yahya Sibak was among the learned of Khurasan who left behind many compositions and works from his pen. His eloquent prose works are imaginative, and his poetry is graceful and varjegated. It is recorded in the *Majalis al-nafayis*[71] that Mawlana Yahya first adopted the pen name of Tuffahi but later changed it to Fattahi. He also used Khumari and Asrari as pen names. I remember these two lines from a *ghazal* by Fattahi and give them here:

> Around [the rim] of the tulip goblet you make a beauty spot of wine. My life is lost: when will you treat this scar of regret?
> Weep and wail like a nightingale, for the bird of the spirit shall fly away from the branch of life while you are moaning.

The following is from a *ghazal* in imitation of Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi in which he used the pen name Asrari:

> The saw-leaves of cannabis are sharp, O potheads *(bangian)*, so that they can cut the root of the sapling of your reason and faith.[72]

Among Mawlana Yahya's poetical works is one on dream interpretation. It begins with this verse:

> Any description of you is beyond interpretation or expression: an awake judge who slumbereth not is inspiration.

Among his prose works *Shabistan-i khayal* and *Husn u dil* are well known, and they both contain many unusual anecdotes. He died in the year 852 [1448–49].

Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali al-Yazdi was the noblest of the learned men of Iran. Having gained fame for his perfect knowledge and poetic style, he surpassed his peers in cleverness and skill. The strings of his prose works are as delightful as rare pearls, and his poetry is better than strings of gems in the view of those of insight. Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali was always held in honor by the great sultans in Fars and Iraq. Among the marvelous

[69] 852 in Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 14.

[70] 842 in Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 720.

[71] Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 13.

[72] The reading of this line is based on the version given by Ali-Sher Nawa'i *(Majalis al-nafayis*, 13).

works he wrote is the eloquent *Zafarnama*, which in the opinion of this writer has no equal in the art of history for subtlety and grace of Persian style. [16] This noble book, written at Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan's behest, was completed in 828 [1425], as the phrase "wrought in Shiraz" gives numerically.[73] Among the products of that learned man's eloquent pen are *Hilal-i mutarraz* and a selection from it on enigmas and riddles, a commentary on the *Burda qasida* and *Kunh al-murad* on numerology. He died in Taft, Yazd in 834[74] and is buried in the *khanaqah* in which he resided.

Mawlana Shihabuddin Abdul-Rahman Lisan was a son of Mawlana Abdullah. His lineage on his mother's side can be traced back to Fakhruddin Razi. For a time Mawlana Shihabuddin held important posts in Shahrukh's retinue, and he became so wealthy from the emperor's favor that he owned a thousand purchased slaves, not to mention other things commensurate. Among Mawlana Shihabuddin's monuments are a bath he had built in the Malik Bazaar and a caravanserai he constructed in the Firozabad Bazaar.

It has been heard on good authority that on the day the bath was completed and the mawlana entered, one of his companions asked, "How much did you spend on this bath?"

"Eight dinars," the khwaja replied. The man was astonished and asked what he meant. The mawlana said, "My slaves built the building, and all my bondmen who practice trades supplied the materials. Since I did not have a slave who was a tinsmith, I had to spent eight dinars yesterday to have the door chains tinned."

Mawlana Shihabuddin died on Saturday the 28th of Jumada II 858 [June 25, 1454] aged 63.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Abdul-Rahim Sadr was the elder brother of Mawlana Shihabuddin. He functioned in great might and power as Mirza Baysunghur and Mirza Ala'uddawla's *sadr*. He possessed a large share of excellence and perfection and constantly patronized the learned and the ulema. When Mawlana Jalaluddin Turk abandoned the style of his fathers and forefathers and joined the retinue of Mirza Baysunghur and Mirza Ala'uddawla and donned military garb, he paraded in great pomp and magnificence.

Mirza Ulughbeg, imagining that he had taken up military service because his grandiose exterior was not adorned with learning or knowledge, was not well disposed to the *sadr*. One day, in order to annoy him, he gave him a page with some mathematical and astronomical problems and said, "I have some difficulty in these. Since it is your trade by heredity, you should be able to look at it and solve my problems." The mawlana took one look at the page and realized what the solution was. He asked Mirza Ulughbeg, "Is the difficulty His Highness has in the words themselves or when they pass through his illuminated mind?" The prince replied, "I had some doubt concerning these words." The mawlana said, "Tell me." Mirza Ulughbeg told him what he thought, and Mawlana Jalaluddin explained in such a pleasant manner that Mirza Ulughbeg realized that he was a good-natured person and praised him.

The mawlana's death occurred in the year 849 [1445–46]. Like his father and brother, he lived to the age of sixty-three. [17]

Murtaza Sahhaf was very pious. During the middle years of the emperor's reign he and Mawlana Abdul-Jalil Qayini together undertook the office of enforcer of public morals, and the religiously minded padishah gave him power to execute the functions of the office so that

[73] *Ṣunnifa fī Shirāz* = 828.

[74] Other sources give 858/1454; see Browne, *LHP*, III, 364.

when he found wine in any prince's or vizier's house he poured it on the ground and overturned the vats. When the turn came to the princes' winehouses, Murtaza and the mawlawi, although they feared they would be killed, reported to the emperor in 844 [1440–41] that "through the felicity of His Majesty's justice and implementation of the law, the servants of the court can find no drunkenness except in the 'eyes of the black-downed youths of Cathay.' However, Mirza Muhammad-Juki and Mirza Ala'uddawla's winehouses are brimful of pure wine, but it is unthinkable to go there to pour it out." Hearing this, the Emperor of Islam mounted and went himself to those two princes' winehouses, where he ordered Sayyid Murtaza and Mawlana Abdul-Jalil to go in with their assistants and pour out all the wine. There was so much red wine in those vats that one would say the lanes flowed with molten rubies, and wine-besotted rascals, smelling the aroma, lost control of themselves and said regretfully, "Oh, would that I were dust!"

It has been reported that some time after this event Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur began construction of a drinking place in one of the outlying districts of Herat. On the morning the prince mounted his grandfather's throne, Sayyid Murtaza came forward and said, "One of the princes intends to build a winehouse outside of Herat. His Majesty ordered me to pluck out the eye of anyone who did such a thing." When Mirza Muhammad heard this threat, he changed his mind.

Some time later he was drinking at the Pul-i Malan on the banks of the Herat River. For some reason he grew angry with his retainers, drew his sword and charged after them as they scattered in flight. By chance Sayyid Murtaza happened to be on his way to Pul-i Malan when suddenly he spied Mirza Muhammad racing angrily, sword drawn, in his direction. The sayyid, certain that he was going to be killed, got off his horse, pronounced the testament of faith and waited. When Mirza Muhammad saw Sayyid Murtaza standing there, he put his sword in his scabbard, got off his horse and greeted him, saying, "Sayyid, you think that I'm not a Muslim and that I do not bow to the law. Come, inflict punishment on me." The sayyid prayed for a blessing upon the prince, adding, "It is punishment enough that you got down from your horse and submitted yourself."

The reason for giving this anecdote is to illustrate the fact that at that time the great rulers strove and endeavored to spread the Islamic community and to implement the requirements of the law, and day by day the state increased, and hour by hour the garden of fortune increased in fertility.

> Do not expect the sapling of fortune to flourish in the garden of the state without being watered from the wellsprings of the religious law. But how can the limpid [18] spring of religion flow without being implemented by kings?

Mawlana Katibi Nishapuri's name was Muhammad b. Abdullah. For subtle poetic nature and sharpness of intellect he was the most outstanding of all the poets of Shahrukh's time. He composed rare gems in all styles of poetry, especially in *qasida*. His divan of *ghazals* is well known. In most of his *qasidas* he praised and eulogized Mirza Baysunghur. Among this poet's *mathnawis* are essays on puns and poems containing dual meter and rhyme, *Husn u Ishq, Nazir u Manzur, Bahram u Gul-andam* and *Muhibb u Mahbub*. The verses and stories of these are extremely subtle and well arranged. Mawlana Katibi was afflicted by an epidemic in Astarabad in 839[75] [1435–36] and took to his sick bed. During delirium he composed this line:

[75]Misprinted as 893 in the text. Browne (*LHP*, III, 498) and Dawlatshah (*Tadhkira*, p. 438) give 839.

By the wrathful fire of the plague was stricken Astarabad, whose dust was more fragrant than musk. No one, young or old, remained, for when fire strikes a forest nothing at all remains.

Baba Sawda'i was from Abiward. First he used the pen name Khawari, but one day he received a *jadhba*[76] and wandered for a time barefooted and bareheaded in the mountains and wilderness. When he had come to himself once more, he used the pen name Sawda'i.[77] He composed *qasidas* in praise of Mirza Baysunghur and occasionally composed *ghazals* too. He wrote facetious poetry. He died aged more than eighty in Abiward....

Mawlana Mahmud Arifi, one of the most famous poets of Shahrukh's reign, was called a second Salman [Sawaji]. His divan of *ghazals* is well known, and this line is from it:

I made a pact not to leave the tavern until my goblet was filled.

Among Mawlana Arifi's *mathnawis* is *Guy u chawgan (Ball and Polo Stick)*, an excellent piece. The following three lines on the horse are from that work:

When it closed in on the polo ball of the celestial sphere, it raced up and down the field like a ball. When drenched in sweat it was rain in the midst of lightning. The cold wind of destruction hung from its breath; fire leapt from its hooves.

He died in the year [853/1449[78]] in Herat.

Amir Shahi's name was Aq Malik. Since he was descended from the Sarbadars of Sabzawar and was a Shiite by sect, he adopted the pen name Shahi. Mirza Baysunghur summoned him and said, "It would be appropriate for you to give up this pen name and compose your poetry under another name." Amir Shahi refused, and so Mirza Baysunghur began to snub the poet. It is said that one day Amir Shahi went to the prince's court with a group of people. Mirza Baysunghur called in the others but did not grant an audience to Amir Shahi, who composed the following *ghazal* and sent it to the prince:

You quaff goblets one after another in the gathering of revelry, how can you speak of being a lover without having suffered?
The favor you show the people of luxury goes for naught, [19] the arrow you shoot at ungrieving hearts is wasted.
Open, from the sleep of coquetry, that narcissus eye, for life passes by, like the season of roses, in the twinkling of an eye.
You loosen your tresses and carry off hearts in plunder; you show your face and set fire to the world.
You deprive poor Shahi of your gate: your intimate friends you drive away.

It has been heard from reliable sources that Amir Shahi composed twelve thousand lines of poetry during his life. He made a divan of the one thousand lines that are now known, and the rest he destroyed. Truly, those thousand lines conform to the tastes of the literati, and so far everyone who has seen them has praised them. Amir Shahi died in Astarabad in 857 [1453]. His body was taken to Sabzawar, where he was buried in his ancestral tomb. Khwaja Awhad Sabzawari composed an elegy on him from which comes this line:

Tell Sabzawar to turn upside down from my tears and wails because the shah's city is of little use without Shahi.

Mawlana Shamsuddin al-Harawi was a student of Mawlana Ma'ruf the calligrapher. Under Mirza Baysunghur's patronage he made such advancement that

[76] A Sufi term: *jadhba* is a divine "tug" that deprives the recipient, temporarily or permanently, of his reason.

[77] Sawda'i is derived from *sawda* (melancholy).

[78] Date missing from the text; taken from Browne, *LHP*, III, 495.

he signed many pieces of his calligraphy with Yaqut Musta'simi's name, and connoisseurs accepted them.

Mawlana Ja'far Tabrizi attained the degree of perfection in writing all types of script, especially *naskhta'liq*. Mawlana Azhar, Mawlana Shihabuddin Abdullah Ashpaz and Mawlana Shaykh-Mahmud, who were like the Ibn Muqla, Sayrafi and Yaqut of the age, rose to great heights under Mawlana Ja'far's tutelage.

Now that a small portion of the great men of the mighty Emperor Shahrukh Sultan's reign has been described, it is time to speak of the sons of that happy padishah. At the end of this section, God willing, we will append a short account of other rulers of the family.

A MENTION OF THE PILLAR OF THE SULTANATE AND CALIPHATE, MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA

The brilliant star of the constellation of fame, the night-illuminating gem of the casket of success, Mirza Ala'uddawla, was the eldest of Mirza Baysunghur's sons. He was distinguished among all the princes of the Timurid dynasty for good character and conduct, physical beauty and pleasing manners. He was essentially just and equitable and was possessed of good characteristics of conduct and feature. However, he was addicted to pleasure and revelry and was wont to spread the carpet of play and sport. He was totally devoid of militarism and had no thought for anything but drinking rosy wine and listening to the dulcimer and harp. Nonetheless, His Imperial Majesty [Shahrukh] appointed him to head the supreme divan after Mirza Baysunghur's death, and he held in all autonomy the reins of all affairs of state and finance. He acted in accordance with the dictum, "A free son attains glory by following in the path of his fathers," [20] and opened the gates of liberality and generosity to all classes of people.

When His Imperial Majesty set out for Iraq to deal with Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's rebellion, he renewed his favor toward Mirza Ala'uddawla and made him his viceroy in Herat. When the emperor passed away in Rayy, Mirza Ala'uddawla, dreaming of independence, seized the throne and flung open the doors of the treasury to the amirs and soldiers.

He opened the treasury doors and summoned the army, scattering into their laps gold, silver and jewels.

For one year thereafter this prince passed his days in perfect splendor and success, but in 852 [1448] he was defeated by the onslaught of Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän's forces and went to Astarabad, where he stayed for a few months under the protection of his younger brother Mirza Babur. Toward the end of that year, when Mirza Babur conquered Herat, he seized Mirza Ala'uddawla and his son Mirza Ibrahim and imprisoned them. Some time later [Mirza Ala'uddawla] escaped and fled to Mirza Sultan-Muhammad in Iraq. The day Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was killed at Chanaran Mirza Babur ordered Mirza Ala'uddawla blinded. However, the person who was charged with the foul deed drew the lancet in such a way that his vision was not permanently damaged, and consequently a few days later he escaped from his brother's camp. After wandering the earth for a long time, he once again rose in revolt against his brothers and cousins, but he achieved victory in no encounter. At the beginning of 865 [1460] he died on the banks of the Qulzum River in the house of Malik Besutun Rustamdari. His attendants took his body to Herat, where it was entrusted to the earth in the Gawharshad mausoleum. His vizier was Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir Ahmad, and during his days of power his *sadr* was Mawlana Jalaluddin Lisan.

A MENTION OF MIRZA ULUGHBEG KÜRÄGÄN

Mirza Ulughbeg, whose name was Muhammad Taraghay, was unique among the sons of His Imperial Majesty [Shahrukh] for his great learning and patronage and among all his peers for his justice and equity. He united the wisdom of Galen with the magnificence of Kay-Kaus, and in all arts, but especially in mathematics and astronomy, there was no one like him. He memorized the Koran with all seven variant readings, and he constantly patronized people of learning and excellence. As has been mentioned before, he was born on Sunday the 19th of Jumada I 796 [March 22, 1394] in Sultaniyya Fort. He was eleven years old when the Sahib-Qiran died. [21]

Ulughbeg lived under his father's protection until 814 [1411–12], when he was given the rule of Transoxiana. After a short while that province flourished to such a degree that it surpassed the highest celestial sphere. In 824 the construction of a sublime *madrasa* and *khanaqah* ordered by that peerless prince was completed, and many farms, villages and freeholdings were endowed to those holy places. He also ordered expert master craftsmen to construct an observatory, and the second Ptolemy, Mawlana Ghiyathuddin Jamshid, and the excellent Mawlana Mu'inuddin Kashi supervised the building of it. Among the results of the observatory are the astronomical tables known as the *New Gurkanid Zij*, which serves as a reference for most stellar coördinates these days.

During his father's lifetime Mirza Ulughbeg lived in power and splendor. When he heard the news of his father's death, he raised the banner of world conquest and set out for Khurasan. He overwhelmed Mirza Ala'uddawla and took Khurasan, but he was unable to hold it.

When the days of Ulughbeg's life were completed, his son Mirza Abdul-Latif revolted against his father, defeated him and took the throne of Samarqand. In the year 853 [1449] Mirza Ulughbeg quaffed a potion of martyrdom from the hand of his treacherous son and was translated to the gardens of paradise.

Khwaja Nasiruddin Nasrullah Khwafi and Sayyid Imaduddin b. Sayyid Zaynul-Abidin Junabidhi were among Mirza Ulughbeg's viziers, and to the best of their abilities they inscribed competence upon the pages of that just padishah's reign....

ON THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN MIRZA ULUGHBEG KÜRÄGÄN AND MIRZA ABDUL-LATIF, AND THE FATHER IS KILLED BY ORDER OF THE WRETCHED SON

Several expert astrologers had seen in Mirza Abdul-Latif's natal horoscope that through this son misfortune would afflict the father. Mirza Ulughbeg, himself expert in the art of astrology, also realized it. Khizr Khan, the ruler of Hindustan, who was told this by the yogis, once sent the padishah a letter in which he mentioned this prediction. In an assembly where Mirza Ulughbeg once said, "Soon I shall have brought all the realms of His Majesty [Shahrukh] into my dominion," Mawlana Muhammad Ardistani, who was knowledgeable in the sciences of astrology and geomancy and often foretold events, said, "If Mirza Abdul-Latif lets you."

For these reasons Mirza Ulughbeg never favored Mirza Abdul-Latif and showed his favor to his younger son Mirza Abdul-Aziz, and therefore Mirza Abdul-Latif harbored a grudge against his father and finally openly rebelled, opening thereby the door to wretchedness in his own face.

When Mirza Abdul-Latif abandoned Herat to Mirza Babur's onslaught, he headed for Samarqand. After crossing the Oxus he sent a messenger to his father to inform him of his arrival. Mirza Ulughbeg sent him a document stating that Balkh was his fief and he must withdraw

there and consolidate that area. Mirza Abdul-Latif, taking this as a great triumph, withdrew and concentrated his attention upon the consolidation of that province. Determined to disobey his father, he raised the banners of rebellion. He broke the seal on the *tamgha* chest and sent a herald to announce that no one was to present himself to the people for the purpose [of collecting those imposts]. The reason for this was that Mirza Ulughbeg had exerted himself to collect both customs duties and alms (*zakat*).[79] In short, when the news of Mirza Abdul-Latif's rebellion reached Samarqand, Mirza Ulughbeg was stunned and, leaving Mirza Abdul-Aziz as his deputy there, set out with a large army for the Oxus. Mirza Abdul-Latif also set out from the other direction and prevented Ulughbeg from crossing. With father and son opposite each other, several times the river was crossed from above and below, but when battle broke out, Mirza Abdul-Latif's forces were usually victorious. In one of those encounters Mirza Abdullah Shirazi was captured, and Mirza Abdul-Latif spared his life.

During this time news from Samarqand reached Mirza Ulughbeg's camp that Mirza Abdul-Aziz was conducting himself improperly and tyrannizing women and children. [33] When Mirza Ulughbeg heard this, he sent threatening letters to his son, but they had no effect. At their wits' end, the amirs were almost at the point of seizing Mirza Ulughbeg and turning him over to Mirza Abdul-Latif. Meanwhile, another event took place that no one could have predicted in the wildest imaginings.

Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, son of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Miranshah b. Amir Timur Küräg̈n, who had spent his days in Mirza Ulughbeg's retinue and who dreamed of conquest and empire, seized the opportunity, while father and son were camped opposite each other, to win over the Arghun tribe and to set out to conquer Samarqand. Mirza Abdul-Aziz did not have the strength to fight in the open, so he secured the city gates and prepared for a siege. Upon hearing this disturbing news, Mirza Ulughbeg got upset and set out in haste for Samarqand. Outside of Samarqand Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id learned of Ulughbeg's approach, abandoned the siege and hastened to the Arghun tribe. Mirza Abdul-Latif crossed the Oxus at that very moment, headed for Samarqand. Mirza Ulughbeg turned to face his son, and the two sides clashed in the village of Dimashq. Mirza Ulughbeg stood on a hill while the two bloodthirsty armies fought a doomsday battle. Wielding blade, dagger, spear and sword, they cast each other into the dust of oblivion. They were still fighting when the general of fate seized the reins of Ulughbeg's horse and led him to the other side of the hill. That great padishah headed toward Samarqand in sorrow and grief. When he reached the city gate, Miranshah the Qorchï, who was his own appointee, shut the gates to the citadel and refused him entry. Mirza Ulughbeg, with tearful eye and sorrowful heart, went to Shahrukhiyya with Mirza Abdul-Aziz and a few of their bodyguards in order to remain in that fast fortress for a few days and rest from the travails and tribulations of merciless fate. After their arrival, the warden of the fort, Ibrahim Pulad, who was Ulughbeg's own military slave, wretchedly attacked his benefactor. When Mirza Ulughbeg learned of this, he went, like prey to the hunter's snare, to Mirza Abdul-Latif, who was then seated on the throne in Samarqand. A meeting of father and son took place, and the pitiless and brazen Mirza Abdul-Latif spoke unplea-

[79] The collection of sales taxes and customs duties (*tamgha*), a Mongolian introduction, was considered un-Islamic and condemned by the ulema; the collection of *zakāt*, Islamic taxation, was of course considered proper. See *CHI*, VI, 540-41.

santly to his father with direct and indirect derision and mockery.

During those days that unmanly youth, in imitation of His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran, had set up a miserable wretch of a Genghisid upon the khan's throne. He also ordered a man named Abbas, whose father had been executed at Mirza Ulughbeg's order, to kneel before the khan and say, "My father was killed unjustly at Mirza Ulughbeg's command." The khan ordered that whatever was demanded by law be carried out. A group of jurists of Samarqand wrote an opinion that Mirza Ulughbeg should suffer retribution, and only Qazi Miskin dissented from the order. Thereupon Mirza Abdul-Latif turned Mirza Ulughbeg over to Amir Hajji Muhammad Khusraw to "take him on the pilgrimage to Mecca." In the *Rawdat al-safa* the following is related from this very amir:

"We set out in the evening by Mirza Ulughbeg's side from Samarqand. [34] His Highness rode happily and spoke to me of all sorts of things. When we had gone a little way, suddenly someone came up behind us. He tugged at my arm. I looked around and saw one of the Sulduz tribe who had Mirza Abdul-Latif's ear.

" 'Is it all right?' I asked the rider.

" 'Yes,' he said, 'the khan's command is that Mirza Ulughbeg should stop in a settled place and stay there for a while until his punishment is carried out.'

"When Mirza Ulughbeg heard this, he was unable to speak, and traces of weariness appeared on his regal countenance. We stopped in a village in that vicinity, and because it was so cold Mirza Ulughbeg ordered a fire made and some meat roasted. Some of the retinue acted upon his order. Suddenly a spark from the fire landed on the padishah's robe and scorched it. Mirza Ulughbeg put the spark out with his own hand and said, '*Sen häm bilding?*' (which is to say, Do you realize too?)

"Then a man named Abbas and another man entered the room. When His Highness's eye fell upon them, he jumped up involuntarily from his place and hit Abbas in the chest. The person who was with Abbas removed His Highness's fur coat, and Abbas went outside to get a rope. I closed the door so that Mirza Ulughbeg could make his ablutions. Then Abbas returned and sat the padishah down near a torch that was burning. With a gleaming sword he extinguished the candle of his life."

Two or three days before this, Mirza Abdul-Latif had killed his brother Mirza Abdul-Aziz. That wretched prince, out of lust to rule, murdered a father who was without equal in personal excellence and a brother who was in the full bloom of youth. His own rule did not last more than six months. "The loss both of this world and of the life to come, this is manifest perdition."[80]

One of the litterateurs has composed the following chronogrammatic verse on the martyrdom of Mirza Ulughbeg:

> Ulughbeg—that shah as mighty as Jamshid, defender of the prophet's religion—quaffed the honey of martyrdom from the hand of Abbas, and the year was ABBAS KILLED.[81]

THE LEARNED MEN OF MIRZA ULUGHBEG KÜRÄGÄN'S TIME

Since the exalted padishah Mirza Ulughbeg was distinguished among the Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän's sons and grandsons for his vast erudition and great learning, and because he constantly patronized learned men, during his time a large group of that class gathered in Samarqand to bask in the sun of his favor and patronage.

Mawlana Ghiyathuddin Jamshid was one of them, and he was without equal in

[80] Koran 22:11.

[81] *'Abbās kusht* = 853.

the sciences of urology, mathematics and astronomy. When Mirza Ulughbeg was making his astronomical observations, [Mawlana Ghiyathuddin,] Mawlana Mu'inuddin al-Kashi and Mawlana Salahuddin Musa, who was known as Qazizada Rumi, were in charge of the project.

Mawlana Ala' Shashi was another of the great learned men of Samarqand, and he occasionally composed versified riddles. [35]

Mawlana Nafis was the greatest physician of the time. In treating illness he manifested the breath of the messiah, and among his works his commentary on the *Mujiz* and his commentary on causes and symptoms are both well known. In the introduction to the commentary on causes and symptoms is a praise of Mirza Ulughbeg.

Mawlana Muhammad Alim was another of the learned men of Samarqand. He and Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän had studied together. It is mentioned in the *Majalis al-nafayis* that Mawlana Muhammad Alim was so good-natured and intelligent that he used to discuss and debate very daringly with Mirza Ulughbeg, but because he did not observe court etiquette, Mirza Ulughbeg expelled him from Samarqand.[82] He went to Herat and lived there until he died. This verse is by him:

> Our luck is bad, our days are black, our star is burned out. The candle of our desires burned not even for a night in our own hands.

Khwaja Isamuddin was distinguished among all the learned men of Transoxiana for his high position, magnificence and learning. He was honored to hold the post of Shaykh al-Islam in that province for a long time, and endeavored to strengthen the foundations of the law.

Khwaja Afzaluddin Kishi was another of the learned men of Samarqand.

Sayyid Ashiq was known for his asceticism, religiosity, learning and abstinence, and he strove with all his might to enjoin good and forbid evil. Because of his reputation, Mirza Ulughbeg appointed him to the post of supervisor of public morals of Samarqand, and the sayyid carried out the duties of the office appropriately.

It has been heard on good authority that when Mirza Ulughbeg ordered a feast on the Kan-i Gil Meadow for the circumcision of Mirza Abdul-Aziz, he made the people *tarkhan*, and all, common and elite alike, were busy drinking wine, openly swinging their wine cups in every direction. On the day the grandees and nobles of Samarqand were seated in the padishah's assembly, Sayyid Ashiq entered the gathering in high dudgeon and, facing Mirza Ulughbeg, said, "You have undermined the Muhammadan religion and instituted paganism!"

His Highness Ulughbeg was furious at this address and, after some reflection, replied, "You are known for your noble lineage as a sayyid and your learning. You have reached an advanced age, but apparently you want to attain the honor of martyrdom too, and for that reason you address these rude words to me. However, I am not going to grant your wish."

Several days after this exchange, the bath that Khwaja Isamuddin had built in Samarqand was completed. The night the bath was being inaugurated, singing girls went to the bath, sat among the men and began to sing. When Sayyid Ashiq learned of this, he went to Khwaja Isamuddin and said, "You un-Islamic Shaykh al-Islam, in which sect is it licit for men and women to sit in the same place and sing?"

[82]Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 15.

Khwaja Isamuddin was shocked to hear these words. The next day he went to Mirza Ulughbeg to demand vindication and reported what Sayyid Ashiq had said. Inasmuch as [36] Mirza Ulughbeg had been insulted by what Sayyid Ashiq said at Kan-i Gil, he said, "Tomorrow let the judges and ulema gather so that we may look into this matter and chastise Sayyid Ashiq for his guilt." The next day the great religious dignitaries gathered at the royal court and were waiting for the padishah to come out when suddenly Mawlana Abu'l-Fath Dhubaba, who was a saintly and pious man and who had been given permission by Ulughbeg to enter court whenever he wished and address him directly with whatever he had to say, entered, went straight to Mirza Ulughbeg and, in the presence of the dignitaries, asked the reason for the assembly. The padishah replied, "For a long time Sayyid Ashiq has been overreaching himself. On the day of the festival at Kan-i Gil he told me I had undermined the prophetic religion and instituted paganism. Yesterday he called Khwaja Isamuddin, who is known for his knowledge, learning and piety among all the noble ulema, an 'un-Islamic Shaykh al-Islam.' Therefore I summoned the judges and learned men to adjudicate in these matters and carry out what he deserves according to law."

Mawlana Abu'l-Fath said, "It was not right for the sayyid to speak of you and the Shaykh al-Islam in this manner, because you conduct yourself in complete justice, are concerned for your subjects and endeavor to strengthen the pillars of the religious law. The Shaykh al-Islam too is known for his knowledge and practice."

Just then a soldier knelt and said, "My brother has died and left two children. I want to marry my brother's widow so that my nephews will not be lost to me. However, the woman wants to marry a draper after her period of mourning, and she is receiving her expenses from him."

Mirza Ulughbeg said to a sergeant at arms, "Go tell the woman to consent to marry her husband's brother and forbid the draper to marry her."

After hearing this judgment Mawlana Abu'l-Fath turned to Ulughbeg and said, "What Sayyid Ashiq said about you was not far from the truth."

"How so?" the padishah asked.

"Because," he said, "according to the law a woman who is of sound mind and of age is free to enter into marriage with whomever she wishes. By what sect do you impose upon the woman that she not marry the draper and consent to this Mughul?"

The padishah was very affected by these words and stopped the sergeant at arms. Then he said, "Give the dignitaries and nobles permission to return home. It is clear to us that Sayyid Ashiq was right in what he said." Consequently the disappointed gathering withdrew, and the dispute with the sayyid was ended.

Mawlana Muhammad Ardistani was the marvel of the time and rarity of the age. He had complete expertise in the science of geomancy and astrology, and his predictions were never off by a hair. In this regard there are many stories told of him. The following story given in the *Rawdat al-safa* was related by Mawlana Ala'uddin Ali Qushchï.

One day Mirza Ulughbeg was seated in the royal assembly when Mawlana Muhammad came in. Mirza Ulughbeg said, "Practice your geomancy and tell me what is in my mind." [37]

The mawlana observed the ascendant of the hour, cast his sand and said, "It is a question of the harem." So saying he fell silent.

The padishah said, "Ali Qushchï is in my confidence. Whatever you have to say, you may say without fear."

"Of the padishah's two wives," the mawlana said, "he will kill one and divorce the other, the daughter of the khan."

Mirza Ulughbeg thought it a remote possibility that he should divorce the khan's daughter, an ascetic and chaste lady he loved very much. However, within a few days he dispatched to the next life the lady whom Mawlana Muhammad had predicted he would kill, and the khan's daughter was so happy over this and rejoiced so over the other's misfortune that Mirza Ulughbeg flared up in anger and divorced her.

Qazi Muhammad Miskin was renowned for his knowledge, piety and adherence to the religious law, and for a long time he executed reliably and religiously the office of chief judge of Samarqand. He had heard from the Shaykh al-Islam Mawlana Sayfuddin Ahmad al-Taftazani that Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, during his successful time as sultan, had handed over to a merchant a large sum for the merchant to invest and return the profit to the treasury. After some time the ship of the merchant's life sank in the sea of annihilation, and Ulughbeg coveted the merchant's estate.

"There was a particularly valuable ruby from our treasury being held by that merchant," he said, and he arranged for witnesses to support his claim. When the royal design reached the hearing of Qazi Shamsuddin Muhammad Miskin, he sent a message to the padishah via a courtier, saying, "The production of witnesses in this case will not avail you much, for the truth is known to me. If you want me to adjudicate in your favor, you must have me dunked, hands and feet bound, in cold water during this extremely cold season until I can take it no longer and order the merchant's effects to be given in the stead of your nonexistent ruby." The courtier relayed this message to Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän. That just and religious padishah's heart softened, and he praised the judge's impartiality and dropped his claim.

When Mirza Abdul-Latif, thinking to have his father killed, had a legal opinion drafted to the effect that anyone who kills a Muslim unjustly must suffer retribution, Qazi Muhammad Miskin refused to sign the opinion and said, "Mirza Abdul-Latif's purpose in obtaining this opinion is to legalize the killing of Mirza Ulughbeg, whereas if a king puts to death one of his subjects for the benefit of the kingdom, he is not liable to retribution." No matter how Mirza Abdul-Latif threatened the judge to make him abandon his contention and sign the opinion, it was to no avail.

Khwaja Fazlullah Abullaythi, a descendant of the Faqih Abu'l-Layth who wrote the *Bustan*, was renowned for his excellence and was constantly engaged in teaching. [38] From time to time he also composed poetry and enigmas. The following is from one of his verse compositions:

> Your cypress-like stature is my soul, yet it walks. Move toward me, O cypress, so that I may sacrifice my soul.

Mawlana Ala'uddin Ali Qushchï was the most learned and wisest man of the age. In his youth he gained Mirza Ulughbeg's favor, and under that exalted padishah's patronage he advanced to the pinnacle of knowledge. Mirza Ulughbeg called him "son" and, as a sign of extreme favor, he occasionally let him hold his falcon, and for that reason he became known as *qushchï* (falconer). One of Mawlana Ali's famous works is a commentary on Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi's *Tajrid* that has been praised by scholars near and far. At the end of his life Mawlana Ali went to Anatolia, and there he died.

Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min was a member of Mirza Ulughbeg's inner circle. He

stood out among the elegants of Samarqand for the grace of his nature and keenness of his mind. It has been heard from reliable sources that during the padishah's reign Qazi Farshi, a judge, became involved in venality. Mirza Ulughbeg learned of it and ordered the judge to have his beard shaved and be publicly exposed. Qazi Farshi turned to Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min, who interceded on his behalf with the throne. After much deliberation it was decided that the judge would present twenty horses to save his beard. When he was released Qazi Farshi turned the horses over to Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min, who sent them to his own herd. Some time later, however, he realized that if his dishonesty were discovered, the padishah might be angry with him. Therefore he said to the judge one day, "It would be appropriate for you to show yourself to the mirza from afar so that, if he is still annoyed, I can soothe him." The next day he did as he had been told. When Mirza Ulughbeg's spotted the judge, he summoned Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min and said, "Why doesn't the judge turn over to the stablemasters the twenty horses he accepted to pay." Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min replied, "The judge was unable to give so many horses. Now he has come to have his beard shaved and be publicly exposed." Mirza Ulughbeg laughed when he heard this and did not harass the judge again.

Mawlana Khayali was among the poets of Bukhara and a student of Khwaja Ismatullah. Here are two lines of his I remember:

> Lovers' hearts are targets for your arrows of grief. People are smitten by you, yet you are absent. Sometimes I go into seclusion in the monastery, and sometimes I dwell in the mosque: that is, I search for you from house to house.

Mawlana Badakhshi was the outstanding poet of Samarqand in Mirza Ulughbeg's time. The following line is his composition:

> The sun is held in the embrace of your tress, black as night. Who has seen a shadow of night fall across the sun? [39]

MIRZA SULTAN-MUHAMMAD SON OF MIRZA BAYSUNQUR

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was a prince possessed of perfect reason and known for his sagacity, clemency and manliness. He was so brave and audacious that he fought in many terrifying battles, and regardless of how strong and mighty the enemy was, he thought nothing of it. In generosity and liberality he maintained a middle course and avoided both parsimony and prodigality. Once one of his elite was reporting Mirza Babur's spendthrift ways to him and asked him, "How is it that you do not take after him in this regard." In reply Mirza Sultan-Muhammad quoted this line of poetry:

> Between learned and ignorant there is this difference: the one pulls the reins too tight and the other has turned the reins loose.

During His Majesty [Shahrukh's] lifetime Mirza Sultan-Muhammad spent five years in Iraq. When the late emperor passed away in Rayy, this prince hastened from Khurramabad in Luristan to his grandfather's camp in Rayy. From there he went to Isfahan, and after that city was consolidated he turned his reins toward Shiraz. Mirza Abdullah came out to resist, and a fierce battle was fought between the two sides. Mirza Abdullah was defeated and took refuge in the fortress at Istakhr. The army of Iraq plundered the possessions of the Fars army, and Mirza Sultan-Muhammad entered Shiraz in triumph.

As requested by Mirza Abdullah, he sent Sayyid Nizamuddin Ahmad, a noble of Shiraz, to Istakhr, and the sayyid persuaded him of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's good will and induced him to leave

the fort to pay homage. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad received him with favor and told him that he could go to live in any city in Iraq or Khurasan he wished. Mirza Abdullah was hoping to marry one of Mirza Ulughbeg's daughters, and so he chose to go to Khurasan. He reached Herat and stayed there several days in Mirza Ala'uddawla's good graces, but on the day of the Battle of Tarnab, as has been reported, the Khurasan army's ranks were broken, and he went to Mirza Ulughbeg.

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was then left as the unchallenged ruler of Fars and Iraq, and the mighty of the area bowed their heads in obedience to his command—all except Mirza Jahanshah b. Amir Qara Yusuf, who revolted and took Sultaniyya and Qazwin. When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad learned of the Turcoman padishah's encroachment, he set out to prepare his army and sent a royal edict like that of the emperor to Mirza Jahanshah to this effect: "Let the mighty Prince Amir Jahanshah, who has been singled out for imperial favor, know that it has reached our hearing that his agents, against royal order, have interfered in Sultaniyya and Qazwin. This event has occurred contrary to law. He must restore those provinces to the deputies of the supreme divan and content himself with the kingdom to which the late emperor assigned him. Otherwise, let him hasten to the battlefield to see what may happen to fulfill the destiny and decree of God." [40] Sealing the edict, he sent it with an experienced envoy and set out himself with an army beyond enumeration just behind the envoy.

When Amir Jahanshah's eyes fell upon the edict and he apprised himself of the contents, he was stunned and said, "Either this bold, audacious person is in the throes of madness to send such an edict to a padishah like me, or else he is marching to Fars and Iraq with a large army."

When the two sides neared each other, envoys and messages went back and forth, and disagreement and dispute were exchanged for truce and agreement. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad returned to Shiraz, and Amir Jahanshah withdrew to Azerbaijan.

After the death of his grandfather, the prince remained an autonomous ruler for another five years. In 855 [1451] he was taken prisoner by Mirza Babur at the Battle of Chanaran, and divine destiny rolled up the carpet of his life, as will shortly be reported in detail.

MIRZA SULTAN-MUHAMMAD LEADS HIS ARMY TO HERAT BUT WITHDRAWS TO IRAQ AFTER SEVERAL BATTLES

When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur had consolidated Fars and Iraq and heard of Mirza Ulughbeg's end, he ambitiously determined to conquer Khurasan and set out with an army as innumerable as the motions of the celestial spheres. Mirza Babur, too, gathered vast forces and set out from Herat to meet his brother. In the vicinity of Jam those two mighty padishahs clashed, and the champions of the two armies and warriors of the two sides grappled. In the end the breeze of victory and triumph blew through the banners of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad, and Mirza Babur experienced a crushing defeat. The Iraqis totally overwhelmed the foe, and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur and seven courageous men managed to escape with their lives from that whirlpool and reach Imad Fort. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad entered Herat in triumph and raised the banner of splendor. After ordering affairs of state he passed a few days unrolling the carpet of revelry and pleasure.

He ordered Mirza Ibrahim released from Mirza Babur's imprisonment and sent him to Mirza Ala'uddawla, whom he had brought along. That winter there was a terrible drought and inflation in Herat—

so bad that the price of a *kharwar* of wheat escalated to 400 Kepeki dinars.

Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin, who in [Shahrukh's] time had been the prefect of Kerman and lately had been one of the amirs to enjoy Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's special favor, began to tyrannize the populace, expropriating property and making exorbitant demands on Turk and Persian alike. Although Khwaja Ghiyathuddin [41] Pir-Ahmad Khwafi, who held the seal in the circle of great amirs in Mirza Muhammad's divan, had often admonished him for using tyranny and oppression, it was to no avail. Consequently the structure of the kingdom began to crumble, and everyone who could fled Herat to pay homage to Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur.

After staying in Imad Fort for a few days, Mirza Babur relinquished the fort to Amir Muhammad Salih and set out via Abiward for Astarabad. He drove out the men Mirza Muhammad had stationed there and once again raised the banner of rule.

When this reached Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's hearing, he determined to crush Mirza Babur. Dispatching Mirza Ala'uddawla to Garmser, he set out with a ferocious army for Astarabad. He sent Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin and his other amirs as a scouting party; but as they approached, Mirza Babur leapt from the forest of Jurjan like an enraged lion and met the Iraq amirs at Mashhad-i Raz. Warriors from both sides hurled themselves into the fray seeking fame, dyeing the flat earth the color of Badakhshan rubies with blood-spewing blades, and perforating each other's breasts with dragon-like spears. As divine favor smiled upon Mirza Babur, the army of Iraq was defeated and the hand of destiny rolled up the scroll of life of Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin and other amirs and *noyans*.

When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad on the other side in Tus heard of Amir Hajji Muhammad's death, he left the baggage train with Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khwafi and galloped off in pursuit of the amirs. Along the way he came across those fleeing from Mashhad-i Raz, who gave him a report of the battle. As the prince's anger blazed up, he raced off like a whirlwind, leaving not more than three hundred cavalrymen in the royal train. When he reached Mirza Babur's camp, the Jurjan soldiers scattered, and Mirza Babur once again went to Imad Fort. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad, imagining that his opponents might be plotting a trap, withdrew that very night to Tus. Along the way he heard that his baggage train had been plundered and the people had run away fleeing in all directions. This came about as follows: after Mirza Sultan-Muhammad galloped off, the news of the amirs' death became known in the royal camp. The soldiers fell into pandemonium, and try as he might Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad was not able to keep anyone there.

When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad saw his camp deserted, he was so perplexed he stayed there for a day or two. In the meantime it was ascertained that Mirza Ala'uddawla had gone from Garmser to Herat and seized the throne. Then Mirza Sultan-Muhammad took counsel with his advisors and said, "The people of Herat are naturally inclined to Mirza Ala'uddawla, who has now raised the banner of rule in the city. Our soldiers are scattered. It seems best for me to return to Iraq and collect my men before returning to conquer Khurasan." And it was so decided that Mirza Sultan-Muhammad would set out for Iraq. When Mirza Babur heard this, he headed for Herat.

Mirza Ala'uddawla [42] turned over Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul and headed for Balkh. Mirza Babur entered Herat intent upon liberating Ikhtiyaruddin Fort. For forty days he besieged that mighty fortress, but no victory did he see. Finally Mawlana Ahmad Ya-

saul sent this message: "If His Highness the prince is waiting for me to come out of the fortress, he must swear an oath in the presence of Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar and Amir Nasiruddin Quraysh that neither will he harass any of the inhabitants of the citadel nor will he allow anyone else to do so." Mirza Babur undertook such an oath, and Mawlana Ahmad left the citadel with his followers. Mirza Babur kept his pledge and harmed no one.

MIRZA ABDUL-LATIF RULES IN SAMARQAND AND IS KILLED BY DIVINE DECREE

Mirza Abdul-Latif was a ruler known for the delicacy of his nature and sharpness of his mind as well as for his great personal accomplishments. He was inclined to converse with dervishes and hermits, and he sat politely in the assemblies of the shaykhs and the ulema he patronized. However, his temperament was melancholic, he was quick to anger and coarse of speech. For small infractions he meted out severe punishments. From his childhood he had lived under the shadow of [Shahrukh's] patronage and favor, and His Majesty loved him so much that it excited the jealousy of the other princes.

When, as has been previously reported, Mirza Abdul-Latif gave his noble father a taste of martyrdom and sent him to the meadows of paradise, he seized the throne of autonomy in Samarqand. In imitation of the caliphs of old, on Fridays he himself read the *khutba* and led the prayer. He was concerned to maintain his subjects and dispensed justice with equity. However, he summoned a group of Barlas tribesmen and Tarkhans, like Amir Mahmud Taybuq, Sultan Junayd, Sultan Yusuf, and Amir Isma'il Sufi Tarkhan, who had been his devoted followers, and put them to death because on the day Mirza Ulughbeg fled they had killed Amir Sultanshah Barlas and his son Amir Jalaluddin Muhammad, who had come to pay homage to Mirza Abdul-Latif. Because he killed the Barlas amirs and the Tarkhans, the rest of the *noyans* detested serving Mirza Abdul-Latif. During those days the *nökärs* of Mirza Ulughbeg and Mirza Abdul-Aziz discussed amongst themselves how to stunt the sapling of his fortune and decided irrevocably to kill him.

On Friday eve, the 26th of Rabi' II 854 [June 8, 1450] they sat in mutinous ambush, and as that mad prince was on his way from the Bagh-i Chanar toward the city, they shot him. The arrow struck its intended target, and Mirza Abdul-Latif, [43] clutching his horse's mane, cried out, "I've been shot!" Those who were in attendance scattered, and the enemies surrounded him, severed his head from his body and hung it in the portico of Mirza Ulughbeg's *madrasa*.

Mirza Abdul-Latif reigned for six months, and he used to recite this verse constantly after he killed his father:

> A patricide is not worthy of kingship; even be he worthy, he will not last six months.

It is a strange coincidence that Mirza Abdul-Latif was killed by a man named Baba Husayn, and the pen of destiny made "Baba Husayn" the chronogram for the date of his father's murder:

> Baba Husayn killed him with a blade on Friday eve: the date of his death is KILLED BY BABA HUSAYN.[83]

When Mirza Abdul-Latif was killed, the amirs and nobles agreed that Mirza Abdullah Shirazi should rule in his stead.

MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR GOES TO BALKH AND BADAKHSHAN; UWAYS BEG REBELS IN THE CAPITAL OF KHURASAN

It has been reported previously that when Mirza Ala'uddawla heard that Mirza Babur was headed in his direction, he

[83] *Bābā Ḥusayn kusht* = 854.

left Herat and set out for Balkh, where people rallied around his banner. Mirza Babur, hearing this, determined to crush his brother with his fierce army, but Mirza Ala'uddawla avoided doing battle and headed for the mountains of Badakhshan.

After arriving in Balkh, Mirza Babur went out in pursuit of Mirza Ala'uddawla, despite the severity of the cold and snow, but when his determination was undermined he retreated to Balkh.

At that time he gave the governorship of Balkh, Qunduz and Baqlan to Amir Pir-Darwesh Hazaraspi and his brother Amir Ali, who were both known for fairness, generosity and bravery, and he returned to Herat. When he arrived in the capital he saw that during the absence of the imperial train an extremely strange event had taken place—the hand of destiny had opened the doors of terror and debauchery upon the beauties of the age. This happened as follows.

When Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur decided to go to Balkh, he entrusted the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Uways Beg, who carried out the duties of castellan for a few days. But then a taste of governing had whetted his appetite, and the effervescence of rebellion and conceit had found its way into his brain. With visions of independence, he consolidated his position in the citadel and unfurled the banner of debauchery, depravity and tyranny with the hand of shamelessness. Sometimes he would come down from the fortress and sit in all splendor at the gate to the citadel drinking wine. He also dragged by force from the bazaar beauties whom he would take into the citadel. Although Mirza Abu'l-Qasim [44] Babur returned in triumph from his Balkh campaign and camped in the Bagh-i Safed, Uways remained intransigent and rebellious, not budging one step from his obstinate stance. Since the citadel was as impregnable as the ramparts of heaven and was then filled with untold stores and innumerable weaponry, it was useless for Mirza Babur to think of siege or force. To solve this knotty problem, he sent one of his confidants to Uways with a message that said, "Do not leave the citadel. I shall come to you." Then, one night, the padishah entered the city and sent a group of musicians and singers to the fortress, saying, "We will follow you." He also sent behind them a group of warriors. A tumult arose within the fortress as the men said, "His Highness the prince is here." Uways came to the vestibule of the citadel to greet him, and Shaykh Mansur, one of Babur's champions, leapt at him. With one thrust of his dagger Uways killed him, but the other warriors rushed Uways and with repeated blows of the sword they dispatched his vile soul to hell.

Two or three days later Uways's brother Yusufshah and Murad Türkmän, one of his comrades, were forced to leave the Ikhtiyaruddin citadel and turn over the keys to the deputies of the court. They too were sent to the next world.

Then one of Mirza Ala'uddawla's men came to Mirza Babur and reported that the prince had approached the city but disappeared from sight at the foot of Gazargah Mountain. A group of court guards was sent immediately to search for him. They dragged Mirza Ala'uddawla from Iskandar Beg's quarters and, as ordered, turned him over to trusted men. In 855 [1451] Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur set out to winter in Astarabad because of the disturbances created by Mirza Sultan-Muhammad. When he reached Sultan Maydan he turned aside toward Bistam, where he remained for a few days.

MIRZA SULTAN-MUHAMMAD AND MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR DO BATTLE A SECOND TIME AT CHANARAN; THE CYPRESS OF THE GARDEN OF PRINCELY PROSPERITY IS FELLED BY THE COLD WIND OF FATE

In the year 850 [1446–47] Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur led

his bold army a second time from Fars and Iraq to conquer Khurasan and do battle with his mighty brother. In Bistam Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur heard of his approach and sent the Shaykh al-Islam Khwaja Mawlana, who had come from Transoxiana because of Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's occupation, as an emissary to Mirza Muhammad to sue for peace. [45] He hastened to the princely court and performed his duty as ambassador. At first Mirza Sultan-Muhammad refused to accept; but in the end, after much insistence on the part of Khwaja Mawlana, he agreed. It was established that an insignificant section of Khurasan would enter the domain of the Iraq divan, and the *khutba* and coinage would be in Mirza Muhammad's name throughout Mirza Babur's realm.

When Khwaja Mawlana returned, Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur relied on this truce and left Bistam for Mazanderan for the winter.

Meanwhile, the news arrived that Mirza Sultan-Muhammad had placed the notebook of this promise and pact on the shelf of forgetfulness and, passing through Bistam and Damghan, had entered the Isfarayin plain. When he heard this, Mirza Babur waxed angry and raced into the battlefield like an enraged lion from the forests of Mazanderan. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad, learning of his brother's approach, hastily left Isfarayin for Astarabad. The two mighty armies, churning and thundering like a springtime storm cloud, clashed at Chanaran, and the cold wind of attack fanned the flame of battle. That day Mirza Sultan-Muhammad unsheathed the sword of agility and charged the Khurasan army himself.

In every direction he brandished blade and spear, he crushed the enemy's head and breast.

Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur also cast the gauntlet of combat into the arena.

With shaft and bow, with sharp sword he wrought doomsday upon the enemy.

Meanwhile Amir Abu-Sa'id Mirim deserted Mirza Sultan-Muhammad for Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur and said, "Mirza Sultan-Muhammad will attack your main center. It would behoove you to open a path among the mobile troops for him to enter among the ranks. Then from the sides and flanks he can be closed in and not allowed to get out." Just then that brave prince attacked the Khurasan army's center, saying, "I am Muhammad son of Baysunghur." As Amir Abu-Sa'id had instructed them, Mirza Babur's troops created a trap and caught the prince, cutting the Iraqis off from the royal train. The fighting went on for a long time, but in the end the breeze of victory and triumph blew toward Mirza Babur, and the Iraq troops took flight.

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was held fast in the clutches of fate. The commandant of Khurasan was still in the saddle when he was brought forward. Mirza Babur addressed his elder brother and chastised him, saying, "What did we do that made you spill Muslim blood and destroy property? Twice you have brought your army to Khurasan, and now you have come to such a pass."

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad answered, "In ruling kingdoms such affairs have always happened."

Instigated by some of his shortsighted men, Mirza Babur motioned that his brother, the likes of whom for bravery, manliness and humanity mother earth has seldom produced, be executed. The guards mounted him on a horse and set off to carry out the order.

Along the way Mirza Sultan-Muhammad asked for a handkerchief to bind a wound he had received on his hand. The guards said, "It's too late for that."

"Has Babur not been generous?" he asked.

"No," they said.

"Then where are you taking me?" he asked. At that very spot he dismounted and lowered his head in resignation. One of Mirza Babur's captains put an end to that exalted prince with one blow of his sword.

Alas, there is no stability in the foundation of the celestial sphere: the axis is remote from the circumference of time.
Beware of expecting amnesty from fate, [46] for no one receives quarter from the blade of vengeance.

When Mirza Babur was ennobled by the sight of triumph, he thanked God for his blessings and sent letters of victory to all parts of the kingdom. He ordered that his brother's body be taken to Herat and buried near his father Mirza Baysunghur.

After having relieved his mind of one brother, that very day he began to plot against the other, ordering that a red-hot lancet be drawn across Mirza Ala'ud-dawla's eyes. However, the person who was charged with this vile act had mercy on the prince. As his eyes filled with tears, he drew the lancet across the eyelids in such a way that no damage was done to the pupil.

Although it would have been proper for Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur, as an example of good character and conduct, innate generosity and instinctive manliness, to embroider the pages of his brothers' crimes with the words, "Let there be no reproach cast on you this day,"[84] and to forgive them by acting upon the saying, "To grant pardon from a superior position is the pinnacle of superiority," nonetheless, since the end of the thread of free will is held by fate, and the occurrence of good and evil is by the Universal King's decree, the rays of eternal success did not shine upon his destiny, and these untoward acts issued from that wise padishah—but that is the decree of the Omniscient, the Mighty One.

[84]Koran 12:92.

MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR GOES TO SHIRAZ BUT WITHDRAWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DIVINE WILL

When Mirza Babur, by propitious fortune, was relieved of worry from his brothers, he turned toward the kingdoms of Fars and Iraq. Because the passage of Mirza Muhammad's army had wrought havoc on the crops of Rayy, he marched through Turshiz toward Yazd. While he was camped there, Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad and Amir Ghiyathuddin Sultan-Husayn, amirs of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad and sons of Amir Firozshah, were received and appointed as amirs of the Supreme Divan. Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khwafi also came to court and was shown favor.

The invincible train then moved out from Yazd for Shiraz, where the amiable padishah indulged in the sound of the harp, pleasure and revelry, drinking with smooth-cheeked lads and moonlike beauties of Venus countenance. For several days he did not go to court from the banquet. During that time the news of the Turcoman army's encroachment upon Sawa gained currency, and Mirza Babur rolled up the carpet of pleasure and turned the reins of determination to the battlefield. The details of this battle are as follows.

After the victory at Chanaran, Mirza Babur assigned one of his ministers to each of the regions of Fars and Iraq. He assigned Amir Shaykh-Ali Bahadur as governor of Sawa and Amir Darwesh-Ali as *wali* of Qum. They set out for their appointments via Rayy and, making exorbitant demands upon their subjects, [47] expropriated and seized subjects' property. Since Amir Shaykh-Ali was the more tyrannical, a group of dignitaries of Sawa took refuge with a band of Turcomans who were in the area, and the Turcomans poured down in a sudden attack on Amir Shaykh-Ali, seized him and sent him to Amir Jahanshah. And so the city of Sawa, which is truly the key to Iraq,

entered without cost into the domain of Amir Jahanshah the Turcoman. Consequently he became greedy for more lands and sent a detachment of the Azerbaijan army to Qum. Amir Darwesh-Ali made fast the towers and ramparts of the city and got ready for a siege. After four months of pleasure and revelry in Shiraz, Mirza Babur heard this news and, leaving Fars in the charge of Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar, set out for Isfahan. Along the way an emissary from Khurasan arrived in the camp and reported that Mirza Ala'uddawla had emerged in Khurasan and many people had rallied to him. Therefore Mirza Babur thought it impolitic to remain in Iraq, so on Friday the 16th of Rajab 855 [August 14, 1451] at Kushk-i Zard he turned toward Herat. On the 22nd of the month he arrived in Taft, Yazd and appointed Mirza Khalil-Sultan b. Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir as governor. From there he proceeded to Tun, to the governorship of which he assigned Amir Sultan-Husayn. The royal train marched from Tun to Herat, arriving on the 12th of Sha'ban [September 9, 1451]. It was clear that Amir Pir-Darwesh Hazaraspi had bravely and decisively dealt with Mirza Ala'uddawla, who was hastening toward Rayy via Sistan, as will be described in detail.

MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA REBELS WITH THE HELP OF THE ARLAT TRIBE

When Mirza Ala'uddawla's eyes were preserved from the fiery lancet, he managed with great guile to get himself to Holy Mashhad, from which he took the road to Maymana and Faryab. When he arrived in that province, Amir Sultan-Mahmud b. Amir Yadgarshah Arlat, whose sister was married to the prince, joined the prince's retinue along with all the other Arlats who were in the area. Agreeing that he should rule, they devoted themselves to him, and Mirza Ala'uddawla, with the help of that tribe, arrayed his forces and set out for Balkh. Amir Pir-Darwesh and Amir Ali came out with the Tokharistan army to challenge the Arlats, and a pitched battle broke out between the two sides. Amir Sultan-Mahmud was shot down, and Mirza Ala'uddawla was routed with his followers, fleeing toward Herat via Langar-i Ghiyathiyya, [48] sowing seeds of dissension and strife in the town and suburbs. Mirza Babur's amirs set out from Khurasan to repel Mirza Ala'uddawla. Amir Pir-Darwesh was the first to encounter the ill-starred prince in the vicinity of Herat Rud, and with one attack he scattered Ala'uddawla's troops. Mirza Ala'uddawla fled from Herat Rud to Sistan and then to Rayy, where he met with Amir Jahanshah, who received him favorably.

When Mirza Babur reached Herat and learned what had happened to Mirza Ala'uddawla, once again he relaxed in pleasure and revelry, quaffing goblets of scarlet wine from the hands of beautiful cupbearers. However, the prince of Azerbaijan, Amir Jahanshah the Turcoman, learning of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's withdrawal, set out to conquer Iraq and Fars. Babur's governors and appointees were unable to resist the mighty padishah and left for Khurasan. During 857 [1453] Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar, Mirza Khalil-Sultan and the other prefects of those towns arrived at the capital, where they reported the situation.

That very year, because of a slight he felt he had received, Mirza Babur had Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khwafi punished, tortured and fined two hundred Kepeki tümäns. He demanded more of him, but finally the khwaja, sick of life and suffering from other infirmities too, bade farewell to the transitory world. He was buried in the shrine of Shaykh Zaynuddin Khwafi he had constructed.

A MENTION OF THE MIGHTY PADISHAH MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID

Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id was the foremost among the sultans of the Timurid dynasty in exaltedness of mind, elevation of station, perfection of reason and perspicacity, and abundance of understanding and sagacity. In spreading the carpet of equity, care for his subjects and maintenance of the foundations of justice and mercy he strove more than anyone could imagine. The splendor of his world-adorning mind illuminated the expanse of kingdom and nation, and the finial of his heaven-scraping parasol eclipsed the light of the sun and the moon. In making judgments he never transgressed the prophetic law, and he continually endeavored to patronize sayyids, the ulema, shaykhs and the learned. During the days of his reign the provinces of Turkistan, Transoxiana, Badakhshan, Tokharistan, Zabulistan, Sistan, Khurasan and Mazanderan flourished; and through his great justice the rips and tears of so many years were mended. The wing of his security and safety and the banner of his beneficence and generosity were spread over the heads of the citizens of those realms.

His justice, through the strength of his arm, bound the necks of ten wolves with one lamb's hair. When the gates of his justice were opened to the world, the willow ceased to tremble from the storm and wind.

Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id was the son of Mirza Muhammad b. [49] Mirza Miranshah b. Amir Timur Kürägän. In his youth he served in the wise Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän's retinue, and due to his exalted ambition he thought of world conquest from his earliest days. Biding his time and waiting for an opportunity, he considered himself more worthy than his peers to conquer realms, and he continually sought assistance from the psychic powers of dervishes.

As has been previously mentioned, in the year 853 [1449], when Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän and Mirza Abdul-Latif were camped opposite each other, locked in mortal combat on the banks of the Oxus, this prince was encouraged by the Arghuns to rebel and besiege Samarqand. When Mirza Ulughbeg heard this, he left his son and headed for Samarqand. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id withdrew and went to the camps of the Arghun nation, where he waited patiently for a while until his chance should present itself.

After Mirza Abdul-Latif killed his father and seized the throne, he sent someone to bring [Abu-Sa'id] to Samarqand, where he was imprisoned. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id escaped from prison and went in haste to Bukhara. Coincidentally the very night Mirza Abdul-Latif was killed in Samarqand and Mirza Abdullah Shirazi was made padishah, Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id—who henceforth shall be referred to simply as Sultan Sa'id—emerged in Bukhara. The prefect of Bukhara seized him and put him under arrest in a confinement more constricted than the minds of the stingy. The next day the news of Mirza Abdul-Latif's murder reached that region, and the amirs and dignitaries of Bukhara went to apologize to Sultan Sa'id and beg his pardon. He was released from prison and seated upon the throne, and over his head were scattered coins of fidelity and devotion.

The mighty one of Egypt, despite his jealous brethren, rose from the depth of a well to the height of the moon.

This prince was so ambitious that he was not content with the kingdom of Bukhara and soon cast the lasso of his ambition around the battlements of the province of Samarqand. Mirza Abdullah learned of this mighty prince's dreams of autonomy and independence and hastened to meet him in battle. After skirmishes and fighting, the army of Samarqand was victorious, and Sultan Sa'id drew the reins of retreat toward Turkistan, where he brought the city of Yasï into his domain.

When Mirza Abdullah learned of this, he armed his troops and sent them out under the leadership of brave amirs. They set out for Yasï in the dead of winter, and Sultan Sa'id got ready for a siege. The amirs laid siege and did battle, but during that time Sultan Sa'id sent a group of trusted men out of the city by a secret way. When the enemy caught sight of them from afar, they cried out, "The Uzbeks are coming!" Inside the city the drums were sounded, and all this shook the resolve of Mirza Abdullah's troops, who ran away in confusion [50] toward Samarqand. The champions of Sultan Sa'id's army pursued the enemy and pillaged much of their equipment and animals.

When the fleeing army reached Samarqand, Mirza Abdullah opened the doors of the storehouses and gave the soldiers much gold, commanding them to go out and fight as he indicated the martial equipment.

Meanwhile Sultan Sa'id sent a trusted man to request assistance from Abu'l-Khayr Khan, who was then the ruler of the Jochid nation. Abu'l-Khayr Khan agreed to his request and joined Mirza Sultan Sa'id with a vast army in the vicinity of Yasï. The two mighty padishahs, certain of divine favor, headed toward Samarqand.

Mirza Abdullah learned of the connivance of his enemies and came out of the city with an army as numerous as raindrops. As he crossed the Kohak River, Abu'l-Khayr Khan and Sultan Sa'id's troops could be seen in the distance. The two padishahs arrayed their battle lines, and the warriors clashed like waves pounding in the blue sea. As long as their fortitude remained, they fought bravely and heroically. The earth turned the color of sunset with the blood of the slain, and the air became stifling with the rising dust of the fray. Finally divine assistance encompassed Sultan Sa'id, and Mirza Abdullah turned his reins toward the valley of flight. Along the way his steed stuck in the mire, and the prince was seized by the claw of destiny. On Monday eve the 22nd of Jumada I 855 [June 22, 1451] at Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's command he drained the goblet of martyrdom.

Sultan Sa'id expressed his gratitude to the Universal Provider for this renowned victory and raised the standard of magnitude and might. Because he realized that if the Uzbeks entered Samarqand the citizenry would suffer tyranny and injustice, he made it his ambition to prevent them. As he was approaching the city accompanied by Abu'l-Khayr Khan's amirs, he took them unaware and charged by himself to the gate, shouting to the guards, "I am Sultan Abu-Sa'id. Open the gates if you want to remain safe from the Uzbeks!" The men obeyed at once, and Sultan Sa'id entered Samarqand and assumed the throne of world rule. He made fast the towers and battlements of the city and sent appropriate gifts and suitable tribute to Abu'l-Khayr Khan and his amirs with a message, saying, "Since it was with His Highness the Khan's assistance that Samarqand, the seat of my fathers and grandfathers, has come under my control, it is appropriate that the servants of the imperial train withdraw to their own places and not remain within this land, from which they will derive no profit." When Abu'l-Khayr Khan realized that there was nothing for him to do but accede, he withdrew to the Qïpchaq Steppe, and Sultan Sa'id turned his attention to consolidating his position and ruling the kingdom by dispensing justice and redressing wrongs. He also had Mirza Abdul-Latif's murderers executed.

For seven years the rays of his justice shone over Transoxiana, as the lands from Khurasan to the borders of Iraq came under his dominion; and for another eleven years from the furthest reaches of Turkistan to the borders of Azerbaijan were under the domination of that happy

padishah. During that time those regions flourished beyond imagination.

When the brilliance of his fortune began to wane, at the beginning of Sha'ban 872 [end of February 1468] he set out for Iraq and Azerbaijan. In the vicinity of Qara Bagh, Arran, he was ruined, and in Rajab 873 [January 1469] he fell into the clutches of fate. For two or three days he was held prisoner, and then his life was ended by Amir Hasan Beg. The details of this and other episodes in the life of this happy sultan will be given shortly.

Sultan Sa'id's viziers were Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad, Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus Simnani, Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Farjaq [?], Mawlana Amir Samarqandi, Khwaja Ni'matullah Quhistani and Khwaja Abdullah Akhtab; and during that mighty padishah's reign Mawlana Fathullah Tabrizi,[85] Mawlana Abdul-Karim Samarqandi and Sharaf-i-Jahan Mirak Abdul-Rahim held the post of *sadr*.

MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR WINTERS IN JURJAN BUT WITHDRAWS BECAUSE SULTAN SA'ID APPROACHES THE BORDERS OF KHURASAN

In the middle of 857 the mighty padishah Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur, once again thinking of conquering Fars and Iraq, raised the banners of the rising sun. On Monday the 23rd of Rajab [July 30, 1453] he marched out of Herat and, after traversing many stations and halting places, he camped at Yalghuz Yïghach in Khabushan. While there one of Mirza Khalil-Sultan b. Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir's confidants reported that the prince had plotted with a group of malevolents and intended to mutiny. A royal command was issued, and the great amirs set out to investigate. When the truth of the report had been ascertained, the evil counselors of Mirza Khalil-Sultan were executed, and the prince was imprisoned for a few days before he too "set forth for the realm of nonexistence" on the 22nd of Ramadan [August 28, 1453].

While at that station Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur performed the rites of the Ramadan festival and set out to winter over in Jurjan at the beginning of Shawwal [October 1453].

On the 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [November 17, 1453] he arrived in Sultanabad, Astarabad, [52] where he stayed for the winter.

At winter's end, when the forces of verdure and greenery unrolled their carpets in the gardens and meadows, the invincible padishah left his winter quarters and marched on his Iraq campaign. Just then an envoy from Balkh arrived to report that Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id had crossed the Oxus with the speed of lightning, intent upon conquering the provinces of Khurasan. Amir Pir-Darwesh and Amir Ali had gone quickly as far as Andkhud, but during a skirmish both brothers had been felled; now from the borders of Badakhshan to the banks of the Murghab River were under that prince's control, and the dust of sedition and tumult was raised throughout all of Khurasan.

When Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur heard this, he thought it more important to repel that menace than to conquer Fars and Iraq, so he turned back to concentrate upon a victory in Transoxiana. He crossed the distances speedily, and after the royal train crossed the Murghab River, news arrived from Balkh that Sultan Sa'id had put into practice the dictum "retreat is more praiseworthy" and withdrawn to his own capital, abandoning the kingdom of Tokharistan and crossing the Oxus. However, Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur moved speedily as usual, and on the first of Ramadan 858 [August 25, 1454] he crossed at Qunduz and Baqlan.

[85] *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 152) gives a Mawlana Lutfullah and adds a Mawlana Abdul-Khaliq to the list of Abu-Sa'id's *sadrs*.

He remained a few days in Arhang and ordered his amirs to collect boats.

MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR GOES TO SAMARQAND AND MAKES A TRUCE WITH THE FORTUNATE SULTAN

When the amirs, in obedience to the prince's order, had gathered a number of boats at the Arhang crossing, "the orthodox shah embarked" accompanied by his amirs and elite troops. Having crossing in boats, they camped for a few days at Salï Saray. Then the king and army crossed water and land and hastened to the province of Hisar Shadman, and from there they went to Tundak.

King and army, wracked by fatigue, attained a bit of rest.

In Tundak Khwaja Nizamuddin Mawdud, one of the sons of the author of the *Hidayat*, and Mawlana Fathullah Tabrizi came as emissaries of Sultan Sa'id. They discussed the possibilities of truce and peace with the amirs and pillars of state and received harsh replies. Finally Mawlana Fathullah said, " 'A messenger's only job is to deliver.' There is one thing left to say, and I swore that I would say it."

"What is it?" they asked.

He replied, "Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id says, 'I took this province with nothing but a shepherd's cloak on my back, but I shall not give it up so easily. I shall not fear anything, and as long as I am able I shall stand firm.' " [53]

When the amirs heard this, they grew more excited and harsh of speech than ever. Imprisoning the envoys, they ordered a march.

At the end of Ramadan Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur held a review of the army, and the next day he performed the rituals of the end of the month of fasting. Then, stage by stage he headed for Samarqand.

On Wednesday the 14th of Shawwal [October 7, 1454] he camped within one parasang of the city, and the dome of his court tent was raised to the apex of the sun and moon.

From the other side Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, relying on the words of the saint Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah and the advice of the dignitaries and nobles of Samarqand, decided to lay in for a siege. Bringing the peasantry in from outside the city, he made fast the towers and ramparts.

When Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur camped in the village of Hashr Tu, Amir Khalil, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul, Sayyid Piyada-Qadam Kabuli and Malik Muhammad Aman, all champions of the Khurasan army, unsheathed the sword of agility, got ready the implements of war and charged the gates with a war cry. A squadron from the mighty army of Transoxiana came out of the city, and the fire of battle was kindled.

The Khurasanis were defeated, and Amir Khalil, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul and many others were taken captive, while some were felled by sword and arrow. When the Samarqandis brought the captives before Sultan Sa'id, he called forth Amir Khalil and Mawlana Ahmad and berated them. Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul said, "There is hope that by means of us captives peace may be made with you, our brothers." As these words were agreeable to the padishah's temperament, he ordered them kept and cared for.

The next day Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur set out like an enraged lion to subdue the city with a large group of dauntless heroes. A contingent of Sultan Sa'id's brave warriors emerged through the gate and began to fire arrows and wield their swords. That day Babur's amir Pahlawan Husayn Dewana performed extremely valiantly, casting many of the Samarqandis into the dust of annihilation.

When the sultan of heavenly bodies wearied of the sight of that frightful fray and camped in the fortress of the west,

the two sides retired to their camps. And so it went for nearly forty days: each day outside of Samarqand the embers of fighting flamed and the sparks of killing and capture shed their glow onto the cheeks of the people inside and out. During those days Sultan Sa'id's amirs Abdul-Ali Tarkhan, Ahmad Afzal and many other commanders were taken captive and thrown into prison by the Baburids.

After the army of cold and frost made its onslaught and the soldiers were unable to move their limbs, there was a desire for truce on both sides. Mediators began their deliberations, and it was decided that both padishahs would free their prisoners and Sultan Sa'id would content himself with the kingdom of Transoxiana and not encroach again upon the provinces of Khurasan; and to this effect pacts and promises were made.

Sultan Abu-Sa'id garbed Amir Khalil, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul and the other captives in fine robes of honor and gave them permission to leave. Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur also presented Khwaja Nizamuddin Mawdud, Mawlana Fathullah Tabrizi and the amirs of Samarqand with regal garments and sent them to the city. Then the victory-emblazoned banners moved toward [54] Herat, crossing safely at Kirki at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [November 1454].

Mirza Babur rewarded those who had been conspicuous for bravery at Samarqand and gave them appropriate posts. Amir Shaykh Hajji was assigned as *wali* of Balkh; Amir Ali Farsi Barlas took up the post of governor of Kasan and Charyak; the Andkhud district was given to Amir Shaykh Dhu'l-Nun and his brother Amir Ahmad Mushtaq; in Sirghan Amir Baba Kükältäsh's standard was raised; and Qunduz and Baqlan were given to Amir Pir-Sultan Barlas.

The royal train set out for the capital of Khurasan and arrived in Herat on the 4th of Muharram [December 14, 1454], and the citizens rejoiced, saying:

> A thousand thanks that once again, with a thousand glories, the royal banners have reached the abode of majesty.

SISTAN IS CONQUERED; MAZANDERANIS OCCUPY IMAD FORT; AND SOME OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE TOWARD THE END OF MIRZA BABUR'S LIFE

Toward the beginning of 859 [1455] it was reported to Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur that the *wali* of Sistan, Shah Husayn, son of Malik Ali, was not observing adequate respect for the servants of the court and, contrary to the custom of his fathers and forefathers, was treading the path of pride and conceit and tracing outlines of independence and autonomy on the pages of his mind. Therefore the mighty padishah assigned Amir Khalil Hindu to take a contingent of dauntless Turks to subjugate Sistan. Amir Khalil, trusting in divine favor and relying upon royal fortune, set out for that region.

Shah Husayn realized that he could not offer resistance to that lion of the forest of courage and, abandoning the entire land of Nimroz, took flight. Amir Khalil entered victoriously into Sistan and consolidated the area. Having reported his victory, he too raised the banner of independence. That very year Shah Husayn rallied a force and set out to do battle with Amir Khalil. Shah Husayn exerted much effort but was defeated and lost power. Killed by one of his own *nökärs*, his head was taken to Amir Khalil, who sent it to Herat to be hung in public as an example.

During this year Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur restored Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar to favor and sent him as governor to Merv and Makhan, which had formerly been Amir Khalil's fiefs.

Meanwhile a group of demonics from Mazanderan who had been imprisoned in Imad Fort at the order of Amir Baba

Hasan won over one of their guards and broke free while the amir was in Astarabad. They attacked the prefect of the fort, one of Baba Hasan's *nökärs*, and killed him. Relying on no one, [55] they expelled everyone from the fort and locked that fast fortress. When Mirza Babur heard the news, he was extremely angry but was too grave and solemn to show it.

For a time the fort remained under the control of the Mazanderanis, but in the end the prefect of Mashhad, Jalaluddin Mahmud, arrived with Amir Baba Hasan's *nökärs*, hopeful that through the power of the ever-increasing state and the fortune of the royal ascendant he would attain a resounding victory. While Jalaluddin was assembling ladders, catapults [?] and other implements of siege, the Mazanderanis began to speak of obedience, and a group of them came to the gate to begin truce talks.

Jalaluddin Mahmud went forward with one of Amir Baba Hasan's *nökärs*, and two Mazanderanis advanced from among their comrades. After negotiating a truce, the Mazanderanis stretched forth their hands to seal the pact. Jalaluddin Mahmud and his companions grabbed their hands firmly and pulled them down. They rolled helplessly down the cliff and were killed. The rest of the band then showed their rebelliousness more than ever.

Several days later an ironsmith living in the fort, who had grown sick and tired of the Mazanderanis' tyranny, found someone he could trust and sent a message to Jalaluddin, saying, "In a tower of the fortress is a place in which a hole can be made in ten days. I've been working on it for seven days. Three days from now wait by night, and when you see the light of a lantern in the tower come silently to the foot of the fortress and victory will be yours."

Jalaluddin Mahmud and his followers of course waited on the promised night, and when the light showed through, "the dawn of their hopes rose over the horizon of desire." They put their ladders into place, and up they went like answered prayers rising to heaven. The smith and his helpers let down ropes, and around a hundred men were taken up into the tower. Some of the Mazanderanis were driven out, and the rest were dispatched to the next life with the sword of execution.

Amir Jalaluddin Mahmud sent the heads of those who had been killed to Herat, and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur reassigned Amir Baba Hasan as castellan of the fortress. The sound of rejoicing at that overt victory, which had come from an unexpected ruse, passed beyond the ramparts of heaven.

At the beginning of 860 [1456] Mirza Babur's noble constitution deviated from its balance, and a severe illness overtook him. The physicians strove mightily to treat it, and after a few days his health was restored. During that time a comet of great magnitude was observed opposite the house of Taurus. Since that house is the ascendant of Herat, and the eighth mansion was the mansion of Mirza Babur's ascendant, there was much discussion among the astrologers, and on that account there was much trepidation in the minds of king, vizier, amir, rich and poor. Shortly thereafter the Heratis were afflicted by various catastrophes, as will shortly be reported, God willing. [56]

MIRZA BABUR GOES TO MASHHAD AND PASSES FROM THE TRANSITORY WORLD TO THE ETERNAL REALM

When the Absolute Physician of the divine infirmary bestowed complete health upon the noble constitution of the prince, he set out on the 25th of Sha'ban 860 [July 29, 1456] from Bagh-i Safed to Bagh-i Mukhtar, intent upon circumambulating the sanctified tomb of Imam Ali al-Riza b. Musa b. Ja'far at Mashhad. There he spent the month of fast, performing his religious duties and obligations, and on the feast day, after dis-

charging the prayer, a regal feast was given. The month of Shawwal too was spent in that garden, and at the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da he turned the reins of his steed toward Holy Mashhad. On the 14th of the month [October 14] the Charbagh at Mashhad was ennobled by the royal advent. The next day he went to the bath, performed ablutions and made a visitation to the sanctuary, where he bestowed gifts and donations to the shrine and tended to petitions from the poor and downtrodden. That winter was spent there, and the exalted padishah made green and verdant the fields of expectation of all classes with the cloud of his beneficence.

At that time several disputes took place among the amirs and the pillars of state. As these were vexing to the sultan, who sometimes chided them mildly and sometimes chastised them violently, the great amirs submitted to a truce. From the one side Amir Khudadad, Amir Sher Hajji and Pahlawan Husayn Dewana, and from the other Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, his brother Amir Husayn Ali, and Khwaja Wajihuddin Simnani entered the shrine of the scion of the apostolic family and made a pact that so long as they lived they would not mistrust one another or disagree, for "peace at any price is better than war."

Mirza Babur was gladdened by this peace among the amirs and praised them all. Each of the amirs gave a separate feast to seal the truce and entertained the padishah.

Although the sultan had then forsworn wine, he usually had musicians and singers accompany him as he strolled through the pleasure parks of Mashhad. Once when he stopped in a delightful spot, suddenly a disheveled but handsome dervish appeared from behind a rock near the padishah and his amirs. Straightaway he began to recite a poem describing the faithlessness of this world and the insignificance of the transitory life. The refrain was this:

All this folderol of existence is not worth an atom to the people of madness.

All were greatly sorrowed by contemplation of the meaning of this poem, which was approximately fifty lines long. After finishing his instructive poem the dervish disappeared so completely from view that no matter how hard [57] the courtiers searched for him across mountain and plain, they could find no trace of him.

When most of the winter season, like the days of joy and revelry, had "passed as passes the wind across the plain," Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur set out on the 3rd of Rabi' II 861 [February 28, 1457], while the sun was yet in Pisces, for the Radkan meadows. There he spent several days hawking. Suddenly the talon of his white hawk, to which the prince was greatly attached, broke, and this weighing heavy on his mind, he returned to Mashhad. The day he arrived he made known the gist of this verse:

I forswore wine, and then spring came. Now I desire a vow-breaking cupbearer.

Ordering the court servants to spread the carpet of pleasure and revelry, he quaffed goblets of vermilion wine and cups of fragrant liquor from the hands of rosy-cheeked, cypress-statured cupbearers. On Tuesday morning, the 25th of Rabi' II [March 22, 1457], while still in the throes of pleasure and revelry, he sat in a litter and was carried from the Charbagh on a tour of Mashhad. Upon his return he mounted the throne, but suddenly, as his good temper changed and he grew angry with some of the amirs, he got up and went into the harem. At noon the day of his life came to an end, and the sun of the sphere of fortune fell from the constellation of might and majesty into the west of annihilation. The heaven of the sultanate moved from the apex of glory and felicity to the borders of extinction. Seeing this, amir and vizier, old and young, began to cry and wail, and torrents of bloody tears

flowed from the fountains of their eyes like the Oxus. That day the clouds, in sympathy with the grief-stricken, poured down torrents of rain.

A cloud laden with grief rained down a torrent from mountain to mountain.

The next day the exalted amirs prepared the body for burial, shrouded the padishah and buried his pure body under the dome next to the shrine of Imam Riza. The wise physicians felt that he had been poisoned, and those possessed of insight blamed it on the proximity to the Eighth Imam.[86] Mawlana Abdul-Qahhar composed this chronogram on the padishah's death:

The sun of the kingdom, Babur Khan, is no more. How can it be right for such a sun to be hidden?
In Rabi' II, and the season spring, the tulip's goblet is filled with the heart's blood.
I said to the celestial sphere, "Our hearts are rent, our eyes and laps are full of pearly tears. What state is this? What is the date?" It replied, "It is THE DEATH OF BABUR, THE CONFIRMED SULTAN."[87]

Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur had no sons other than Shah-Mahmud, and he will be mentioned after an enumeration of the names of the great men of the age.

A MENTION OF SOME OF THE SHAYKHS AND LEARNED MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH [MIRZA BABUR]

Among the great shaykhs who passed away during Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's time [58] were the following:

Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar was a nephew of Shaykh Muhammadshah Farahi. Shaykh Muhammadshah, in large measure a dervish, died at Minujan while on his way from Hormuz to Mecca. In his youth Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar became *majdhub*, and traces of this experience were always apparent in him. For instance, when he was performing his prayers he would have someone sit next to him to keep track of the number of prostrations. Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar's spiritual lineage goes back to Shaykh Ruknuddin Ala'uddawla Simnani, and apparently from Shaykh Ala'uddawla's time no one like him had sat on the carpet of piety. In Mirza Shahrukh's time, when Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar set out from Khurasan in 844 [1440–41] for the pilgrimage to Mecca and a visitation to Medina, a large group of dignitaries like Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari, Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Asad, Khwaja Zaynuddin Jami, Mawlana Qutbuddin Zahiri, Mawlana Sharifuddin Abdul-Qahhar, Mawlana Tajuddin Hasan, Mawlana Sa'duddin Farrukh, Khwaja Shihabuddin Isma'il Hisari and others accompanied the shaykh to the Hejaz, where they attained the honor of circumambulating the Ka'ba and visiting the prophet's grave.

In his *Nafahat*,[88] Mawlana Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami relates of Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari, who said, "Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar fell ill in the desert near Mecca. Since he was constantly fasting, his companions demanded that he break his fast on account of his illness. He refused. Suddenly I saw a host of the inhabitants of the unseen realm approaching the shaykh's litter. When they came to the door of the litter they passed by quickly. I told this to him, and he said, 'It was the Qutb and his companions. When they came to the door of the litter, I had stretched out my foot, so they went away in haste. After I had tucked my foot back in, they turned around, came forward and recited the *Fatiha*.' "

Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar died in the village of Jaghara in the outlying districts

[86] Imam Riza is commonly supposed to have been poisoned.

[87] *Mawt-i sulṭān-i mu'ayyad Bābur* = 861.

[88] Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 455f.

of Herat on the 17th of Rabi' I 857 [March 28, 1453]. That very day Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur heard the news and went to the village to offer condolences to the shaykh's son, Shaykh Nuruddin Muhammad. He returned to the Khiyaban in Herat before the funeral procession and stopped there. When the bier reached that place, the exalted padishah dismounted and put his shoulder to the bier. According to the shaykh's request, and with the agreement of the dignitaries, the grandfather of the writer of these pages, Sayyid Burhanuddin Khawandshah, proceeded to the Idgah plain and conducted the prayer for the shaykh's funeral. Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar was buried on the north side of the Idgah in Herat, and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur had a superb edifice constructed and finished over his tomb.

That same month the chief cadi Qazi Qutbuddin Muhammad al-Imami also passed away, and Mawlana Sharifuddin Abdul-Qahhar composed the following as a chronogram:

> Refuge of the law, chief of cadis, Muhammad, imam to the Imami folk, on the twelfth of the month of the prophet's death passed from this world [59] to the realm of peace, and his date is THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET, UPON WHOM BE PEACE.[89]

Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari was occupied by study in his youth, when he read most of the books of the curriculum. Finally he adopted the path of asceticism and piety and was enrolled among the disciples of Mawlana Nizamuddin Khamosh. He was enlightened by spiritual exercise and illuminated by interior knowledge and became a Sufi master himself, bringing many dervishes to the level of sainthood. In *Matla'-i sa'dayn*[90] it is written that Mawlana Sa'duddin fell ill at the beginning of Jumada II 860 and took to bed. During the fever and weakness of his illness he spoke of a vision, saying, "I was given the choice of staying or going. Because I had small children I chose to stay." Two days after saying this the mawlawi died on Wednesday the 6th of Jumada II 860 [May 12, 1456] and was buried on the Khiyaban.

Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Arab. It is mentioned in *Matla'-i sa'dayn*[91] that Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Arab was a man of dervish inclination and good character, seldom sullying the skirt of his honor with worldly desires; however, he did enjoy prestige. When Mirza Babur did not pay him sufficient attention he seduced the people into wanting Mirza Ala'uddawla and called for him to rule, forbidding the people to follow Mirza Babur. In 860 [1456] a man named Sayyid Abdullah from Luristan arrived in Herat dressed like a soldier and joined the mawlawi in supporting Mirza Ala'uddawla. Just then the police of Herat seized and hauled before Mirza Babur a man who had come as a spy on Mirza Ala'uddawla's behalf, bringing letters to Mawlana Muhammad Arab and Sayyid Abdullah. Mirza Babur sent the sayyid to Andkhud, exiled the mawlawi to Sistan, and executed the spy. Mawlana Muhammad died in Sistan. The following line of poetry is by him:

> Only a king can be a king's confidant: only a king can know what it is to be a king.

Qazi Abdul-Wahhab Mashhadi was a man possessed of multifarious learning. He was miraculous at the composition of poetry and prose, and it is said that once one of the literati thought up the palindrome *"murād-ī dāram"* (I have a wish). He told it to the Qazi, who reflected for a moment and then replied in another

[89] *Wafāt al-nabī 'alayhi 'l-salām* = 857.

[90] Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 1102.

[91] Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 1098–99.

palindrome, *"Bar āyad yā rab"* (may it come true, O Lord).

The following poem in praise of Khwaja Wajihuddin Simnani, Mirza Babur's most important vizier, was composed by Qazi Abdul-Wahhab:

[He is] a vizier for whom it is appropriate that every day the sun be a carpet [for] the expanse of the heaven of his office.
If the celestial sphere knew the amount of dust [stirred up] by his train, [60] it would make a pillow of the full moon for his saddle cloth.
The axis of the realm, possessor of the age, a second Asaph, Wajihulmulk Isma'il b. Mahmud Balicha.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Bayazid Purani was an extremely pious and religious man. By observing the strictures of the law and following the path of the prophet, he attained high positions, and he maintained an active concern to discharge his duties. When it was incumbent upon him to consult with anyone, he met with that person himself. He was active in charitable concerns and always kept a table spread for guests. It is mentioned in the *Nafahat* that Mawlana Jalaluddin Abu-Yazid apparently had no Sufi master and was an Uwaysi.[92] He used to say, "Whenever I have a problem I take it up directly with the prophet." He died on Monday eve the 10th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 862 [September 19, 1458] and is buried in the village of Puran. During his reign Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza had an edifice built over his tomb. Mawlana Bayazid lived past the age of ninety.

Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad of Kusuya was a descendant of Shaykh Ahmad al-Jami al-Namaqi. He had acquired external and internal learning. Although he followed Shaykh Zaynuddin Khwafi in loud *dhikr*, he was much in the company of Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar,[93] to whom he was greatly devoted as a disciple. He preached in the congregational mosque in Herat, proclaiming from the pulpit the truths of the Koran and the *hadith* of the prophet. Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari, Mawlana Jalaluddin Bayazid Purani and Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Asad used to attend his sermons and applaud what they heard. Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id was devoted to him and followed him as a disciple.

It has been heard from reliable sources that on his first Friday as ruler Sultan Abu-Sa'id attended Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad's sermon. While he was speaking, one of those present involuntarily let out a yell. Sultan Sa'id was angered by this cry, but Khwaja Muhammad turned to the padishah and said, "We haven't said anything yet that would cause anyone to go into ecstasy. Apparently our friend's heart is attuned to another place."

He died on Saturday morning the 26th of Jumada I 863 [March 31, 1459], and as a chronogram of his death one of the literati composed the following:

Most perfect shaykh, who was a guide for the people of form, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, in grief for whom heaven donned an indigo cloak, has pitched his tent in eternal holiness [61] outside the realm of possibility.
Since the lower sphere was not up to his level, ask the date of his death from THE LOWER SPHERE.[94]

Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Asad was renowned among the learned for his poetic nature and keen intellect. In his youth he acquired knowledge, and then he set about to perfect himself in an

[92]Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 501.

[93]As a follower of Shaykh Ala'uddawla Simnani, Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar was a member of the Kubrawiyya, who maintained the superiority of the silent *dhikr*. See Ala'uddawla Simnani, *Opera Minora*, pp. 78–81.

[94]*Charkh-i dūn* = 863.

other-worldly sense. He was a companion to Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar, Shaykh Zaynuddin Khwafi and Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari. He died on Friday eve, the first of Ramadan 864 [June 20, 1460] and was buried in Gazargah at the foot of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari's tomb.

Shaykh Adhari Isfarayini was among the renowned poets of the time. As a grown man he became inclined to dervishdom and set out from Isfarayin for the Hejaz. After performing the pilgrimage and visiting the prophet's grave, he went to Hindustan, the rulers of which patronized and honored him with great reward and beneficence. Nonetheless, Shaykh Adhari, longing for his native land, abandoned that country and composed the following verse upon his departure:

I am leaving India and the carrion of Jaipal. I would not pay a barleycorn for the wind and cold of Jaona.

From there he returned to Isfarayin, where he led a religious life. His death occurred in 866 [1461–62], the numerical value of the word "Khusraw" giving the date.

Among Shaykh Adhari's works are the book *Ajayib al-dunya wa-jawahir al-asrar* and an eloquent divan that is quite well known among the people of this age.

Mawlana Tuti. In the same year the bird of the well-known poet Mawlana Tuti's soul broke the bondage of its cage and took flight to the meadows of paradise. Mawlana Tuti was originally from Turshiz. Mirza Babur was a great patron of his. The following line is by him:

The world, which is a chamber of six arches and a room with two doors—the cry "Beware!" arises from the four edges of its carpet.

Mawlana Tuti died young, and the royal favorite Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher discovered that the word *khuros* (rooster) is a chronogram for his death:

The eloquent of the age, the poet Tuti's bride was a virgin of meanings. When the parrot[95] departed, it is novel that the date of his death was ROOSTER.

Sayyid Ghiyathuddin Fazlullah Radkani was outstanding among his contemporaries for his learning and excellent characteristics, and among the learned of the age he was among the most eloquent and poetically gifted. He wrote calligraphy most beautifully and was ennobled by the reward and favor of sultans and rulers. He died on Sunday the 22nd of Jumada II 867 [March 14, 1463] in Herat and was buried in the Musrikh [?] cemetery near Amir Husayni.

Mir Islam Ghazali was a descendant of Hujjat al-Islam Imam Muhammad Ghazali. He attained perfect expertise in medicine and metaphysics, and occasionally he composed poetry. It is written in the *Majalis al-nafayis*[96] that Mir Islam's facility for versification [62] can be seen in the *qasida* he wrote in reply to Hakim Anwari. That *qasida* contains a praise of Mirza Ala'uddawla, and the first line is as follows:[97]

The witness to splendor would have no clothing without his kingship—rather, splendor begs for glory from his magnificence.

Mir Islam resided in Balkh during the governorship of the Hazaraspi amirs, after which he died.

Mawlana Simi was very learned in poetry, enigmas, epistolary style and calligraphy. In one day he composed two thousand lines of poetry, and as a con-

[95] *Tūṭī* means parrot.

[96] Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, 14.

[97] Ali-Sher (*Majalis al-nafayis*, 14) notes that every hemistich of the poem is a chronogram for the date of composition, 849.

sequence he had the following line engraved in his ring:

One day Simi composed and wrote two thousand lines of poetry in praise of the shah.

Mawlana Simi was originally from Nishapur. Because he suffered from bulimia he was inclined to overeat. The anecdote is well known that once someone said in an assembly that Mawlana Simi could eat twenty maunds of dates. Another person thought that far-fetched, and the two made a bet, bought twenty maunds of dates and went to the mawlawi. By chance the mawlana was ill in bed that day. Nonetheless, when he realized why his two friends had come, he said, "Put the dates near my bed and let me see how far I can go." They did as he had said, and he stretched out his hand, picked up dates by the handful and ate them until none remained. Then he asked his two friends, "Was the bet for dates with pits or without?"

"Without pits," they said. "Nobody eats dates with the pits."

"I ate them all with the pits," he replied, "lest there be any dispute."

Darwesh Baba Ali Khwashmardan was a well-spoken dervish of pure nature. The year that Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur wintered in Mashhad he joined the padishah's service from Sabzawar and received much favor.

Darwesh Mansur was known for his piety and purity and spent most of his time in spiritual exercises. In metrics and poetical embellishments he was a student of Mawlana Yahya Sibak, and in Sufism he relied upon Hafiz Ali Jami. He composed two treatises on the science of metrics and worked on a reply to Khwaja Salman's *qasida* on rhetorical artifice. The first line of Darwesh Mansur's *qasida* is as follows:

I ran from pillar to post to discover union with the beloved. I found no one who was acquainted with what I was after. [63]

THE RULE OF MIRZA SHAH-MAHMUD AND WHAT OCCURRED DURING HIS REIGN

The very day on which the sun of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's life set the amirs and pillars of state sat Mirza Shah-Mahmud, then aged eleven, on the throne. Amir Husayn Ali set out for Herat, and his elder brother Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id went to Sarakhs on business. Shaykhzada Pir Qiwam, who held the post of *sadr*, went to Merv to summon Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar.

Mirza Shah-Mahmud set out for Herat ten days after his father's death. Along the way Shaykhzada arrived from Merv to report that Mirza Sanjar was being obstinate and refusing to come into submission. A courier from Amir Husayn Ali in Herat also came and reported that on the day the news of the late padishah's death reached the city, Mir Hubb the prefect neglected to safeguard Mirza Ibrahim, and the prince had escaped from prison to Ahmad Tarkhan's house and then gone, accompanied by the amir, to the foothills of Mount Mukhtar. When he heard the news of the approach of the royal train from Mashhad, he went to the banks of the Murghab and gathered a vast army.

In short, these things caused consternation in the minds of all, and Mirza Shah-Mahmud quickly traversed the distance and arrived at Bagh-i Mukhtar on the 26th of Jumada I [April 21, 1457]. The sayyids, cadis and dignitaries hastened to pay homage and express their condolences. Mirza Shah-Mahmud went from the Bagh-i Mukhtar to the Bagh-i Zaghan. Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id had recently arrived from Sarakhs and inflicted tyranny and extortion upon the inhabitants of Herat. The details are as follows.

After returning to Herat from Sarakhs, Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, who was

known to be evil and reckless, and who also possessed more trappings of magnificence and power than any other Baburid amir, thought with his love for gold and silver that he should impose a large poll tax on the citizens. He divided the city into two parts and had the tax bills prepared. It was established that one part was to be collected by Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's retainers, and the other by Amir Sher Hajji's men. On the 7th of Jumada II [May 2] the collection began, and within two or three days they had harvested what they had claimed.

At that time Khwaja Kulal Barkash and Khwaja Ali Amir-Khwaja held the seal in Mirza Shah-Mahmud's divan, and these two evil viziers began to implement an extortion scheme. First they gained absolute control of the the revenues of the religious endowments, and second they multiplied by ten the amount that had been collected as poll tax and entered the result on the tax bills. The cruel, merciless collectors seized the citizens and demanded more money. Since the people were unable to pay, painful cries arose from every house and the sun of cruelty and tyranny shone upon every family. Indeed it was like doomsday: the countenance of security was as well hidden as the phœnix, [64] and the quality of welfare became as obscure as the labor of alchemy. Many of the poor left their families and fled, and many people died under torture. Women, heads and feet bared, their hair blowing in the wind, ran to the divan and begged helplessly for justice. The godless Shaykh Abu-Sa'id was unmoved by the cries of these unfortunates.

However, just then, in accordance with the miraculous words, "who heareth the afflicted, when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil,"[98] the All-Bestowing King took the distressed by the hand, helped those suffering from tyranny and exposed the evil of Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id. This came about as follows.

Amir Sher Hajji girded his loins to put a stop to the wretched Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's crimes, and on the 21st of Jumada II [May 16] he took Mirza Shah-Mahmud from the Bagh-i Zaghan into the city and had a herald proclaim the following: "Let no one pay a single dinar as poll tax to anyone, and let all recover what they may have paid. Wherever Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's men are found, let them be plundered." Consequently those who were treading the path of tyranny and extortion stepped into the valley of flight. All the other amirs, in agreement with Amir Sher Hajji, kept watch that night, and the next day Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, who was outside the city, fled with his brother Amir Husayn Ali to the Murghab River. Amir Sher Hajji, accompanied by a large contingent of amirs, soldiers, peasants and merchants came out of the city in pursuit of him. In a field between Mount Mukhtar and Toquz Ribat they encountered Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, and a pitched battle ensued in which the harvest of Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's life was burned with a blow from a fire-dripping sword. One of Amir Sher Hajji's followers cut off his head and took it to be hung as an example on the Malik Gate. That scoundrel's brother and liegemen took the opportunity to escape and dispersed in flight. Such is always the retribution for injustice.

In the meantime news arrived that a great throng had assembled under Mirza Ibrahim's banners, and the prince, accompanied by amirs and *noyans*, was intent upon conquering Herat. Therefore Amir Sher Hajji, Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Firozshah, Pahlawan Husayn Dewana and the Tarkhan amirs took counsel and decided to make peace somehow between Mirza Shah-Mahmud and Mirza Ibrahim in order to establish order in Khurasan. With the consent of Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha, Turkanshah, one of that lady's *nökärs*, was sent to

[98]Koran 27:62.

Mirza Ibrahim's camp to lay the foundations for negotiations. However, before Turkanshah returned, a group of seditious men reminded Amir Sher Hajji that Her Majesty's boundless love for Mirza Ala-'uddawla and his son Mirza Ibrahim was as plain as the sun in the sky; in addition, the Tarkhan amirs' fidelity and loyalty to that lady were fixed and unchangeable. Consequently a scheme had to be thought up lest they lose the initiative. Amir Sher Hajji therefore, apprehensive of the machinations of fate, determined, in collusion with Pahlawan Husayn Dewana, to kill the Tarkhan amirs.

One day, on the pretext of a council meeting, he summoned them to a pavilion in the Bagh-i Zaghan. When the assembly was gathered, [65] Amir Ahmad Firozshah perceived what was in the air and got out of the garden on some pretext and headed for Tun, where his brother Amir Sultan-Husayn was governor. That very moment Amir Sher Hajji and Pahlawan Husayn's *nökärs* plunged their swords into the Tarkhans. Amir Uways, who had a knife in his hand and was slashing away with it, managed to reach Amir Sher Hajji and stab him in the stomach. Amir Sher Hajji threw himself on top of him, and his henchmen instantly killed Uways Tarkhan, his son Yusuf Tarkhan and Khusraw Tarkhan. Pahlawan Husayn Dewana killed Muhammad Tarkhan, even though he had asked him for quarter. That very day [Pahlawan Husayn Dewana] set out for his fief in Khwaf. Along the way he encountered Amir Ahmad Firozshah, and before a word was exchanged they drew swords of vengeance and fell to combat. Pahlawan Husayn overcame Amir Ahmad Firozshah, who was renowned for his good character, and killed him. Amir Muhammad Ghiyathuddin Tarkhan and Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul managed to escape the fray with their lives and reach Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim on the banks of the Murghab to report what they had seen.

When Amir Sher Hajji had plotted this affair, he took Mirza Shah-Mahmud from the Bagh-i Zaghan into the city. Now he shut himself up in Ikhtiyaruddin Fort and ordered Gawharshad Agha to move into the [Shahrukh] Madrasa opposite the fortress. A few days later Amir Sher Hajji's wound had healed.

Then came the news that Mirza Ibrahim had set out for Herat with a vast force intent on battle. Amir Sher Hajji took Mirza Shah-Mahmud to the Bagh-i Mukhtar, and there were no more Baburid amirs or supporters left in Herat. With Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha's approval, Qazi Qutbuddin Ahmad al-Imami made fast the city fortress, stationed guards at the gates and had heralds proclaim that no one should encroach upon the rights of the citizens or go beyond his own bounds "until we see what happens."

MIRZA SULTAN-IBRAHIM ASCENDS THE IMPERIAL THRONE, AND SHAH-MAHMUD IS DEFEATED BY DIVINE DECREE

Since divine decree had determined that, in accordance with the Koranic words, "We gave unto Abraham his direction,"[99] Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's stature would be robed with guidance and direction, and rays of divine friendship would shine upon him as in the words, "God took Abraham as his friend,"[100] an innumerable horde of soldiers rallied around that prince's world-conquering banner on the banks of the Murghab River as a result of the trials and tribulations that have been mentioned. Having been made hopeful by seeing the countenance of victory, he set out for Herat and after crossing the distances arrived near the Bagh-i Mukhtar on Tuesday morning the 7th of Rajab 861 [May 31, 1457]. When Mirza Shah-Mahmud **[66]** heard the news, he panicked and fled to Mashhad. Amir Sher

[99]Koran 21:51. Ibrahim = Abraham.

[100]Koran 4:125.

Hajji went to Tiratu Fort, and the divine decree rolled up the carpet of Baburid unity.

At noon that same day Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim dismounted in the Bagh-i Mukhtar, and a large group of amirs and soldiers set out in pursuit of the enemy. The leaders of the posse pursuing Mirza Shah-Mahmud arrested Malik Qasim, son of Iskandar Qara Yusuf, Dawlatkeldi Taghai, Qaraman Türkmän, Hajji Khalil and his brother Hajji Abdullah and took them to Mirza Ibrahim. Malik Qasim and Qaraman were spared through the intervention of Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha, but the rest of those mentioned were put to death. The group who were pursuing Amir Sher Hajji caught up with him, gave battle and emerged victorious. Amir Sher Hajji left the fray wounded and took refuge in Tiratu fortress.

Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim expressed his thanks to the Giver of Bounty for these triumphs and threw upon the gates of reward and beneficence to all classes and mounted the throne of his fathers and forefathers, upon which occasion a poet composed the following:

A king who holds the reins of his kingdom in justice must have good fortune in his reign.
When he sat upon the imperial throne, the date was ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF KINGSHIP.[101]

Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim concentrated upon ordering the affairs of state and kingdom and appointed to the vizierate Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Bukhari and Khwaja Sa'duddin Muhammad. Amir Qara Bahadur, one of Mirza Ala'uddawla's elite, was appointed as prefect of the city. After completing the taxation, military and fiscal affairs for the Year of the Ox, in the middle of Sha'ban of that year [July 1457] he marched toward Mashhad to do battle with Mirza Shah-Mahmud, entrusting Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul, in whom he had complete trust.

Shah-Mahmud mustered his forces in Mashhad and set out in the direction of Herat. Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim too headed to meet his enemy, intent upon battle. Before the two sides clashed, Khwaja Wajihuddin Simnani, who had been a vizier to Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur for many years, fled from Mirza Shah-Mahmud and joined Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim. However he was thrown into shackles and died in Fushanj. Also Mir Hubb, the prefect of Herat under Mirza Babur, was dispatched to the next world because of a slight he had given Mirza Ibrahim when he was holding the prince in prison.

In short, battle erupted between the two pugnacious princes between Ribat-i Shah Malik and the town of Kusuya, and the two armies clashed with the roar of the ocean, charging the battlefield with sword and spear. First Mirza Shah-Mahmud's troops were successful and put the enemy's right and left flank to flight, but in the end Amir Ahmad Tarkhan and the warriors of the center headed into the enemy and acquitted themselves with bravery and heroism. After almost being defeated, Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim gained the victory, and Mirza Shah-Mahmud retreated to Mashhad.

Mirza Ibrahim thanked God for his bounty, seized uncountable booty and went off in pursuit of the enemy. It was a strange coincidence that at mid-morning that day, [67] Monday the 25th of Sha'ban [July 18, 1457], news arrived in Herat that Mirza Shah-Mahmud had been chosen for victory, but a moment later a band arrived saying that Mirza Ibrahim had been singled out for triumph and Mirza Shah-Mahmud had taken flight. At noon Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's envoy arrived with a letter for the nobles containing this news: "Tomorrow morning the royal train will camp in splendor in the Bagh-i Shahr, and by the imperial

[101] *Julūs bar sarīr-i mulk* = 861.

hand the gates of justice and beneficence will be opened to all."

MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID ARRIVES IN HERAT

Since he first ascended the throne in Samarqand, Sultan Abu-Sa'id had been contemplating subjugating not only Khurasan but all provinces of Iran, and when he heard of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's death he was tempted even more. At that time the governor of Balkh, Amir Shaykh Hajji, sent the following message to Abu-Sa'id's court, "The open field of Khurasan is void of an effective ruler. If your invincible banners move in that direction, the face of victory will be reflected in the mirror of desire, and your servant will be girded for service in the royal retinue." Consequently Sultan Sa'id crossed the Oxus with his army and headed for Herat with the speed of lightning.

On Monday the 25th of Sha'ban [July 18, 1457] he reached the other side of the village of Saqsalman, where the dome of his court tent was raised to the apex of the sun and moon, and he summoned for a meeting the dignitaries of Herat, who hastened to greet and pay homage to the padishah. The castellan of Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul, and Qara Bahadur the prefect of Herat first wanted to make fast the city, but in the end, because there was much confusion and they lost the opportunity, they did the next best thing and secured the fortress.

The next day when the sun entered the enclosure of the sky from above the horizon and mounted his turquoise throne, Sultan Sa'id entered Herat through the Qïpchaq Gate and honored the Bagh-i Shahr with his descent. Mounting the throne of world rule, he gave glad tidings of quarter and amnesty to all and ordered justice to be established and tyranny and oppression uprooted.

That very day he sent a group of dignitaries to Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul to invite him, with promises of favor and reward, to come into submission and obedience. To this the mawlana replied, [68] "My benefactor entrusted this house to me, and I have endeavored to safeguard it. It is absurd to think that I would fly in the face of my patron and indulge in treachery by turning over the fortress to another. If stone and arrows rain down from heaven and the earth sprouts spikes and spears, I will not allow myself to fear, and I will never open the gates to an enemy."

Hearing this, Sultan Sa'id grew angry and withdrew from the city the next day. He met with Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha and camped in the Bagh-i Zaghan to concentrate upon taking Ikhtiyaruddin Fort. Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad the vizier and a group of his men laid siege and tried as hard as they could to take it through battle and bloodshed, but since the citadel was as impregnable as the castle of the celestial sphere and filled with warriors and arms, there was little profit in waging war, for Mawlana Ahmad did not relax his defenses for a moment.

Just then a group of seditious corruptors told Sultan Sa'id that Sultan Ibrahim's trusted men had continual comings and goings with Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha and were relaying news and reports. Furthermore, the envoy Sultan Sa'id had sent to Tiratu Fort to bring Amir Sher Hajji had returned and reported that the amir had said that although the Tarkhan amirs had been killed, he could not join the imperial retinue so long as Gawharshad Agha remained alive.

Therefore on the 9th of Ramadan [July 31] Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id gave an order for the execution of that Queen of Sheba of the age. This horrible act was the one blemish on the face of that praiseworthy padishah's career.

Gawharshad Agha was known for her chastity and fairness and was constantly engaged in building charitable institutions and in the promotion of charity. Among her monuments are a most beautiful and embellished congregational mosque to the north of Herat and an elaborately constructed Friday mosque at the shrine of Imam Riza in Mashhad. These edifices she endowed with rich holdings.

In short, after Her Majesty's death Amir Sher Hajji turned over Tiratu Fort to one of his trusted men and hastened to Herat, where he was taken into Sultan Sa'id's retinue.

At that same time a very strange thing happened in that fort. One day an obscure *yasaqi* named Berkä brought some sheep to the fortress gate and while talking to the guards asked if he could spend the night there. They agreed and took him in. After one watch of the night had passed, he pulled up a band of his comrades over the wall with a rope he had with him and, unsheathing the blade of audacity, attacked the castellan. The poor castellan fled with several wounds, and Berkä secured the fortress and declared himself a hero

When Sultan Sa'id learned of this news and also of Mirza Abdul-Latif's sons' revolt in Balkh, he considered it impolitic to remain in Khurasan and set out on the 9th of Shawwal [August 30] for Transoxiana. He dispatched a group of amirs and soldiers as an advance party, [69] and in the vicinity of Balkh they encountered Mirza Ahmad, Mirza Abdul-Latif's son who had charged the steed of rebellion into the field. In the battle that ensued Mirza Ahmad was killed, and his brother Mirza Muhammad-Juki fled.

Under divine protection Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id reached Balkh, where he remained for the winter. When Mirza Ibrahim, who had bided his time in Khwaf and Bakharz while Sultan Sa'id was in Herat, learned of Sultan Sa'id's withdrawal, he had the drums of joy beat for several days and sent Amir Ahmad Tarkhan as governor of [Herat]. Amir Ahmad ruled his subjects with justice and equity and nourished with kindness and beneficence the saplings of hope and aspiration that had come near to extinction by the buffeting of events. At the Feast of Sacrifice he had the Koran recited and food distributed to the poor and orphans in commemoration of Her Majesty.

MIRZA SULTAN-IBRAHIM GOES TO JURJAN, WHERE HE IS ROUTED BY JAHANSHAH THE TURCOMAN

When Mirza Shah-Mahmud met with defeat at Mirza Ibrahim's hands, he set out, after a few days in Mashhad, for Jurjan. The governor there, Amir Baba Hasan, had rendered good service to the prince and had maintained his fidelity.

When Mirza Ibrahim learned of his enemy's consolidation, he set out via Nasa and Yarz for Jurjan, and Mirza Shah-Mahmud headed with the Astarabad troops to meet his cousin in battle. However, along the way he heard that Jahanshah had reached Aqaba-i Sanduqshikan with the army of Iraq and Azerbaijan.

Now Jahanshah had led his armies thither because the governor of Sari, Amir Nizamuddin Abdul-Karim, having grown weary of Amir Baba Hasan's imperious demands, was constantly sending messengers to the prince of Azerbaijan saying that since Khurasan was void of an effective ruler and Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Shah-Mahmud were spending their time contending with each other, if [Jahanshah] would cast his shadow over those regions, the sun of victory and triumph would rise. Jahanshah, who had always coveted those realms, agreed with Amir Abdul-Karim, and

The courageous padishah hastened toward Jurjan.

When he passed through Aqaba-i Sanduqshikan and Mirza Shah-Mahmud re-

alized that the news was true, he took flight with Amir Baba Hasan. However, [70] Mirza Ibrahim attributed the news to a ruse on the part of the enemy and rushed as fast as he could until he came within a parasang of Astarabad. Despite his amirs and supporters' urging that he stop and verify the news of Jahanshah, he refused and marched on, sending out an advance party of warriors. When those men had gone a little way through the forests and marshes, a group of Turcoman scouts appeared through the trees. The Khurasanis had at once begun to do battle, but suddenly a massive group poured down on them, and the talons of destiny broke the cord of unity among the Khurasanis.

When the Turcomans emerged from ambush,
the earth trembled in fear of them. The scouts
shied from their onslaught like a shadow
fleeing the sun.

Then Mirza Ibrahim, with fear in this heart, joined the advance party and withstood the enemy for a short time. When he realized that he lacked the strength to resist, he fled in confusion. The Azerbaijani army pursued the Khurasanis, put many of them to the sword and captured a contingent of champions. Amir Sayyid Khwaja's son Amir Sayyid Yusuf, Amir Firozshah's son Amir Sultan-Husayn, and Amir Sa'adat Khawandshah were among the men who were killed in that ambush. Amir Abu-Sa'id Mirim, another son of Sayyid Amir Khwaja, was taken alive to Amir Jahanshah,[102] who ordered him executed. This event took place on Tuesday the 25th of Muharram 862 [December 13, 1457].

When Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim fled from the battle, he went without halt until he reached Herat with a group of his retainers on Sunday the 7th of Safar [December 25]. It has been heard on good authority that when Mirza Ibrahim entered the Khiyaban that day a dervish stood up on a platform and said, "Long life to the padishah—but if you mount one more campaign, the Chaghatay race will be extinct in the world."

In short, when Amir Ahmad Tarkhan the governor of Herat heard of the prince's approach, he hastened to meet him and present him with countless coins, fleet-footed horses, trains of pack animals bearing tents, pavilions, precious textiles and carpets. All the nobles and dignitaries of Khurasan performed the rites of homage, and once again Mirza Ibrahim sat in splendor upon the throne of the sultanate. Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul came out of Ikhtiyaruddin Fort and was allowed to kiss the prince's hand. Since the mawlana had put up a resistance to a padishah like Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id and had loyally defended the fort, he expected great reward from Mirza Ibrahim; but contrary to his expectations Mirza Ibrahim paid no attention to him and reckoned his bravery as nothing. Therefore Mawlana Ahmad went back to the fortress in open rebellion. Regardless of the people Ahmad Tarkhan sent to apologize to him, and no matter how he tried to coax that wild prey back with promises of reward and favor, it was to no avail: Mawlana Ahmad refused to leave the fort, and consequently Mirza Ibrahim ceased to summon him, [71] willy-nilly abandoning Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Mawlana Ahmad's control.

A GROUP OF HIGH-RANKING COURTIERS GO AS ENVOYS TO SULTAN SA'ID; MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA RETURNS TO HERAT AFTER A LONG ABSENCE

When Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim had spent a few days relaxing in Herat, it was decided with the approval of his amirs and advisors to re-establish harmony with Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id and put an end to their disagreement. To expedite this mission

[102] In much of this and the following sections Jahanshah is called Mirza Jahanshah; in order to avoid further confusion, the title Mirza will be reserved for Timurids and Jahanshah will be called amir.

three great men were chosen, Shaykh Nuruddin Muhammad b. Shaykh Baha-'uddin Umar, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad al-Kusuwi al-Jami, and Amir Baburuddin Khawandshah (the great-grandfather of the writer of these pages). Amir Ghiyathuddin Kichkinä, the father of the royal favorite Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher, was appointed to serve the three on the journey. When this respected group came into Sultan Sa'id's assembly they spoke, as was fitting, of accord and peace. Sultan Sa'id agreed with them and said, "With regard to strengthening the foundations of accord and peace, any entreaty Mirza Ibrahim makes is hereby granted, provided that he put Herat under my control. Any other province in all of the realms of Khurasan he desires he may have in exchange, and together we may repel the Turcoman forces." Having been shown great honor and respect, the noble lords withdrew and reported to Mirza Ibrahim what they had heard from Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id.

It is an amazing and strange thing that during this year throughout the regions and fortresses of Khurasan there were several effective rulers, none of whom was in obedience to another: Amir Jahanshah held from Astarabad to Sabzawar in his mighty grip; Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id governed in Balkh; Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim sat in Herat and bowed to no one else; Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul had made fast Ikhtiyaruddin Fort and took no notice of any of the sultans; Mirza Sultan Sanjar resided in Merv; Mirza Shah-Mahmud dreamed of independence in Tus; Berkä the Mughul held the Tiratu fortress; and Amir Abdullah Pirzada defended the citadel at Sarakhs; Malik Qasim son of Iskandar Qara Yusuf, along with Amir Khalil, controlled the kingdom of Sistan as far as Farah and Isfizar; in Khabushan Fort Hasan Shaykh-Temür was commandant; and the fort at Tabas was under the control of Amir Uways b. Khawandshah. [72]

After several years in the Qïpchaq Steppe, Mirza Ala'uddawla returned and took up residence for a short while in Abiward. What had happened to Mirza Ala'uddawla is thus described in the pages of *Matla'-i sa'dayn*:[103]

When he lost Balkh to Mirza Babur's forces, he fled to Badakhshan, where he wandered a while in that mountainous region. Finally he went to the Qïpchaq Steppe and lived among the Uzbeks until he heard of Mirza Babur's death. Then he headed for Khurasan via Khwarazm and the province of Nasa and Abiward. He sent a messenger to take the good news of his arrival to Mirza Ibrahim, and the prince expressed his pleasure and sent loving words and appropriate gifts. However, as the proverb has it, "Kingship is barren," and inwardly he was displeased at his father's arrival. Mirza Ala'uddawla set out from Abiward to Herat, and when he was not far from the city, Mirza Ibrahim hastened to greet him. On the banks of the Sanjab River Mirza Ala'uddawla set glad eyes upon his son.

> Thank God that after a long and arduous journey, my eyes are once again brightened by seeing you.

Mirza Ibrahim too showed his joy and happiness to meet his father and expressed his gratitude to the divine bestower of favor.

> It is I whose eyes are brightened to see my beloved. What thanks can I express to you, O gracious Effector?

Father and son discussed affairs of state, and it was decided that Mirza Ibrahim would remain with the troops in Takht-i Malik while Mirza Ala'uddawla went to Herat to rest from his travails. On Friday the 7th of Jumada II 862 [April 22, 1458] he reached Saqsalman, and the sayyids, cadis, lords and people met the

[103] Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 1159–62.

royal train and paid homage to him. More merchants and commoners came out of the city that day to watch than had ever turned out for a religious festival or new year's celebration.

There were so many, elite and common, on that day that no one could budge.

Mirza Ala'uddawla entered the Khiyaban and went to the Gawharshad Agha Madrasa, where he paid his respects to his grandfather. From there he went to the Bagh-i Zaghan, where he ordered the carpet of pleasure and revelry to be spread.

The assembly-adorners rose quickly and prepared a banquet of frolic and joy.

That world-adorning padishah favored by fortune spent a few days drinking and enjoying himself surrounded by beauties. Scarcely had he finished when the news of the approach of Amir Jahanshah's troops arrived and he took flight.

Jealous heaven throws stones at every goblet of enjoyment you take in your hand.

AMIR MUZAFFARUDDIN JAHANSHAH COMES TO HIS LATE MAJESTY'S CAPITAL

When Amir Jahanshah had completely conquered Jurjan and spent some time in Isfarayin, [73] he set out with his massive army for Herat. Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim learned of his approach and took flight to the mountains of Ghur, sending a courier to his father with a message that it was no longer safe for him to stay in Herat. Mirza Ala'uddawla departed with regret on the first of Sha'ban 862 [June 14, 1458] to go to his son. After the prince left, all the residents of Herat, sayyids, ulema, and the poor and unfortunate, were in fear and trembling of the Turcomans, while hooligans and mobs set about pillaging and plundering.

When Amir Jahanshah reached Kusuya and heard of the turmoil in Herat and the flight of the population, he sent letters of conciliation to the lords and dignitaries. Amir Pirzada Bukhari was appointed as prefect, and the people were given hope of justice. Amir Jahanshah himself entered the Bagh-i Zaghan on the 15th of Sha'ban, [June 28] concentrating his efforts upon taking Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, which Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul defended for a few days before finally quitting with amnesty and being favorably received by Jahanshah.

After uncontestably gaining the throne of Khurasan, Jahanshah showed appropriate honor and respect to the sayyids, cadis, ulema and nobles and carried on the traditions of the late emperor. While he resided for a time in Kahdistan Meadow to the east of Herat, the exaltedness of his fame and power surpassed highest heaven. "The earth is God's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the prosperous end shall be unto those who fear him."[104]

MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA AND HIS FATHER FALL INTO DISCORD; THE PRINCE GOES TO HERAT AT AMIR JAHANSHAH'S INVITATION

When Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim fled in fear of the army of Iraq and Azerbaijan to the province of Ghur, the father chose to stay in Lower Ghur and the son in Upper Ghur.

Then Amir Khalil, one of Mirza Ala-'uddawla's companions, and his son Muhammad Khalil made a surprise attack on Qara Bahadur, Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's *qaraul*, and plundered all his possessions and goods. Mirza Ibrahim sent a messenger to his father to complain, but Mirza Ala'uddawla replied, saying, "On my exalted mind lay the dust of vexation with Qara Bahadur, who is my slave. It

[104]Koran 7:128.

was for that reason that such a calamity befell him."

After this, bad feeling came between father and son, [74] and unity and harmony were exchanged for enmity and discord. When battle lines were arrayed on both sides, they set out to attack each other. During all this the Tarkhan amirs abandoned Mirza Ibrahim and joined Mirza Ala'uddawla, and Mirza Ibrahim was forced to go to his father, where he was made prisoner. At the same time Amir Abdullah Khwaja Tarkhan, who had gone at Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's order as an envoy to Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, returned and, enraged at the prince's imprisonment, joined with a band of Tarkhans who mounted a surprise attack, set Mirza Ibrahim free and headed for Sakhar and Tulak.

When Amir Jahanshah learned of this, he sent a court official to Ghur to summon Mirza Ala'uddawla, who considered this invitation a boon and went with the speed of lightning to the Turcoman king's camp. On the Feast of the Sacrifice Amir Jahanshah held a magnificent assembly, and the great amirs brought Mirza Ala-'uddawla forward with great honor. The Turcoman prince bowed to him and sat him in an appropriate place, flattering him with kindness and attention. On the 18th of the month [October 27, 1458] Pir-Budaq, Amir Jahanshah's eldest son who was ruling in Fars, came to his father. He came because Jahanshah, in trepidation with regard to Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, had sent an envoy to Shiraz summoning his son.

SULTAN SA'ID SETS OUT TO DO BATTLE WITH AMIR JAHANSHAH, BUT PEACE AND HARMONY ARE MADE BETWEEN THE TWO RULERS

When Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id in Balkh learned of Amir Muzaffaruddin Jahanshah's occupation of Herat, he set out for the battlefield accompanied by a force more numerous than can be told. While camped for a few days on the banks of the Murghab River, news of the might and great numbers of Jahanshah's army caused Sultan Sa'id consternation, and upon reflection he had second thoughts about making war and decided to sue for peace. On the Feast of the Sacrifice Mawlana Najmuddin Umar and Mawlana Yusuf Attar went as envoys from Sultan Sa'id to make an offer of peace. In the manner of powerful sultans Amir Jahanshah met with the envoys and sent his vizier Sayyid Ashur back with them for deliberations. When he arrived at the royal camp, [75] Sayyid Ashur was allowed the honor of kissing the foot of the throne and then spoke pleasing words of peace and harmony. Sultan Sa'id replied amiably and expressed his inclination for harmony and accord. Sayyid Ashur withdrew, successful in his mission, and Amir Jahanshah decamped from Kahdistan Meadow to the foothills of Mount Mukhtar, hoping for a peaceful interlude.

Then Ahmad Tarkhan and some of his clansmen abandoned Mirza Ibrahim and joined Jahanshah, by whom they were rewarded and elevated above their peers by regal favor. Amir Jahanshah proposed to spend that winter in Khurasan in the mighty padishah Mirza Shahrukh's capital indulging in pleasure and revelry, but suddenly news arrived that Sultan Sa'id had entered the province of Herat Rud on the Langar-i Mir Ghiyath road. Amir Jahanshah was thrown into a sea of consternation, and flames of zeal leapt from within him. Readied for battle, Mirza Pir-Budaq, the eldest of his sons, was dispatched on an advance party, Jahanshah himself following and camping in the village of Yahyaabad. Mirza Pir-Budaq clashed with the scouts of Sultan Sa'id's army, and a group of Turcoman warriors were taken prisoner. Pir-Budaq took flight, returning in confusion to the capital, where he reported what had happened.

Simultaneously an envoy from Azerbaijan arrived with the news that Amirzada Hasan-Ali, another of Amir Jahanshah's sons who had long been in prison, had escaped, seized control of the treasury and was gathering an army. Therefore Amir Jahanshah left to tend to him and sent Sayyid Ashur once more to conclude peace with Sultan Sa'id. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id said, "Between Mirza Jahanshah and ourselves the foundations of peace will be laid when he contents himself with the kingdom of Azerbaijan given him by Mirza Shahrukh. Fars and Iraq must return to the control of our representatives and the Supreme Divan."

After much deliberation and many comings and goings by several envoys, peace was concluded on the following terms. Amir Jahanshah would withdraw from all the realms of Khurasan, Jurjan and Mazanderan without causing devastation and return to Tabriz. Treaties to this effect were concluded, and Amir Jahanshah left Yahyaabad for Azerbaijan.

At the beginning of Safar 863 [December 1458] he marched out of the south of Herat, the village of Murghab and Ziyaratgah, and on Friday the 8th [December 15] Amir Sayyid Asil Arghun and Husayn Dewana's warriors from Sultan Sa'id's camp entered Herat and took control of the town and citadel. Quarter and amnesty were proclaimed to the citizenry, and the banners of justice and equity were unfurled.

MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID COMES TO HERAT A SECOND TIME, AND SOME RULERS' DAYS OF FORTUNE AND LIFE COME TO AN END

When the sun of divine favor rose over the horizon of eternal felicity and brightened Mirza [76] Sultan Abu-Sa'id's eyes by the sight of the withdrawal—if not to say retreat—of Amir Jahanshah to Iraq and Azerbaijan, the royal train marched from Herat Rud and camped at the foot of Mount Mukhtar on Thursday the 14th of Safar [December 21, 1458]. The sayyids, cadis, ulema, lords and nobles who rushed out in greeting were shown favor. The next day the Bagh-i Shahr became the envy of paradise by the royal advent, and as Sultan Sa'id ascended the throne of justice and rule, the fame and magnificence of that sun of the caliphal sphere surpassed Saturn's heaven. Through his zeal to store up heavenly reward and his concern for strengthening the prophetic law, that very day he went to the congregational mosque and, after performing the prayer and offering his petitions, the sermon delivered by the Shaykh al-Islam Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Kusuwi was honored by the royal presence. The *khutba* was again proclaimed with the titles of that exalted prince, and coins were adorned and ornamented with his royal name.

> When the hearts of coins were impressed with the design of his regal name, the sun filled the mouths of coins with gold from his seal.
> When the pulpit was adorned by the *khutba* in his name, Jupiter rained down pearls as tribute over the pulpit.

Since that year much damage had been done to the crops of Khurasan by the passage of the Turcoman armies and other events, a dreadful famine occurred in Herat and environs that winter. It was so bad that innumerable people died for want of food. In an effort to alleviate the suffering of the people, Sultan Sa'id sent most of the army to Transoxiana and opened with the hand of mercy the gates of charity and beneficence to the poor and suffering.

When Mirza Ala'uddawla, Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Sanjar learned that there were but few soldiers remaining, they exchanged envoys and messages and plotted with one another to make war on Sultan Sa'id, meeting in the vicinity of Sarakhs. When Sultan Sa'id learned of this, although at that time there were no more than two thousand armed men at his

disposal, he thought of the words, "Many a small group has defeated a large one," and marched off to dispel his opponents. As a stroke of divine favor, along the way Amir Sayyid Muzid Arghun and Amir Sultan-Ahmad Temürtash from Samarqand joined the royal train with a fierce army.

In the middle of Jumada I [March 1459], between Merv and Sarakhs, the vanguard of Mirza Ala'uddawla, his son and Mirza Sanjar appeared. Battle lines were drawn and a pitched battle ensued. That day the brave sultan's right and left flanks were put to rout by the right and left of the enemy, some of those taking flight not halting until they reached Transoxiana, where they spread the news of the mighty padishah's defeat. [77] After the rout of the right and left flanks, Sultan Sa'id charged with the warriors of his center, unsheathed his blood-thirsty blade in vengeance, spurred his steed heroically and fought like doomsday.

His sword, drunk on pure blood, began to sever heads, and his spear stretched forth in mercilessness while his heart-piercing arrows shot through gore. Hearts were wounded, lives were taken—the wages of thirsty warriors were swords drenched in blood.

Not an hour had passed when the sun of victory came into conjunction with the finial of Sultan Sa'id's standard, and Mirza Ala'uddawla and his son took flight. Mirza Sanjar fell prisoner and was given a draught of martyrdom from the hand of the prefect of wrath. Sultan Sa'id thanked God for his infinite mercy and kindness and sent a notice of victory to all parts of Khurasan and Transoxiana. Amir Ali Farsi and Amir Sayyid Asil were sent in pursuit of Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim, who had fled to Mazniyan in Sabzawar. Sultan Sa'id himself set out for the Badghis winter pasture. There the amirs who had gone in pursuit of the fugitives returned and reported that Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim had left Mazniyan for Bistam and Damghan. Then the royal train went in the embrace of divine favor and camped at the Idgah in Herat, where [the sultan] saw to the completion of that delightful edifice.

THE CONQUEST OF TIRATU CITADEL AND IMAD FORT AND SOME OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE AT THAT TIME

It has been previously reported with what stratagem Berkä overcame the citadel of Tiratu, which was the strongest of all mighty fortresses. For two years, due to the events of interregnum and other reasons, none of the kings or rulers was able to reconquer the fortress until now, when Sultan Sa'id, untroubled by other pretenders to the realm of Khurasan, could turn his attention to a reconquest of that peerless fort.

Amir Sayyid Muzid Arghun and the grand vizier Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad were ordered to Tiratu. They blocked all entrances and exits to the fortress and set an army of officers and soldiers to prepare implements of siege. When they realized that without the keys of divine favor it was not possible to attain their desire, and that it was useless to use force, they withdrew and waited for the power of royal fortune to perform a miracle and the hand of spiteful fate to pour the dust of misfortune upon the head of Berkä the traitor.

In accordance with the Koranic words, [78] "He cast into their hearts terror and dismay,"[105] during those days the inhabitants of the citadel became uneasy, and discord found its way among them. Berkä became mistrustful of his confederates and put a group of them to death. The others, suspicious of him, drew their swords one morning and attacked that old wretch, separating his head at once from his body and dispatching it to Herat. This victory took place near the beginning of

[105]Koran 33:26.

Ramadan 863 [July 1459], and in the middle of that same month Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's death occurred, the details of which are as follows.

When Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim fled from their encounter with Sultan Abu-Sa'id, they reached the vicinity of Damghan. The father and son separated, and Mirza Ibrahim gathered an army from that area and set out for Mashhad. However, along the way he fell ill, and despite the treatment the physicians applied, the brave prince turned his face toward the eternal world. Some of his retinue and faithful followers brought his body to Herat, where it was entrusted to the earth in the Gawharshad Agha mausoleum in Shawwal of that year [August 1459]. Sultan Abu-Sa'id's officers were ordered to perform the funeral rites of Koran recitation and distribution of food.

Also during that year the divine bestower favored Sultan Sa'id with a son. Since the boy was born of Ruqya Sultan Begim, the daughter of Mirza Ala'uddawla, he was named for Mirza Shahrukh.

Also during that year Amir Ali Farsi was ordered to proceed to conquer Imad Fort. Upon his arrival in the area, Muhammad Dewana, who held the fortress on Amir Baba Hasan's behalf, capitulated, and Amir Ali Farsi carried out his instructions to destroy the towers and ramparts of Imad Fort.

Toward the end of the year Mirza Shah-Mahmud b. Mirza Babur, to whom Sistan fell after the withdrawal of Amir Jahanshah's troops, was martyred in the battle that took place between Amir Khalil Hinduka and Amir Baba the governor of Kabul. Also in that battle died Shaykhzada Pir-Qiwam, one of the great Baburid *sadr*s.

THE REALM OF JURJAN IS CONQUERED, AND AMIR KHALIL HINDUKA TRAVERSES THE VALLEY OF REBELLION

At the beginning of 864 [November 1459] a contingent of Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza's army, which had invaded and occupied Jurjan, raided as far as Sabzawar, pillaging and plundering with undeniable power and dominion. When Sultan Sa'id heard this, he set out for Jurjan on Wednesday the 4th of Jumada I [February 26, 1460]. Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza, not considering it politic to engage in battle, retired to Astarabad. Sultan Sa'id spent a few days reveling in Jurjan [79] and then, turning the province over to his eldest son Sultan-Mahmud Mirza, he returned to the capital.

During the absence of the royal train, Amir Khalil Hinduka, a courageous commander who had governed in Sistan from the early days of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur until that time, began to think of independence on account of the mistrust he harbored of Sultan Sa'id and set out for Herat with the army of Nimroz. On the 12th of Ramadan [July 1, 1460] he reached the outskirts of the city and laid siege. Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Barlas, who was governing in the city on behalf of Sultan Sa'id, and the prefect Amir Nazir, along with the sayyids, cadis and leaders, fortified the towers and ramparts and showed their courage and bravery in defending the city and repelling the Sistanis. All day every day Amir Khalil fought, and arrows and stones rained from inside and out, rising and falling like the prayers of holy people. Since Amir Khalil did not have a hair on his head, Mawlana Hasanshah composed a poem, wrote it on a piece of paper, tied it to an arrow and shot it into the camp. Amir Khalil and those present at his assembly were incensed by the verse, which is as follows:

O friends, deliver our message to Amir Khalil.
Say, "If you are intent upon losing your head,
don't give yourself and us a headache every
day but come in celebration, for it is time to
charge the *qabaq*."

One Friday morning that month Amir Khalil and his vast army determined to take Herat, and his men indeed made every effort. They crossed the trench and began to breach the towers and walls and were near to overwhelming the city, but after the Friday prayer the Heratis poured in droves through the city gates and attacked the Sistanis, mingling the dust of the road with the blood of the enemy, and shouting and beating the drums to announce the arrival of Sultan Abu-Sa'id. At this the Sistani soldiers' resolve failed, and Amir Khalil and his followers gave up on taking Herat and fled back to Nimroz.

Sultan Sa'id heard of Amir Khalil's audacity while returning from Astarabad and proceeded as fast as he could, but he reached the capital toward the end of Ramadan, after the Sistanis had fled. He rewarded those who had evidenced bravery and courage in repelling the enemy, and dispatched a brigade to deal with Amir Khalil, commanding them not to return until they had laid him low and taken him captive.

Hearing of the approach of the army, Amir Khalil was terrified. With visions of helplessness and defeat looming before him, he put the ring of servitude to the mighty sultan in his ear and turned the face of supplication toward the royal threshold. In Isfizar he encountered Amir Karimdad, who was on his way to him. As Amir Karimdad had been a friend of Amir Khalil's, he showed him kindness and escorted him to the court of world refuge, where Sultan Sa'id drew a line of pardon and forgiveness across the pages of his offenses. Amir Khalil rubbed his forehead in supplication before the throne [80] and was restored to the rank of amir. The governance of Sistan was transferred to Shah Yahya, a son of one of the *maliks* of the region, and Amir Khalil retired to his inherited estates, where his fortune took a turn for the better.

OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE; AMIR KHALIL IS KILLED IN ASTARABAD

At the beginning of 865 [October 1460] Mirza Ala'uddawla, who had wandered in destitution through the mountains and deserts after his battle with Sultan Sa'id, died in Qulzum in the house of Malik Besutun Rustamdari. On Friday eve the 21st of the month [November 6, 1460] his body was brought to Herat and laid to rest in Gawharshad Agha's Madrasa. His daughter, Ruqya Sultan Begim, the wife of Sultan Sa'id, performed the rites of mourning and feeding the poor.

Concurrently news arrived from Transoxiana that Mirza Muhammad-Juki b. Mirza Abdul-Latif had rebelled at the instigation of Amir Nur Sa'id, a protégé of Sultan Sa'id, and was pillaging and plundering throughout the province. Therefore on the 28th of Jumada I [March 11, 1461] the sultan set out for Transoxiana, and Mirza Muhammad-Juki, merely hearing that the imperial army was approaching, took flight and holed up in the citadel at Shahrukhiyya. Sultan Sa'id crossed the Oxus and hastened to Samarqand, where he indulged in pleasure for a few days before setting out for Shahrukhiyya. Arriving in the vicinity of the mighty citadel, the retainers of the invincible retinue kindled the fire of battle, shooting arrows and dealing with the enemy from dawn to sunset.

When the face of victory had almost smiled upon the triumphant padishah, an envoy from Khurasan arrived and reported that Sultan-Husayn Mirza had taken Jurjan and was intent upon taking Khurasan. Hearing this news, Sultan Sa'id grew irate and sent Amir Sayyid Asil Arghun and Amir Sayyid Murad to defend the borders. With the speed of lightning the amirs crossed the Oxus, entered Khurasan and hastened to Nishapur and Sabzawar. From there, verifying Mirza Sultan-Husayn's intent, they retreated to Herat, brought the people of the

outlying districts into the city and readied themselves to defend the citadel.

Mirza Sultan-Husayn arrived outside the city just after them, and battle erupted. When Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id heard that Herat was being besieged, he concluded a truce with Mirza Muhammad-Juki, crossed the Oxus and rode without stopping to Maymana and Faryab. Hearing of his approach, Mirza Sultan-Husayn withdrew from Herat and went to Sutuki (?) [81] to meet the padishah. From there he set out for Astarabad via Sarakhs, with Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id hastening behind him to Jurjan. Mirza Sultan-Husayn advanced as far as Kharaskhana and from there, on a rainy night as dark and black as an infidel's heart, he rode without stopping to Awaq. Sultan Sa'id stopped in Gul Afshan at Astarabad and passed a few days in pleasure.

At that time Amir Khalil Hinduka was requited for his evil deeds, and Sultan Sa'id announced his indifference whether Amir Khalil lived or died. The details of this are as follows.

Although Amir Khalil had given up the rule of Sistan, taken refuge at court and joined the retinue, he constantly dreamed of independence and, plotting to fell the sapling of the sultan's fortune, he bided his time waiting for an opportunity. Several times his intentions were made manifestly clear, but Sultan Sa'id promoted him, thinking that perhaps he would find his way from the valley of falsehood to the highway of fidelity. This, however, only served to make Amir Khalil more duplicitous, and on the night that most of the brave men of the royal train were in pursuit of Mirza Sultan-Husayn, he decided to reveal what was hidden in the recesses of his mind. Going to Sultan Sa'id, he said with great exaggeration, "It would be appropriate for you to go yourself in pursuit of the enemy."

His Majesty perceived what was in that traitor's mind and replied, "Khalil Beg, it is not usual for sultans to pursue their opponents by night." Thereupon the sultan ordered the great amirs in Astarabad to seize Amir Khalil and put him to death. On the pretext of a council meeting, they took him to the booty room and killed him then and there. His sons too were dispatched immediately after him.

Then Sultan Sa'id once again assigned Jurjan to Mirza Sultan-Mahmud and returned to Khurasan, arriving at the Bagh-i Safed on the 22nd of Rabi' II 866 [January 24, 1462].

During those days the splendid sultan undertook an investigation of various people, and it became clear that Khwaja Mu'izzuddin the vizier had extorted vast sums from the people of Khurasan during the absence of the royal train on the pretext of raising money for the army. The fire of royal anger blazed, and an order was issued that the vizier be bound hand and foot and thrown into a cauldron of boiling water until the spark of his life was extinguished. The order was carried out at the foot of Ikhtiyaruddin Citadel.

Exuding favor, the just padishah nourished the garden of hope of the citizenry and ordered that henceforth no one was to make demands for the army on the citizens of Herat and outlying districts. A decree to this effect was carved in stone and set up in the congregational mosque of Herat.

Also at that time Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus Simnani, Khwaja Isma'il Kürk (?) the vizier and Khwaja Muzaffar Mukhtar were deposed from office for shortcomings and malfeasance. It is said that when [82] Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad the divan chief heard the news of Khwaja Mu'izzuddin's being boiled and Khwaja Muzaffar's deposition, he fainted in dread of being punished by the sultan. Mawlana Hasanshah the poet composed this verse in that regard:

When they seized Muzaffar and scalded
Mu'izzuddin, Khwaja Shamsuddin
Muhammad fainted dead away.

SULTAN SA'ID GOES TO TURKISTAN A SECOND TIME, AND OTHER EVENTS

When Sultan Abu-Sa'id returned from the Mazanderan campaign, he spent some time in Herat. Envoys were constantly coming to court from Transoxiana with reports that Mirza Muhammad-Juki had rebelled again, and so the world conqueror focused his attention upon uprooting the sapling of that prince's fortune and marched from Herat on the 27th of Jumada I [February 27, 1462] for Transoxiana. When he reached Balkh he stayed there for a time. On the 9th of Rajab [April 9, 1462] the invincible banners crossed the Oxus, and he arrived in Samarqand. From there he proceeded to Shahrukhiyya, where the towers and ramparts were seen to be strong. A detachment of officers and soldiers was ordered to make ready implements of siege, and he returned to Samarqand.

While the padishah was in Transoxiana, the plague broke out in Khurasan, especially in Herat and outlying districts, and the people were thrown into confusion, a great many of them taking up eternal residence in the earth.

At the beginning of 867 [September 1462] Sultan Sa'id once again went from Samarqand to the citadel at Shahrukhiyya and laid siege. For nearly a year there was no victory, but after that the inhabitants of the citadel were reduced to desperation when their supplies ran out, and Mirza Muhammad-Juki sent messengers to Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah to negotiate a truce and request the sultan to pardon his offense. The khwaja agreed to the prince's request and went to Sultan Sa'id's camp, asking for amnesty for the residents of the citadel. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id accepted the holy man's intercession, and the khwaja went to Shahrukhiyya. On Friday the 9th of Muharram 867 [October 4, 1462] Mirza Muhammad-Juki was taken before Sultan Sa'id, who received the prince kindly and then returned to Samarqand. From there he set out for the capital, where he arrived triumphantly at the Bagh-i Safed on the 22nd of Rabi' II [January 14, 1463]. Mirza Muhammad-Juki was imprisoned in Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, where he remained until he died. [83]

This campaign had lasted for over a year, and when Sultan Sa'id returned he ordered an audit of accounts. Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus, Khwaja Isma'il, Khwaja Ni'matullah and Mawlana Amir presented the ledgers that they had filed, but Sultan Sa'id did not approve of the great viziers' transactions, dismissed Khwaja Taus and threw Khwaja Isma'il into chains. When it came Khwaja Ni'matullah's turn to be questioned, he informed on Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, who said, "I did take something for my services to the citizens, nobles and lords of Khurasan, but I never touched the royal property."

Sultan Sa'id said, "I forgive you for whatever you have taken from anybody, and I dismiss you from office because from time to time viziers are subject to my wrath. However, on account of the good services you have rendered, I am not going to harm you." When the khwaja heard this, he knelt, removed his ring from his finger, placed it on a corner of the throne and withdrew and stood in his place. Apparently no vizier has ever been so lightly dismissed from office.

In 869 [1464] Sultan Sa'id decided to winter in Merv, and the couriers took the news to officers and soldiers, the invincible banners moving out at the end of Rabi' II [end of December 1464]. Prince Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was left as governor of Herat to tend to affairs. Sultan Sa'id stayed in the town of Panj Deh for ten days, and at the beginning of Jumada I he arrived at his winter quarters, spending that winter in great success and good fortune. When spring was approaching and the equinox was at hand he returned to the capital, arriving at the Bagh-i Safed on Friday the 2nd of Sha'-

ban [March 30, 1465], when the sun was in the 17th degree of Aries.

During 870 the royal constitution lost its equilibrium to an illness, but when health was regained by the decree of the Absolute Physician, he forgave the peasantry and farmers of Khurasan the fruit tax, and thus the saplings and shoots of the people's hopes and expectations flourished "as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven."[106]

Also during that year a new rose blossomed by divine favor in the garden of fortune, and the necklace of the padishah's offspring was ornamented by a precious new pearl. At the beginning of Shawwal a boy was born in Sultan Sa'id's harem, and he was named Mirza Baysunghur. When His Majesty's eyes were brightened by the sight of that darling, he ordered a pavilion set up for the circumcision of the rest of the princes.

In accordance with the command, a pavilion was erected in the Bagh-i Zaghan, and the high domes and tall arches of that paradisiacal garden were bedecked with silks from Rûm and brocades from China. [84] Each guild also made a spectacular exhibit in line with its craft and thus displayed its skill.

That year the [greatest] craftsmen in the world were in the capital of Khurasan, and they all produced marvelous things with their powerful minds and talent for intricacy. Among them, Khwaja Ali Arizagar of Isfahan produced on a glass [vessel representations of] the thirty-two different craftsmen who exist in the workshop of creation such that the thirty-two shops and workrooms were open and each craftsman was [shown] occupied with his own particular task. Some of the images of those who have need of movement in their craft, such as the tailor, mattress-maker, carpenter and smith, were drawn with the brush depicting their movement in such a configuration that no more beautiful picture could be reflected in the mirror of the imagination.

When Sultan Sa'id viewed that strange display he marveled greatly and rewarded that rarity of the age with various praise and beneficence. The assembly of pleasure and revelry begun, joy-giving vermilion wine watered the gardens of enjoyment, and the enchanting melodies of minstrels drew back the veil of sorrow from the hearts of all. Silvery-limbed cupbearers illuminated the assemblies of intimacy with the radiance of their cheeks, which were the envy of the Garden of Iram, and with brimful goblets they intoxicated bowed-backed old men and clothed them with the garments of the days of youth. Attendants of the royal threshold presented several times a day more varied foods than could fit into the scope of imagination. From the beginning of Shawwal until Friday the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja the festival and celebration continued, with king and beggar, young and old enjoying themselves and reveling. On that day a great feast was given, and the exalted princes were circumcised according to the rites of the Islamic religion.

Thereafter the mighty padishah turned his attention to weighty affairs of rule, and the court servants rolled up the carpet of play and sport.

In 871 [1466–67] Sultan Sa'id passed his days at the height of glory and magnificence in Herat. Once again the rays of royal favor encompassed Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus, who was reinstated as overseer to the Supreme Divan.

In 872 [1467–68] the emperor wintered in Merv, where he spread the carpet of enjoyment and raised the tent of might. He was still at the winter station when news of Amir Jahanshah's death arrived, and he set out for Azerbaijan.

Alas, he shall not return.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF AMIR JAHANSHAH AND MIRZA PIR-BUDAQ, AND HOW

[106]Koran 14:24.

BOTH FATHER AND SON WERE KILLED BY DIVINE DECREE

It has previously been reported of the rulers of Azerbaijan and Iraq that when the sun of Mirza Muhammad b. Baysunghur's fortune fell from the apex of perfection to the apogee of misfortune, [85] and the wind of fate uprooted the tree of his life at Chanaran, the finial atop Amir Muzaffaruddin Jahanshah's standard of world conquest rose to the pinnacle of power, and all the realms of Azerbaijan, the two Iraqs, Fars, the coast of the Oman Sea, Armenia and Georgia were subjugated by that puissant padishah. Commanders and rulers of all parts and the mighty of all regions obeyed his command, paid tribute to him and were honored by his attention and favor—all except Amir Hasan Beg,[107] son of Amir Ali son of Amir Qara Uthman. He held several fortresses in Diyar Bakr and, refusing to submit to Amir Jahanshah, had constant ambitions of autonomy. This was vexing to Amir Jahanshah, who was always thinking how to deal with him, but Amir Hasan Beg's fortresses were so fast and strong that he could not bring his wish to fruition. In the midst of these affairs an event appeared from behind the curtain of destiny, and the hand of divine fate rolled up the carpet of Jahanshah's security. The details are as follows.

Mirza Pir-Budaq was the bravest and eldest of Amir Jahanshah's sons, and he ruled powerfully as his father's regent in Fars. When the affair between Sultan Sa'id and Amir Jahanshah in Khurasan was concluded in peace, Pir-Budaq returned to Shiraz via Tabas and Yazd. With fantasies and vain dreams he deviated from subservience to his father, but several times Jahanshah sent envoys and messages to his son and advised him to return to obedience, cautioning him of the dire results of opposition. However, Pir-Budaq did not accept this advice and absolutely did not budge from his obstinacy. Finally Amir Jahanshah's wife, Pir-Budaq's mother, went to Shiraz and counseled her rebellious son to give up Fars and accept the rule of Baghdad. This done, Jahanshah ceased to worry. Shiraz was given to another son, Amirzada Yusuf, and Pir-Budaq settled in Baghdad. Within a short time he had made Arabian Iraq flourish, but the vision of union with the bride of Shiraz would not leave his mind, and in his grief he constantly harassed the borders of Jahanshah's territory and engaged in various acts of enmity and aggression. No matter how many times Amir Jahanshah winked royally at these acts and gave advice through messengers to his unwise son, it was to no avail: the self-willed prince would not cease his opposition and rebellion. Consequently Amir Jahanshah decided to uproot the sapling of his son's fortune. In 870 [1465–66] he marched with a large army to Baghdad. Mirza Pir-Budaq made fast the towers and ramparts of the city and got ready for a siege. Amir Jahanshah laid siege, but Baghdad was so strong and the prince's followers were so courageous that for a year no victory was won.

At that time the army of Iraq and [86] Azerbaijan fought hard from dawn to dusk, while Mirza Pir-Budaq and the Baghdadis defended themselves to the best of their ability with great manliness and bravery. Finally well-being turned its back on the Baghdadis, and great drought and scarcity of goods occurred and famine spread. Those who had never eaten lamb without delicate herbs now boiled rotten meat to eat, and those who had been too dainty to touch sugary sweets were now reduced to killing dogs and cats. The Baghdadis at their wit's end, their cries and wails rising to highest heaven, sent representatives to Jahanshah and sought amnesty. Amnesty was

[107] Usually known by his sobriquet, Uzun Hasan of the Aqqoyunlu dynasty, ruled 857–82/1453–78.

granted, the gates were opened, and the hungry population rushed joyfully to Amir Jahanshah's camp. Pir-Budaq Mirza, on the other hand, withdrew his feet into the skirt of dignity and gravity and sat in his quarters, imagining that his father would never attack him. Just at that time Amir Jahanshah assigned another of his sons, Muhammadi, along with some amirs, the task of killing Pir-Budaq. Faces masked and swords drawn, they attacked the prince. Muhammadi intentionally stuck his sword into the wall, and the others finished off the prince. This deed, however, was not a good omen for Amir Jahanshah, for the people were horrified and ceased to follow him.

When the mighty padishah no longer had to worry about his son, he concentrated on repelling Amir Hasan Beg and set out for Diyar Bakr. When Amir Hasan Beg learned of Jahanshah's approach, he realized that he did not have the power to resist and so withdrew to an impregnable mountain summit. Amir Jahanshah went to the plain between Mush and Erzurum and camped near Amir Hasan Beg. The clever Amir Hasan Beg sent unctuous envoys to the padishah of Azerbaijan with humble messages. Amir Jahanshah attributed this to Hasan Beg's weakness and stayed there during the heat of summer. When autumn came and the cold of winter kept the soldiers from remaining there any longer, they begged permission to withdraw. The Turcoman prince gave permission, and he and his retinue reveled there for a few days.

Amir Hasan Beg learned of his enemy's inattentiveness and the dire state of the army, and with two thousand horsemen he set out to attack Amir Jahanshah. He reached the outskirts of the camp at dawn, and when the few Turcomans who were awake realized that the enemy was upon them, they began to flounder like fish caught in a net. Mirza Muhammad[i] and Mirza Yusuf went out to battle, but they were unable to withstand a single attack. Returning to camp, they informed their father of this terrible event. Amir Jahanshah was getting into his mail and had strapped on one of his knee guards when the news was announced. Without attaching the other knee piece, he jumped on his horse and galloped off in flight. That very moment Amir Hasan Beg entered the camp, took Muhammadi and Yusuf prisoner and killed a number of Azerbaijani officers.

As Amir Jahanshah was fleeing, an obscure soldier named Iskandar happened upon him. [87] Desirous of his horse and clothes, he killed him and returned to camp without anyone learning of this affair.

Amir Hasan Beg mounted a search for his enemy, and during the search the head of a guard who resembled Amir Jahanshah was brought in as the shah's head. Amir Hasan Beg sent it to Muhammadi and Yusuf Beg to ask whose head it was. They replied, "It is the head of the guard who resembled our father." Again Amir Hasan Beg mounted the search. Someone reported that a soldier who was wearing regal garments might have some knowledge of Amir Jahanshah. Amir Hasan Beg summoned Iskandar and asked, "Where did you get these clothes?" He answered that he had killed a person of a certain description in a certain place and that the clothes had been his. Amir Hasan Beg immediately sent a courier there to sever the head from the corpse and bring it in, and it was obvious that it was Amir Jahanshah, for which Amir Hasan Beg thanked God. He had Muhammadi shot and Mirza Yusuf blinded.

When fortune forsook that family, one was killed and another was blinded.

NEWS OF AMIR JAHANSHAH'S DEATH IS REPORTED TO MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID KÜRÄGÄN, AND THAT EXALTED PADISHAH SETS OUT FOR IRAQ AND AZERBAIJAN

When the sun of Abu'l-Nasr Amir Hasan Beg's fortune began its triumphal rise, and Amir Jahanshah had been disposed of as reported, the amirs and soldiers of Iraq and Azerbaijan turned hopefully to Amirzada Hasan-Ali,[108] the eldest [remaining] of Jahanshah's sons. Opening the doors of the treasury, he paid the stipends of 180,000 horsemen. Apparently no prince before has ever been able to do this, and no historian has ever written of such a thing.

Amirzada Hasan-Ali laid plans for making war with that army and sent a message to the court of Sultan Sa'id begging the invincible banners to march to Iraq and Azerbaijan in order that he might gird his loins in service and turn over to the servants of the caliphal threshold the keys to the realm and its fortresses. When he heard this news, the sultan was overjoyed and ordered the armies of the protected realm gathered. Since this exalted padishah had always made his decisions by consultation with the holy Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah, he sent Mirak Kamaluddin Abdul-Rahim the *sadr* to meet with him in Samarqand. The khwaja agreed to the sultan's proposal and went to Merv, where Sultan Abu-Sa'id discussed an Iraq-Azerbaijan campaign with the [88] saint. After much deliberation a favorable decision was made, and Khwaja Ubaydullah returned to Transoxiana while Sultan Abu-Sa'id set out toward the end of Pisces, or the beginning of Sha'ban 872 [end of February 1468], from his winter quarters for Azerbaijan and Iraq with a multitudinous and well equipped army. Along the way he visited saints' and shaykhs' shrines in every city and region he came to and made entreaty for success. To the same end he distributed charity and alms to the poor and deserving. When the sun had reached its height and the designer of vegetation had made the vast plains and wildernesses the envy of the Gallery of China with blossoming flowers and herbs, the victorious standard was planted in Radkan Meadow, where the army camped for several days. From there they marched to Kalpush.

During this march the world-famous and renowned of Fars and Iraq turned in hope to the royal court, and at every station hosts of rulers and learned men paid homage. At Kalpush the padishah assigned a group of amirs and trusted men to take control of the area and sent them off. Among them, the administrator and soldier Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad went to Isfahan, and Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad, son of Amir Ali Farsi Barlas, went to Shiraz. Amir Jalaluddin Mahmud Barlas took the governance of Kerman, and Amir Sayyid Muhammad, the brother of Amir Sayyid Murad, undertook to rule Qazwin and Sultaniyya. Hamadan and Dargazin were assigned to Amir Husayn-Ali Qauchin, and Amir Qaraman Shaykh was appointed to Yazd. Each of the above-mentioned went to his assigned post, and divine favor so shone upon the padishah's wishes that most of the realm of Iraq came into the powerful grasp of the sultan's servants.

From the time that Amir Hasan Beg had ceased to worry about Amir Jahanshah until the royal train camped in Kalpush, several times Amir Hasan Beg's envoys had come to the court to reaffirm his loyalty and fidelity. Through these amirs the following was said to the royal ears, "The sons of Amir Qara Yusuf will never be sincere in their loyalty to or stable in their support of the house of Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän—unlike this servant, who, like his fathers and forefathers, has ever trod the path of sincerity and loyalty and has never allowed a rebellious thought to cross his mind."

At Kalpush Sultan Sa'id gave the envoys a banquet and rewarded them. For Amir Hasan Beg he sent a gold-embroidered *dägälä*, a *nawrozi* hat and a jewel-

[108] Hasan-Ali's name is consistently misspelled as Husayn-Ali in the text. See Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, p. 109.

studded sword belt, saying, "Amir Hasan Beg must march with his army from that side when the invincible army moves from this side so that together we can put an end to these people of obstinacy."

Amirzada Hasan-Ali's envoys also brought many gifts and presents, coins, and innumerable jewels to court [89] and expressed their servitude and submission, saying on behalf of their prince, "The kingdom of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Fars and their dependencies, with all their abundant treasures, are under my control, and what is under my control I consider to belong to that victorious padishah. 'We and all we possess are yours.' It is hoped that your favorable glance will not be withheld from this miserable one and that you will make it your exalted ambition to repel the enemy, who martyred my father with the sword of mutiny." Sultan Sa'id also received these envoys favorably and gave them permission to withdraw, saying, "The world-conquering banner is headed for Azerbaijan. After our arrival, whatever is politic will be done."

During those very days the royal train moved from Kalpush and camped in Rayy. From there Amir Muzid set out with a band of amirs as an advance party and galloped into Tabriz. Simultaneously Amirzada Hasan-Ali was vanquished.

AMIRZADA HASAN-ALI, VANQUISHED AT MARAND, JOINS THE FELICITOUS SULTAN

When Sultan Sa'id made camp at Rayy, Amirzada Hasan-Ali, son of Amir Jahanshah, was camped at Marand, planning to do battle with Amir Hasan Beg. When news of the approach of the enemy was announced, Amir Shah-Ali, Amir Ibrahimshah and a group of court amirs were dispatched as a vanguard. That group disregarded their obligations to Jahanshah and went to Amir Hasan Beg. When the news of these amirs' faithlessness and the approach of Sultan Sa'id's army to Tabriz was heard in Amirzada Hasan-Ali's camp, the men panicked so that they could not be organized. Some of the soldiers joined Amir Hasan Beg's camp, and many of them took refuge with Sultan Sa'id, whose vision of subjugating Azerbaijan took a firmer hold on reality than before. He hastened from Rayy to Sultaniyya, and just as the royal train arrived, a report from Amir Muzid and the other amirs who had gone to Tabriz was received, saying, "Amir Hasan Beg had twisted his neck free from the noose of obedience and has sent us a decree that says, 'The Chaghatay amirs must leave Tabriz, for I have given that city to my son Ughurlu Muhammad.' As a consequence it is imperative that the royal army proceed as fast as possible to this region in order to gain our objective."

However, when Amir Hasan Beg heard that Sultan Sa'id was camped at Sultaniyya, he went out eight parasangs from Tabriz to Qara Bagh. Sultan Sa'id sent Pahlawan Yusuf Shirazi as prefect of Tabriz and hastened from Sultaniyya [90] to Miyana, where Amirzada Hasan-Ali, his son Sultan-Ali, his brother Amirzada Yusuf Makhul and a large contingent of Turcoman amirs with nearly fifty thousand soldiers came to the royal camp. Sultan Sa'id allowed Amir Jahanshah's sons the honor of kissing his hand and treated them well, creating hope in them with pleasing promises. Meanwhile Amir Hasan Beg sent his nephew Yusuf Beg as emissary to the court. Sultan Sa'id held a magnificent assembly during which the great amirs introduced Yusuf Beg with all honors. As ordered, he knelt twenty-seven times before he was allowed to kiss the king's hand. Through the amirs Yusuf Beg said on behalf of his uncle, "For nearly a century our fathers have been supporters of the house of Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Küräg̈an. Now this devotee too, maintaining that path, has wrenched Fars and Iraq from the enemy and set them before the appointees of the court. It is hoped that I will be allowed to

spend the winter here in this swamp and permitted, when winter is over and the snows are melted, to return to Diyar Bakr." Amir Hasan Beg also sent a petition by Yusuf Beg in which he expressed the same wish and included the following line of poetry:

If you desire your beloved not to break his promise, see that he keeps his end of the bargain.

In short, when Sultan Sa'id heard Amir Hasan Beg's message, he answered, "The royal train is headed for that region. When we arrive we shall do what is in our best interests." To deliver this message to Amir Hasan Beg he sent his aunt's son Mirza Mahmud Khwaja-Laq with Yusuf Beg. When Mirza Mahmud reached Amir Hasan Beg's camp, Hasan Beg held regal court, set up a golden throne on which he seated Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad (b. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur) and took his place with all magnificence on the left. The amirs and commanders of the army were ordered to stand fully armed and in full regalia in their respective places. Then Mirza Mahmud was given audience. Entering the assembly with all pomp and show, he knelt several times. At Amir Hasan Beg's order, he was presented first to Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad and then was allowed to kiss Amir Hasan Beg's hand. He reported what he had to say and was given an answer. Two or three days later he returned.

THE WIND OF DISPERSAL AND CONFUSION BLOWS OVER THE ARMY OF THE PADISHAH OF IRAN AND TURAN, AND THE LAMP OF THE KHURASANIS' SPLENDOR IS EXTINGUISHED NEAR QARA BAGH, ARRAN

Good fortune in this vale of sorrow is as transitory as the sun, and the sun of splendor and might is ever on the verge of passing away, like the shadow of sorrow. When it is God's wish that royal fortune change, stability cannot be maintained by an army, no matter how huge; and when the divine will settles upon the dispersal of world-conquering forces, [91] they cannot be held together by any strategy of the clever or wise.

When God desires to change fortune, his decree will be done.
How can a kingdom remain without divine judgment? Stratagem avails not, for divine judgment is absolute.

When the Lord of All destined that the edifice of Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's life would collapse, despite his many warriors and champions and many implements of war, he gained no victory in Azerbaijan, and the breeze of triumph and conquest blew through the furls of Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg's banner in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Victory is from God alone."[109] Divine favor opened the gates of rule and dominion to that sun of the sphere of success as follows.

While the sultan of the age was camped at Miyana with so many soldiers that it resembled the day of resurrection, all at once the troops of cold and ice swept down upon the world in pillage and plunder, and the prince of the stars threw an ermine cloud over his shoulders and refused to budge from his azure tent in fear of the cold. Therefore Sultan Sa'id summoned his amirs and *noyans* to discuss the selection of a place to spend the winter. All agreed that Amir Hasan Beg should be driven from Qara Bagh and that the mighty padishah should spend the winter there in his stead. To that end the army marched, and when they had camped within seven parasangs of Qara Bagh, the lords of strategy thought that, as they were low on supplies, it would be best to go to Mahmudabad so that the Shirvanshah, who always professed his

[109]Koran 8:10.

support, might join the royal camp. To that end they marched and reached a plain where the grass was poisonous, and every quadruped that ate it fell prey to the claws of the wolf of death. When the Mahmudabad plain became the royal campsite, drought and scarcity reached such a degree that the price of a maund of wheat rose to ten Kepeki dinars.

Amir Hasan Beg was in control of the roads and did not allow anyone to go to the royal camp from Khurasan, Iraq or Fars. However, for a few days much food was taken to the camp from Shirvan by boat, but by that time the Khurasani soldiers' horses had grown very weak and the Turcomans, whose mounts were rested and fat, constantly attacked the perimeter of the camp and killed everyone they encountered. After some time had passed in this manner, the Shirvanshah rebelled under threat from Amir Hasan Beg, and this caused the royal train to move from Mahmudabad to Ardabil. Along the way they reached a place full of mud, and many horses and pack animals sank into the quagmire of death. King and soldier managed with great cunning to pass through and reach a place called Tabtan to camp. On Thursday the 12th of Rajab 873 [January 26, 1469] Amir Sayyid Murad set out on a scouting party for Amir Hasan Beg's camp, but on the road he encountered four hundred armed horsemen. Their commander, Amir Beg Türkmän, rode forward and said to Sayyid Murad, "Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id has turned a hundred-year-old enemy into a friend and a hundred-year-old friend into a enemy. Now, without [92] making either war or peace, where is he going? Tomorrow his great amirs must come, and Amir Hasan Beg will also send his advisors and counselors to discuss peace."

Sayyid Murad turned back, and the next day Amir Sayyid Muzid went out with a large group of high-ranking amirs, and the Turcomans came out to the place they had been the day before. When Amir Muzid saw that he outnumbered the Turcomans, he attacked them with misplaced confidence and scattered the party. No matter how often Amir Sultan Arghun urged and said, "These people have reinforcements. We must stop," Amir Muzid refused to listen to him and pursued the fleeing group for several parasangs.

Meanwhile Amir Hasan Beg emerged with two or three thousand armed horsemen from an ambush and attacked the Khurasan party. Sultan Junayd, Pahlawan Husayn Dewana, Husayn-Ali Arlat, Sher-Muhammad Baghdadi, Pir-Muhammad Qorchï and nearly five hundred outstanding men were killed. Amir Sayyid Muzid was taken prisoner, and the rest of the soldiers returned to Sultan Sa'id's camp. Amirzada Sultan-Ali, the son of Sultan Hasan-Ali Mirza, fled to Hamadan, where he was killed. His son was at that time in Tabriz.

When news of this catastrophe was heard in the royal camp, In desperation Sultan Sa'id sent Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad, whose fathers and forefathers had been rulers of Mazanderan, to Amir Hasan Beg to negotiate a peace. After him he even sent his mother on the same mission, accompanied by Sayyid Sadruddin Ibrahim of Qum. Amir Hasan Beg showed much respect for the great sayyids and the queen mother, having decided in his own mind that he would give a favorable reply to whatever they might say to lay the foundations of harmony and accord; but suddenly Sayyid Ardabili, who had been sent by Amir Hasan Beg as an envoy to the royal camp, returned and reported that the Khurasanis were in dire straits and that under no circumstances should he agree to a truce because they would soon be forced to retreat in utter disgrace. Therefore Amir Hasan Beg sent the queen mother and Sayyid Sadruddin Ibrahim back unsuccessful and rewarded Amir Ghiyathuddin

Muhammad by appointing him governor of Sari.

THE HORRIBLE DEATH OF SULTAN SA'ID MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID

When Sayyid Sadruddin Ibrahim of Qum and the queen mother returned to the foot of the throne they had scarcely finished speaking when the vanguard of Amir Hasan Beg's army appeared. Some of the amirs of Khurasan left their stations and treacherously joined the enemy. Therefore Sultan Sa'id, at noon on the 16th of Rajab [January 30, 1469], beset by trial and tribulation, took flight. Amir Hasan Beg's two sons lit out in pursuit, caught him and brought him at midnight to their father's camp, where he was turned over to the guards for safekeeping. Two days later Amir Hasan Beg mounted the throne of fortune and victory and summoned that mighty padishah. As he approached the court, [Amir Hasan Beg] performed the honorific rituals, sat him in the place to which he claimed right, and then loosed his tongue in castigation and invective. Sultan Sa'id gave a reply that was appropriate to the situation [93] and withdrew to the assembly.

Amir Hasan Beg did not want to harm the exalted prince. On the contrary, his plan was to give him his arms and send him back to Khurasan. However, after much discussion, he gave in, at the instigation of the cadi of Shirvan and with the approval of a group of Turcoman amirs, to end that manifestation of justice and beneficence. On the 22nd of Rajab [February 5, 1469] the guards took Sultan Sa'id to see Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad. The prince greeted him, and the two padishahs embraced each other. Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad entered his tent, and the guards took Sultan Sa'id back [to his quarters], where they executed him.

Alas for that shah of exalted lineage, the likes of whom for justice was never born in the world. His life's blood was shed by the sword of vengeance, and of him nothing more than a legend remains. There is nothing in this wilderness but the dust of beauties; there is nothing in this cauldron but the blood of kings. The world, with all its beauty and comeliness, is not worth the pain and suffering it inflicts.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF WHAT BEFELL THE COMMANDERS AND ARMY OF KHURASAN AFTER THE PADISHAH'S RETREAT

When Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id retreated in defeat, it was as though doomsday had befallen the army camp: indeed the purport of the words "on that day shall a man fly from his brother, and his mother, and his father, and his wife, and his children"[110] was manifested, and the cries and shrieks of young and old alike arose to the porticos of heaven.

Helpless at resurrection—no way to escape, no thought of flight.

That very moment Amir Hasan Beg's soldiers, fatal spears in hand and blood-spewing arrows to bow, attacked and began to pillage and plunder, dispersing and devastating Turk and Tajik alike. However, the padishah's tents and court enclosure were still intact when Abu'l-Nasr Muzaffaruddin Amir Hasan Beg arrived and, stopping mounted at the gate to the enclosure, forbade the Turcomans to commit untoward acts. He appointed eunuchs and guards to protect the harem as usual, and after the treasures and valuables had been secured, he turned his attention to other affairs and stopped the soldiers who were being overzealous in plundering and taking prisoners by ordering several of them to be shot. He commanded the Turcomans of Azerbaijan and the *yasaqis* of Khurasan to withdraw from the camp and the martyred padishah's commanders and soldiers to gather under Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad's pro-

[110] Koran 80:34.

tection. He gave amnesty and opened the gates of mercy and clemency to most of the dignitaries. Among the great amirs and highly-placed *sadrs*, Amir Sayyid Muzid Arghun, Amir Mahmud Musaka, Amir Ahmad Yar, Mirak Abdul-Karim, Mirak Abdul-Rahim Sadr, Amir Abdul-Wahhab, and Mawlana Qutbuddin Tabib were put in chains and bonds. **[94]** In the end Mirak Abdul-Rahim was executed on account of some seditious things he had said, but the rest of the prisoners were released—some choosing to join Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad's service, while others headed to Khurasan. Most of the soldiers returned to their homes via Shirvan and Gilan. Of Sultan Abu-Sa'id's viziers, Khwaja Burhanuddin Abdul-Hamid, who had joined Amir Hasan Beg's service, was given the post of overseer of the divan. Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, who had been ruling in Isfahan, went to the victorious padishah's court when he heard of his triumph and became a vizier. Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus, who had been a collector of revenue in Iraq, obtained permission to go to Khurasan....[111]

THE DISCOVERY OF THE HEAVENLY SHRINE ATTRIBUTED TO THE KING OF MEN IN THE VILLAGE OF KHWAJA KHAYRAN

In the year 885 [1480], when Mirza Bayqara had **[172]** unfurled the banner of rule and governance in Balkh, there emerged from the realm of the unseen a wonderful occurrence, a compendious description of which follows.

A mystic, Shamsuddin Muhammad by name, whose lineage went back to the great saint Abu-Yazid Bistami, went during the aforementioned year from Kabul to Balkh. There granted an interview with Mirza Bayqara, he produced a history composed during the time of Sultan Sanjar b. Malikshah the Seljuq, in which it was written that the tomb of the King of Saints, the Conquering Lion of God, Prince of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi-Talib was in a certain place in the village of Khwaja Khayran. Accordingly Mirza Bayqara gathered the sayyids, cadis and nobles of Balkh and, taking counsel with them, went to that village, which was three parasangs from Balkh. In the very place indicated in the book he found a dome in which there was a tomb. He ordered the tomb excavated, and when, in obedience to his command, a little had been dug away, suddenly a tablet of white stone appeared on which was written: "This is the tomb of the Lion of God, brother of God's Apostle, Ali Friend of God." Of course, great shouts from all present went up to highest heaven, and everyone rubbed the forehead of supplication in that sacred dust and distributed alms to the poor.

As news of this [discovery] spread far and wide, those afflicted with chronic disease turned hopefully to that threshold to paradise. As related by those who were there, many of that group were immediately cured, returning to their homes with their wishes fulfilled. Naturally more throngs of common and elite alike gathered at that sacred spot than could be imagined, and so much money and valuables were brought as propitiatory gifts that the mind would be dazzled by the very existence of so much gold and jewelry.

When Mirza Bayqara realized the situation, he sent a courier on wings of lightning to the capital, Herat, to give a report to the court officials. When His Victorious Majesty learned of the contents of the report, he was astonished by such an occurrence and, girding his loins with the pilgrim's garb, set out for that focal point of hopes and desires with a host of offi-

[111] Here are omitted some 75 pages of text dealing with Sultan-Husayn Mirza's early career, which was adequately described in the readings from Dawlatshah. The remaining sections deal with events during Sultan-Husayn Mirza's reign and the Uzbek invasion of Herat after Sultan-Husayn's death.

cials. Upon arrival he performed the rites of supplication and devotion and had a dome of consummate height and vastness built over that holy tomb. Around it he caused gates and outbuildings to be constructed, and in the village he founded a market containing shops and a bath. One of the canals of Balkh, which is now called Nahr-i Shahi, he endowed to the shrine. As dean of the shrine he appointed Sayyid Tajuddin Hasan Andkhuyi, a relative of Sayyid Baraka known for his piety and lofty station, and the office of shaykh he delegated to the Shaykhzada Bistami[112] to supervise the endowments and donations. Thereupon His Majesty returned to the capital, safely reaching Herat, where he opened the gates of liberality and generosity to the military and civilian subjects alike.

To return to the narrative, when the discovery of the royal tomb by virtue of His Majesty's going there and the establishment of structures and the appointment of endowments [173] became known far and wide, everyone who was in the least able set out for that place, and for a while the coming and going of people to that "threshold of the Ka'ba" was such that every year nearly one hundred Kepeki tümäns in cash and goods were brought in donation; and the dean, shaykh and employees of the shrine spent all the money in housing and feeding those who came, in salaries and in maintaining the buildings. The village of Khwaja Khayran flourished until it became a veritable metropolis, and in a short time the environs of the shrine became so populous that there is no way to say or write a description of it.

However, a master of deceit and deception, a carriage driver in Herat, imagined that he would fabricate a vision and, deceiving the people, would acquire gold and gems by means of a fake shrine and thus attain the ranks of the wealthy. One evening at Gazargah, near the shrine of [Khwaja Abdullah] Ansari he began to shout and tear his clothing. People gathered around him and asked what the matter was.

"Just now four men in the guise of Arabs on Arabian horses appeared to me in the fields. They said that the tomb of the King of Saints was in that place," he said as he indicated a platform near the enclosure of Shamsuddin Sangtarash. The people accompanied the carriage driver to the platform, and immediately a large group of *qalandars*[113] and *tabarra'is*[114] gathered around and, making it in the form of a grave, began to cry out and shout. The next day when the news reached Herat, everybody, men and women alike, headed out to Gazargah, where they treated the carriage driver like a saint. They showered him with all they had, and that deceiver, taking dirt from the grave, bestowed a little upon all he wished to, taking in exchange a lot of gold and jewelry. When people heard that the imam's tomb had been discovered, a huge throng, especially the sick and ill, came to that spot to present gifts and make supplication. When a lame or blind person came to the grave and threw himself upon the ground, the *qalandars* and followers of the carriage driver would ask him whether or not his illness had been cured. If he said yes, they would cry out in thanksgiving, raise him up and shout at the top of their voices. If, however, he said that his affliction was unchanged, they would kick and stomp on the poor fellow, saying, "He is a skeptic, a hypocrite, and should be executed and burned!"

In short, within ten or fifteen days the carriage driver had amassed in donations more gold, gems and valuables than could be imagined and had become the spiritual

[112] I.e., the Shamsuddin Muhammad mentioned at the beginning of this section.

[113] Antinomian dervishes, generally considered disreputable.

[114] The ill and afflicted who seek healing at a shrine.

leader of vast numbers of commoners and nobles alike. Other dishonest people too had like notions of fabricating such visions, and each of them, in some place or other, both inside and outside of Herat, as well as in other provinces, broadcast news of the discovery of the imam['s tomb]. The carriage driver, realizing how things were and fearing disgrace, withdrew.

As the falsehood of those people was clear to His Victorious Majesty and the nobles of Herat, Mawlana Kamaluddin Shaykh Husayn was charged with chastising them. He arrested most of them and had them flogged. **[174]** Some he jailed until the brouhaha died down. Never again did the embers of such a false notion sparkle in idle minds. However, the holy shrine at Khwaja Khayran flourishes until today and is circumambulated by throngs of people from near and far. And God knows best the truth of all affairs.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF MIRZA MUHAMMAD-SULTAN, KNOWN AS KICHIK MIRZA, AND A MENTION OF THAT GIFTED PRINCE'S TRANSLATION FROM THE VALE OF TRAVAIL TO PARADISE SUBLIME

Shahzada Muhammad-Sultan was a prince known for his comely features, good conduct and nature, and famous for his sweet speech, beneficence and praiseworthy qualities. He was inclined to keep company with the learned, and his concern was always to acquire both the general principles and the details of learning and to perfect his knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences. An account of the excellences of the wise would be but a grain in the desert next to his many talents, and a description of the writings of the eloquent but a drop in the sea in relation to his powerful phrases....

This apex of the constellation of success, in addition to having mastered the accoutrements of world rule and having attained the highest degrees of conquest, read the books of the curriculum with Mawlana Kamaluddin Shaykh Husayn and acquired felicitous enlightenment from the inner sun of Shah-Qasim Nurbakhsh. As has been mentioned previously, after the Battle of Qara Bagh he accompanied his father and mother, who was the exalted emperor's elder sister, from Qara Bagh, Arran to Herat, where he found peace in the shadow of his excellent uncle's affection. As the rays of imperial favor shone upon him, he took the reins of independence in matters administrative and financial into his own hands and managed the greatest of royal affairs according to his own mind. When several years had passed in this manner, he became conceited of his own intelligence, perspicacity, knowledge and cleverness, and traces of fantasies of autonomy loomed in his words and deeds. The emperor royally disregarded this conduct for a while out of deference to his dear sister, thinking that Mirza Kichik would surely act wisely and intelligently and not deviate from the highway of servitude, and so refrained from chastising him.

Break not with your own hand a sturdy limb that raises its head above you, for it will break you too.

One Thursday the emperor, accompanied by the conceited prince, went to Gazargah, where they performed the rites of visitation to the holy shrine of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari. While returning to the capital, the bold prince had the audacity to have a parasol raised to provide shade from the heat of the sun, while the emperor, nearby, traveled under the blazing sun. Seeing this breach of etiquette, the emperor blazed in ire, and when he reached **[175]** the royal precincts he ordered Mirza Kichik seized. As the affair was beyond supplication, the mighty amirs immediately arrested the prince and took him to Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, where he was turned over to watchful guards.

Thus is the custom of the high sphere: coupled with fortune is misfortune's blow. Who has plucked a rose of fortune from the garden of the world without suffering calamity from the thorns of misfortune?

When Mirza Kichik had languished for a time like a ruby in the bosom of a mine and like a pearl in an oyster's womb, the emperor's compassionate nature and innate commiseration stirred, and he set him free. Thereafter the prince served the majestic court in all passivity and, repenting of his former actions and words, apologized and sought pardon.

If offenses are to be pardoned, one must be ashamed.

In the end the idea of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and attaining the honor of visiting the illuminated tomb of the prophet took shape in his mind, and after obtaining permission by exaggerating and insisting beyond description he set out for that blessed place, accompanied by a group of learned men on a caravan assisted by divine protection.

Success a comrade, luck a companion, fortune a confidant during good times and bad.

When the air of Tabriz was perfumed by the dust of the hooves of the prince's steed, the padishah Sultan Ya'qub Mirza was delighted by his arrival and hastened to send appropriate gifts and presents. Intent upon discharging his duty as host as demanded by his highmindedness, he begged the honor of a visit. Mirza Kichik replied, saying, "Inasmuch as I have donned the pilgrim's garb to circumambulate God's house and have opened my lips to respond to God's call, I do not consider it appropriate to wait upon any creature during this journey or to sully the hem of my honor with the dust of the felicitous threshold of padishahs of the essentially unreal world. If His Highness would be so kind as to take pity on a stranger and come to this humble one's stopping place, it would be in accordance with the *hadith*, 'It is best to visit a newcomer.' "

Sultan Ya'qub Mirza preferred to maintain his royal dignity and thus did not receive this request favorably. Mirza Kichik, on the other hand, had drawn his feet into a skirt of indifference. Several days passed while deliberations were going on, and finally it was decided that on a certain day Mirza Kichik would make a visit to a saint's shrine in Tabriz and Sultan Ya'qub Mirza would be there too. On the appointed day at the appointed spot they met, and the obligations of honor and respect were fulfilled. Sultan Ya'qub Mirza drew Mirza Kichik into the embrace of favor and beneficence and showered him with various kindnesses and attentions.

The prince departed from Tabriz inundated with honor and respect and went to Syria, and from there he journeyed to Egypt. There a meeting between him and the sultan of Egypt, Malik Qaytbay, took place along the lines of his meeting with Sultan Ya'qub Mirza. Departing from Egypt happy and respected, he set out for the Hejaz.

After performing the rites of pilgrimage and circumambulating the blessed tomb of the apostle, he turned his reins once again toward Khurasan. When he drew near Herat under divine protection, and Sultan-Ahmad **[176]** and Äkä Begim learned of the approach of their son, their hopes, watered by clouds of divine favor, bore the fruit of eternal happiness, and the breeze of good news caused flowers of optimism to blossom in the garden of anticipation of those two hermits in the retreat of separation.

Once again he comes with a countenance like the moon and features like the sun. Our eyes are brightened, for the light of our eyes comes. May good fortune from God's favor shower down upon him eternally.

Sultan-Ahmad Mirza and Her Highness went out to meet the prince's train, and eyes that had been "cried blind from sorrow" in the House of Grief of separation were brightened by the breeze of the arrival of the Joseph of the Egypt of the sultanate. To show their gratitude for the prince's health and safety and his success in performing the pilgrimage they distributed alms and charity to the deserving. So also the sayyids, cadis, ulema, amirs, *sadrs*, viziers and the population at large came out to greet him. Even the emperor went out several parasangs to greet Mirza Kichik and showed him more favor and affection than can be imagined.

Mirza Kichik returned to his hearth and home in happiness and joy, where he passed his days promenading in the pleasure parks of Herat in conversation with an army of learned men, intent upon acquiring happiness for the next life.

Constantly he sat with the learned and derived his happiness from the acquisition of virtue. The writing *(khatt)* in the divine teacher's notebook seemed better to him than the down *(khatt)* on the beloved's cheek.

Since it is impossible for the treacherous celestial sphere to leave the faithful in peace in this transitory halting place, in the year 889 [1484] the prince was stricken with measles. The physicians and doctors' treatment was to no avail—it was past medications and potions. The herald by whom "God inviteth unto the dwelling of peace"[115] proclaimed the words, "O thou soul which art at rest,"[116] into Mirza Kichik's ears, and the prince turned his thoughts away from worldly pleasures and strutted off to the banquet hall of paradise, wherein "shall they enjoy whatever their souls shall desire and whatever their eyes shall delight in."[117] The fruitful sapling of the orchard of fortune was felled by the fierce wind of annihilation. ... The prince's noble father and chaste mother rent the garments of endurance, threw themselves into the dust of the road, filled the earth with torrents of tears and choked the Pleiades with the smoke of their cries.

They ripped their shirts with the hand of grief; they wet the dust with their eyes. With their heart's blood they reddened the earth; with the smoke of their sighs they darkened the sky.

The emperor went to the prince's house to offer condolences to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza and his dear sister and ordered the body prepared and shrouded for burial. The great amirs, *noyans* and servants of the celestial court placed the prince's body on a litter and carried it away with all the pomp of a royal procession—nay, with such magnificence and display that the most eloquent of pens admits its inability to describe it. All the sayyids, cadis, [177] ulema, nobles, grandees, dignitaries, elite and common folk accompanied the funeral procession on foot the length of the Khiyaban to the Idgah. There they prayed over the bier and took the gem of the royal mine to an enclosure built especially for him at Gazargah and entrusted him to the safekeeping of the earth in accordance with the glorious custom of the Best of Mankind.

O celestial sphere, the world lies in ruins because of your spite: injustice is your ancient custom. O earth, if they split your breast, many a precious gem lies therein.

The grieving and disconsolate distributed food to the poor and unfortunate for several days, as was customary, and had the Koran recited. Having gladdened the exalted prince's pure soul with alms and charity, they had his tomb decorated most elaborately. Mawlana Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami composed a *qasida* to have inscribed on the tomb. As I remember the first line, I record it here:

[115]Koran 10:25.
[116]Koran 89:27.
[117]Koran 43:71.

The shining orb of the sun in this blue vault is a candle in the tomb of the kings of the world.

Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Suhayli also composed the following quatrain to be carved on the prince's tombstone:

Shamed by worldly rule, weary of the vicissitudes of fortune, you have set up your throne outside of the mortal world and closed a stone door in the face of time....

A MENTION OF THE PASSING OF THE ROYAL INTIMATE

May it be known to the learned and excellent that the Divine Majesty raised the human race to the pinnacle of honor and placed them at the apex of the heavens with the words, "We have honored the children of Adam,"[118] and addressed them, saying, "O son of Adam, the world I created for your sake, but you I created for my sake."[119] Therefore, it is fitting that this insignificant stage, this transitory abode be but a resting station for this precious race.

In the eyes of the wise, this world is paltry. O sun, you are worth less than a dust mote.

Nay, for the exalted position of a race whose robe of honor has been emblazoned with the words, "We have preferred them before many of our creatures which we have created,"[120] it is appropriate not to remain in this loathsome halting place for more than a few years. When they hear the cry, "O thou [254] soul which art at rest,"[121] it is meet for them to move on without the slightest regret to the pleasant gardens of eternal paradise, to strut stoically from the strictures of toil and travail to the infinite expanses, to look upon the kingdom of heaven and to rest "in the assembly of truth, in the presence of a most potent king."[122]

Do not set your heart upon this mortal abode, for in another place palaces have been prepared for your domicile.

No matter how well one may guess what the purpose of this introduction is, or why we have thus introduced a report of an inevitable event, nonetheless the black-turbaned pen garbs itself in mourning to inscribe the following catastrophe.

On Monday the 5th of Jumada II [906, December 28, 1500] a messenger arrived in Herat from the royal camp bearing the news that the regal retinue was speedily approaching the capital. As the breeze of this felicitous news began to blow, the winter of the inhabitants' garden of hopes and expectations turned verdant, and elite and common alike were overcome with joy.

At noon Tuesday the royal intimate Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher set out with a group of nobles to greet the royal train. On Tuesday night they stopped in Ribat-i Pariyan, and the next day they made it to Ribat-i Payab. There the amir heard the news of the approach of the royal train, and, out of excitement in anticipation of meeting the royal retinue, he was awake most of the night.

As the grooms of destiny were lashing the golden chariot of the king of the planets and stars to the steed of the spinning sphere, he got on his horse, hale and hearty, and set out for Amir Muhammad Wali Beg's caravanserai, which was to be the emperor's halting place that night. After he had traversed a short distance, host upon host of the royal retinue appeared and were honored to kiss his hand. At a place known as Khwaja Abbas the emperor's litter came into view, and Khwaja Shihabuddin Abdullah rode forward and warmly greeted the royal intimate. Scarcely had they finished talking

[118]Koran 17:70.
[119]*Hadith.*
[120]Koran 17:70.
[121]Koran 89:27.
[122]Koran 54:55.

when the amir's complexion suddenly changed and he said in distress, "Khwaja Abdullah, be mindful of me!" Just as he said this, the royal litter drew near, and the royal intimate dismounted to embrace the imperial refuge of the world. As his feet did not have the strength to carry him, he placed one arm around Khwaja Abdullah's shoulders and the other around Mawlana Jalaluddin Qasim Khwandamir's and, thus disguising his state, got himself to the litter and kissed the royal hand. Overcome by weakness, he sat down right there, and no matter how kindly and compassionately the emperor addressed him, he was totally unable to respond. This caused the imperial mind much distress, and he ordered the amir placed in the royal litter. That very night he was taken in the direction of the city. Khwaja Abdullah was put in charge of him and went himself to Ribat-i Pariyan. Symptoms of a stroke then appeared in the royal intimate's pulse, [255] and a group who were acquainted with the science of medicine said that the patient would have to be bled right there if he were to recover. However, Mawlana Abdul-Hayy Tuni, who also lay claim to medical knowledge, opposed this procedure, saying, "We should not begin treatment until after we reach Herat and the physicians are gathered, lest a mistake be made."

Khwaja Shihabuddin Abdullah seconded this proposal, and they placed the royal intimate in the litter and started for Herat. A well-wishing servant who had been inundated by the amir's favor became upset and said to Khwaja Abdullah, "The pulse is racing so fast that if we delay in bleeding him it will be beyond treatment." The khwaja hesitated, not knowing what to do, and sent a message to the emperor informing him of the situation. The emperor said, "Act in accordance with my humble opinion and open a vein." However, by the time the messenger returned and a bloodletter was located, a distance of three parasangs had been covered and the opportunity had been lost. Consequently, upon bloodletting not more than five or six seers of blood flowed, and the illness had become critical.

At midnight they reached the amir's house. The next morning all the physicians gathered, and once again he was bled. But it was too late. Just then the emperor came to the amir's bedside and found him completely unconscious. Realizing that there was nothing to be done, tears flowed from his eyes like fountains.

On Saturday the symptoms grew worse and worse, and on Sunday morning the bird of his pure spirit broke the bondage of its cage and took flight from the strictures of corporeality for the eternal gardens of paradise.

> Alas, the pure falcon of the world has departed from the world. The pure one has departed just as he came. His spirit, which was a regal falcon hunting knowledge, heard the sound of the king's drum and departed.

The next morning, when the sun appeared from the indigo depths in the east like a spark of sadness from within the bereaved, the sad news became known in Herat, and the sun of mourning shone down into the chambers of elite and common alike and the sound of weeping and wailing rose from young and old, reverberating under the illuminating dome of heaven. In commiseration with the grief stricken and disconsolate the blue sky drew on an indigo robe of clouds and, instead of tears, poured down drops of rain. Renowned scholars cast off their turbans of dignity and wandered perplexed, wondering with whom they would find patronage, and respected men of letters ripped their robes of endurance, not knowing henceforth to whose assembly to go. What a hardhearted mountain it was that did not tremble in this catastrophe! What a merciless heaven that did not rain down a horde of stars like the

tears of the grief stricken from the pain of this tragedy!

Why did heaven's eyes not rain blood? Why did the moon and sun shine again? Why did the cord of days not break? Why did the months and years not become less?

The emperor, Her Highness Khadija Begi Agha and all the royal ladies went to the royal intimate's house, and the sayyids, shaykhs and ulema gathered to wash the peerless body in accordance with the noble *shari'a*. They carried the bier to the Idgah of Herat, and after performing the prayer they took him to the lofty edifice that charitable philanthrope had constructed for the purpose to the north of the congregational mosque and buried him there in accordance with the custom of the prophet. [257]

Earth, do you know what you hold in your embrace?

His Imperial Majesty passed three days in mourning for the royal intimate, commiserating with the other mourners. Then he ordered the *ash* of the seventh [day of the death] arranged. The *tovachï*s and majordomos had so much food prepared that in a city of such magnitude there was no room to spread it all. Consequently a royal order was issued to the sayyids, shaykhs, ulema, literati, poets, amirs, *sadr*s and viziers—indeed, to all classes of men—to gather on the seventh day of this major disaster in the fields of Hawz-i Mahiyan, which lies to the north of the Idgah in Herat.

His Imperial Majesty sat enthroned in a regal dodecapodal pavilion that had been erected in those fields and presided over an assembly upon the likes of which no eye had ever fallen in past times or bygone eras. Mounted *tovachï*s served as sergeants at arms, and other *tovachï*s and majordomos began distributing the *ash*. After the food was consumed, cantors began recitation of the Koran, and the servants of the princely court took the mourning weeds from the bereaved and garbed them in splendid clothing. The emperor summoned most of the participants to the throne and spoke to them kindly and compassionately, advising them to have patience and fortitude.

Poets and literati had versified the eloquent amir's death with various expressions and composed elegies and occasional pieces on this magnificent man. Among them, Amir Sadruddin Sultan Ibrahim Amini produced the following occasional piece:

A prince and patron of religion that Ali-Sher was, his intellect and mind refuges for the state and nation, a guide and leader to the right way, a representative of God's religion in governance. In the end he wearied of this straightened world and went toward paradise in all glory. In the gardens of heaven the date of his death was asked, and Ridwan called him AWARE OF SAINTHOOD.[123]

The present writer thought up this occasional piece as a chronogram for the loss:

His Excellency the amir, refuge of right guidance, by whom were manifested monuments of mercy, went from the bramble patch of the world to a garden where the meadows of mercy are in bloom, and the lights of mercy descended upon his spirit. Seek the year of his death from the LIGHTS OF MERCY.[124]

Inasmuch as [this writer] has written a separate treatise entitled *Makarim al-akhlaq* on the good character, the poetry, the compositions of and the monuments and buildings erected by this praiseworthy man, and that work is well known, we will not repeat those things here....

A MENTION OF THE EARLY CAREER OF ABU'L-FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN SHAYBANI UP TO THE TIME BUKHARA AND SAMARQAND ENTERED HIS DOMAIN

[123] *Walāyat-intibāh* = 906.

[124] *Anwār-i raḥmat* = 906.

Historians and chroniclers have ascertained from the plethora of information that Muhammad Khan Shaybani, son of Budaq Sultan son of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, was distinguished among the *khaqans* of the nation of Jochi Khan for his high status and might. As long as [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] lived he held aloft the banner of autonomous rule in perfect splendor and glory. It has been mentioned previously that Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id achieved the conquest of Samarqand through the assistance of that khan,[125] and just as the victorious *khaqan* Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza was rallying assistance from him he died.

Muhammad Khan's mother was Aq Quzï Begim, and he was born in 855 [1451]. He was still an infant when his father Budaq Sultan died. His grandfather, Abu'l-Khayr Khan, took it upon himself to appoint as his regent Bayghur Bay Shaykh, who had also been Budaq Sultan's *atäkä*. When Abu'l-Khayr Khan's appointed time came to journey to the next life, Qara Chïn Beg, a great Uzbek amir, accepted the guardianship of Muhammad Khan and his brother Mahmud Sultan. After Aybaq Khan's victory over Shaykh Khadir Khan, the prince was taken to Qasim Sultan, who was one of the great amirs of the Qïpchaq Steppe. Qasim Sultan entrusted them to Temür Beg, his chief amir. Concurrently Aybaq Khan and Ahmad Khan set out with a large army to conquer Qasim Sultan's territories. Since Qasim Sultan did not have the strength to face that innumerable horde, he holed up in the Hajji Tarkhan Fort. Aybaq Khan and Ahmad Khan surrounded that impregnable fortress as a ring surrounds its bezel. Muhammad Khan and his brother Mahmud Sultan, along with Qara Chïn Beg and forty veteran attendants, hurled themselves one night at the enemy and, battling with sword, lance and dagger until dawn, managed to escape.

Since Muhammad Khan Shaybani laid claim to world conquest and expansionism, after the above-mentioned encounter he allied himself with a group of Uzbek amirs and soldiers, and every few days they raided the territory of one of the sultans in power until they received a crushing defeat at the hands of Ayranchï Khan b. Beg Khan in the vicinity of Savran and fled to Bukhara. Abdul-Ali Tarkhan, who was then the governor of Bukhara, honored Shaybani Khan and presented him with suitable gifts and tribute, sending a report to Samarqand to Sultan-Ahmad Khan. When Sultan-Ahmad Khan learned of [Muhammad Khan's] coming, he sent in return a document in which he expressed his yearning to meet the khan. A meeting in the best manner was arranged, and the rites of hospitality were carried out. Shaybani Khan remained there for a few days and then once again set out for Bukhara, returning there accompanied by Abdul-Ali Tarkhan. The length of his stay in [274] Bukhara was two years. Then he set out for his native land.

When shadow of the khanid *tuğ* fell upon Fort Arquq, Qazi Begchig, who held precedence over the other fiefholders of that citadel, shouldered the robe of obedience and hastened out in service with the key to the fortress, accompanied by a host of lords of the area. Presenting appropriate gifts and tribute, he was enrolled in the retinue. From Arquq Shaybani Khan went to Sïghnaq, which he also took. A few days later a messenger came from Musa Mirza, the greatest of the amirs of the Qïpchaq Steppe, with the following message: "If the world-conquering khanid banner casts its shadow over this area, I will stand in service and seat His Highness upon the khanid throne, and I will evidence perfect devotion and servitude, as is worthy of this firm pact of mine." Therefore, Shay-

[125]See Khwandamir, *HS*, IV, 50.

bani Khan decided to set forth. When he reached the steppe, Musa Mirza hastened to greet him and left nothing undone in honoring him.

Concurrently, the ruler of the Qïpchaq Steppe, Burunduq Khan, set out with a large force to repel Shaybani Khan. A battle took place between the two, and the light of victory gleamed from the finial of Muhammad Khan's banner. Burunduq Khan withdrew to his campsites. Thereafter Shaybani Khan asked Musa Mirza to fulfill the promise he had made. Because Musa Mirza was unable to obtain the amirs' consent to Muhammad Shaybani's khanate, he reneged and [Muhammad Khan] returned to Sïghnaq. Once or twice confrontations took place between him and the ruler of Savran, Sultan-Mahmud Khan b. Jani Beg Khan. The last time Shaybani Khan was defeated and turned his reins toward Manqïshlaq. From there he went to Bukhara via Khwarazm. When he reached the vicinity of Khwarazm, Amir Nâsiruddin Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah, who was the governor of the province on behalf of the Victorious Khaqan, arranged tribute and *peshkash* and trod the path of servitude. Shaybani Khan went from Khwarazm to Qarabïgh Köl, and from Qarabïgh Köl to Bukhara. As before, Amir Abdul-Ali Tarkhan joined him and took him to Samarqand. Sultan-Ahmad Mirza, considering the khan's arrival to be a cause for greater overlordship, opened the gates of beneficence to him, and with the conquest of Mughulistan in mind, together they set out for Tashkent. Upon reaching the vicinity of Shahrukhiyya, Shaybani Khan, who was the vanguard of the Samarqand army, became distrustful of Mirza Sultan-Ahmad and fled to Tashkent, where he met with Sultan-Mahmud Khan and took refuge with him. Consequently Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's plans were dashed, and he withdrew posthaste to Samarqand.

Shaybani Khan remained in Tashkent for a while, and from there he went to Fort Arquq, the fortresses of which area he fortified and then went to Sïghnaq. Thereafter Burunduq Khan took his army once or twice to Sïghnaq and some of the other fortresses of Turkistan, determined to fell the sapling of Shaybani Khan's fortune. However, since it was fated that Shaybani Khan rule Transoxiana and Khurasan for a time, Burunduq Khan's plans came to nought, and Shaybani [275] Khan seized the opportunity to set out to conquer Khwarazm, for during that time the governor of Khwarazm, Amir Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah, had gone to the imperial court, leaving behind one of his retinue in Khwarazm. When Shaybani Khan reached the vicinity he laid siege for a few days, but when he heard of the imminent arrival of Amir Abdul-Khaliq, Amir Muhammad Wali Beg and Amir Bihbud, who had been dispatched by the emperor to assist the Khwarazmians, he decamped and went to Buldum Fort. He made a truce with the inhabitants of the fort and took a small *peshkash*. Then he went to the city of Wazir, where he held his own for one or two days against a force that had come from Khurasan. However, he was unable to make headway, so he went to Avaq. From Avaq he took the road to Astarabad and, raiding the outlying areas of the province, headed for Tarsak Fort, which was under the control of his retainers. Then, at Muhammad Khan's request, Sultan-Mahmud Khan abandoned Anzar to Shaybani Khan and withdrew to Tashkent.

Concurrently the men of Savran, in support of Shaybani Khan, mutinied against Qul-Muhammad Tarkhan the son of Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan, who was their *darugha*, and sent the key to the city and citadel to Mahmud Sultan. His Highness entered Savran citadel, and the people of all the regions of Turkistan gave their allegiance to the two brothers.

However, in the meantime Burunduq Khan, encouraged by Amir Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan, took his army to Savran. The inhabitants of Savran could tolerate no more, and a huge throng of their leaders attacked, took Mahmud Sultan prisoner and turned the fortress over to Burunduq Khan. Mahmud Sultan was entrusted to Qasim Sultan, the most important sultan of the time, and Qasim Sultan kept him imprisoned and sent him accompanied by a group of trusted men to Suzaq Citadel. Mahmud Sultan found an opportunity one night and escaped, getting himself to Üküz Taghï and sending a messenger to his brother. Shaybani Khan went to that mountain, where he met with his brother. Together the two brothers hastened to Anzar. At the same time Burunduq Khan and Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan went to Anzar, where Shaybani Khan was holed up in the citadel. Battle was waged for several days and nights between the beleaguered and the army of the steppe. Finally, because auxiliaries reached Anzar from Sultan-Mahmud Khan, Burunduq Khan was forced to agree to a truce, and he left Anzar, headed for his own region.

I go to my own region to be my own prince.

After the beautiful region of Anzar was cleared of the annoyance of Burunduq Khan's army, Shaybani Khan took his army to Yasï, the seat of Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan. Amir Muhammad Muzid went out to meet the khanid train and was seized by Mahmud Sultan, who took him to Anzar and held him in prison. Learning of this, Sultan-Mahmud Khan hastened to Anzar, seized Amir Muhammad Muzid from Shaybani Khan and sent to Samarqand to ask for Mirza Sultan-Ahmad's daughter in marriage....

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMPEROR'S NOBLE OFFSPRING

God gave the Victorious Khaqan Sultan-Husayn Mirza fourteen sons and eleven daughters, as follows:

Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza was born of **Bikä Sultan Begim**, daughter of Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar.[126]

By **Chöli Begim**,[127] whom His Majesty married before ascending the throne, was Sultan[ïm] Begim, who was married first to Sultan-'Ways Mirza and latterly to Abdul-Baqi Mirza [Uzbek].

By **Payanda Sultan Begim**, daughter of Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, were: Haydar-Muhammad Mirza, Aq Begim, who was married to Muhammad-Qasim Mirza the son of Abu'l-Qasim Arlat, Bikä Begim, who was married to Mawlana Khwaja, Agha Begim, who died before reaching maturity, and Kichik Begim, the wife of Mirza Babur son of Muhammad-Qasim Mirza.[128]

By **Khadija Begi Agha**[129] were: Shah-Gharib Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza.

By **Latifa Sultan Aghacha**,[130] who was descended from the amirs of Cha-

[126]Mirza Sanjar b. Ahmad ("Mirza Mirak") b. Umar-Shaykh.

[127]In *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 156b) she is named Tüläk Begim, daughter of Husayn Sufi (an amir of Abu'l-Qasim Babur) and sister of Amir Yusuf Sufi Jandar.

[128]According to Babur (*Baburnama*, fol. 168a), Kichik Begim was married to Mulla Khwaja, a descendant of "Sayyid Ata" (Ahmad Yasavi), and Bikä Begim and Agha Begim were married to brothers, Babur and Sultan-Murad, sons of Muhammad-Qasim Mirza b. Muhammad-Badi' b. Soyurghatmïsh b. Miranshah and Rabi'a Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abu-Sa'id. If Babur is correct—and he knew the family well, especially the children of his aunt Payanda Sultan—perhaps Payanda Sultan's daughter Ulugh Begim (mentioned in *Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 160b) was the one who died young.

[129]Khadija Begi Agha, daughter of Amir Muhammad Sarïq b. Amir Muhammad Khwaja (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 156b).

[130]Latif(a) Sultan, daughter of Amir Sultan Husayn Chaharshamba (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 157a).

harshamba, were: Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza, who was known as Kipik Mirza.

By **Papa Aghacha**[131] were: Farrukh-Husayn Mirza, Muhammad-Ma'sum Mirza, Ibrahim-Husayn Mirza, (Ibn-i Husayn Mirza, (Muhammad-Qasim Mirza, Sa'adat-Bakht Begim, who was known as Begim Sultan and was married to Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza, Sultan Nizhad Begim, the wife of Sultan Iskandar Mirza, and Munawwar Sultan Begim, who was married to one of Mirza Ulugh-beg's descendants who had the honor to be a sayyid.[132]

By **Mengli Bey Aghacha**, who was an [Uzbek] Turkish slave presented to His Majesty by Shahrbanu Begim daughter of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza at their wedding, were Abu-Turab Mirza, Muhammad-Husayn [321] Mirza, Faridun-Husayn Mirza, Maryam Sultan Begim, the wife of Sayyid Abdullah Mirza, and Fatima Sultan Begim, who became the wife of Mirza Yadgar-Farrukh Miranshah.

Ayisha Sultan Begim, who became the wife of Qasim Sultan, was by **Zubayda Agha Jalayir**.[133]

Seven of the emperor's sons died during his lifetime They are: Farrukh-Husayn Mirza, Shah-Gharib Mirza, Muhammad-Ma'sum Mirza, Haydar-Muhammad Mirza, Ibrahim-Husayn Mirza, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, and Abu-Turab Mirza. Five of his daughters also passed away during his lifetime: Aq Begim, Bikä Begim, Agha Begim, Kichik Begim, and Fatima Sultan Begim.

Of His Majesty's wives Bikä Sultan Begim, Chöli Begim, Zubayda Agha Jalayir and Latifa Sultan Aghacha died during his lifetime. Shortly after his death the others went each to a different country, and most of them died away from their native land—except for Apaq Begim, who is still alive....

THE OUTSTANDING MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH SULTAN-HUSAYN

[348] *Mawlana Mu'inuddin Muhammad Isfizari* was the chief correspondence secretary of the age. He also engaged in the composition of poetry. He possessed a great talent for *ta'liq* calligraphy, and he spent much of his time teaching the rules of that art. Among his compositions is a history of the city of Herat, and his collection of documents, edicts and letters is well known....

Mawlana Hajji Muhammad Naqqash was the skilled artisan of the age. He constantly painted strange things and wonderful forms on the pages of time with the brush of imagination. In the art of depiction and illumination he possessed perfect expertise. For some time he attempted to make porcelain, and after many attempts and much endeavor the vessels he made came extremely close to china. However, the color and translucence were not as they should have been.

One of Mawlana Hajji Muhammad's inventions was a clock chest installed in Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher's *kitabkhana*. In the chest was fitted a figurine with a stick in its hand, and when one hour of the day had passed the figurine beat the stick against a drum. After the second hour had passed it struck twice, and so on. For a time the mawlawi was Amir Ali-Sher's librarian, but in the end he was so insulted by the amir that when Mirza Badi'uzzaman was besieging Herat in 904 [1498–99], he fled, joined the prince and was appointed to a similar post. He passed away during the early days of Muhammad Khan Shaybani's occupation.

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[131]Papa Aghacha, daughter of Khwaja Ahmad Atäkä (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 157a), was Apaq Begim's *kükältäsh* (*Baburnama*, fol. 169b).

[132]Babur calls him Sayyid Mirza of the Andkhud sayyids (*Baburnama*, fol. 168b).

[133]Zubayda Sultan daughter of Hasan Shaykh Temür is listed as a slavegirl *(dukhtar-khana)* in *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 157a).

Khwaja Mirak Naqqash had no equal in depiction and illumination. In epigraphy he raised the banner of uniqueness, and most of the epigraphic inscriptions in the buildings of Herat are by him. He died during Muhammad Khan Shaybani's occupation of Khurasan.... [350]

Amir Kamaluddin Husayn of Abiward was one of the excellent sayyids of Khurasan. In the full bloom of youth he came from Abiward to Herat for study, at which time he became attached to the noble assembly of Kichik Mirza, and the prince took him as a companion and showered him with favors. However, when Kichik Mirza set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, Amir Husayn did not accompany him. After the prince had departed, he regretted not having gone and hastened after him; but by the destiny of the Omnipotent King, he was unable to see him ever again, on either that or any other trip. Having discharged the pilgrimage, he returned and found favor in Tabriz in the retinue of Sultan Ya'qub. After spending several years there, he returned to his former country and joined the service of Amir Ali-Sher, whose favor he enjoyed.

One of the curious events that happened to Amir Husayn is as follows. While he was in Amir Ali-Sher's retinue, he was appointed to a mission to Sultan Ya'qub Mirza, and it was decided that, along with other precious books from the royal library, he would take the *Kulliyyat* of Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami to present to Qazi Isa and [Sultan Ya'qub]. When the excellent sayyid was getting the books from Mawlana Abdul-Karim the librarian, the mawlawi made a mistake and gave him [a copy of] the *Futuhat-i Makki* that resembled Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami's *Kulliyyat* in size [351] and binding. Amir Husayn paid no attention to the book and had it packed with the other gifts and presents.

When he came into Sultan Ya'qub Mirza's presence and made his presentation, the king, out of noble kindness, asked him if he had suffered weariness on account of the great distance he had traveled. Amir Husayn replied, "Your servant had a companion along the way that did not admit weariness to enter the mind."

Sultan Ya'qub asked what these words meant, and the noble sayyid said, "I had with me the collected works of Mawlana [Jami], which His Highness's intimate sent for the cadi's retinue. Whenever I felt a little weary, I would have a look at that excellent book."

"Bring the *Kulliyyat* so that I may see," said the king. Amir Husayn sent someone to bring the volume into the assembly.

When it was opened, it was discovered that it was the *Futuhat-i Makki*, not the *Kulliyyat* of Mawlana Jami. As a consequence the sayyid lost face on several fronts and never again found favor with Amir Ali-Sher.

Toward the end of [Sultan-Husayn's] reign he went to Balkh, where Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza appointed him to the post of court shaykh. In the year 908 [1502–3] he gave up that post for the superintendence of endowments. In 910 [1504–5], when Badi'uzzaman Mirza was in Herat, Amir Husayn resigned his post and went to Abiward, where he spent a year or two in retirement. In 914 [1508–9] Muhammad Khan Shaybani sent him on a legation to the imperial court [of Isma'il I Safavi], and Amir Husayn achieved the honor of attendance at the angelic threshold, returning laden with favor and bounty. He settled in his old domicile of Abiward, and in 920 [1514] he made the next world his abode....

Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadi was known for his fine features and excellent conduct. In *naskh-ta'liq* calligraphy he attained such a perfect level of expertise

that he abrogated the calligraphy of masters past and present. [352] During the time of the Victorious Khaqan he was constantly engaged in making regal manuscripts at the order of His Majesty and at the request of Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher. Occasionally he also composed poetry such as the following:

The rose in spring is but a sample of that rose-red cheek—like my tears, which are a sample of my bloody heart.

He died in Mashhad in 919 [1513–14], and he was buried in that holy shrine.... [362] ...

Mawlana Majnun, son of Mawlana Kamaluddin Mahmud Rafiqi, was renowned for his calligraphy and poetic talent. Mawlana Majnun was of a dervish bent and quite unassuming. His poetry is fluid and even. The following is the first line of one of his *ghazals*:

You were faithless, but I did not at first recognize you as such. Alas for the time I wasted in pursuit of you.

The following first line of a *qasida* is also by him:

The turquoise of the heavens is in your ring; the entire face of the earth is beneath your signet.

Master *Kamaluddin Bihzad* is a creator of marvelous pictures and rare artistic manifestations. Wielding his brush like Mani, he has abrogated the monuments of mortal painters, and his miraculous hands have effaced the depictions of human artists.

The hair of his masterful brush has imparted life to inanimate forms.

This master owes his rise to fame to the patronage of Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher, and the emperor himself also favored him with much patronage. This rarity of the age even now enjoys the favor of sultans and rulers, and without doubt he will continue so to do.

Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad b. Mawlana Nurullah is one of the outstanding calligraphers of *naskh-ta'liq* [363] and is also known for his good conduct and pleasant poetry.

Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad Khandan is known not only for his calligraphy but also for his poetic talent. He is addicted to the company of bons vivants and entertainers. At present he lives in Herat, where he occasionally deigns to produce calligraphic specimens. May success ever favor him.

It is no secret that in the time of the victorious *khaqan* a great number of talented men, artists, poets and men of learning, dwelt in the capital Herat and other regions, where they enjoyed the shadow of His Majesty's favor and protection. To mention them all would take too long....

BALKH ENTERS THE DOMAIN OF MUHAMMAD SHAYBANI KHAN, AND THE SULTANS AND GOVERNORS OF KHURASAN WITHDRAW

As can be gained from what has been written previously, Muhammad-Muhsin inauspiciously refused to tread the path of harmony with his brothers to repel the advance of Shaybani Khan [372] and remained in his own exalted post at Holy Mashhad, sending none of his amirs or pillars of state to help. For this reason a torpidity infected Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Kürägän's determination, and once again they began to take counsel.

Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun, a lion in the forest of courage and a crocodile in the river of bravery, said, "We will scarcely have another opportunity like the assemblage we now have of Amir Timur Kürägän's *ulus*. We must make the most of this opportunity and charge into the

battlefield with strong heart and great hopes and ask the King who bestows kingdom for triumph and victory so that we may attain our goal."

Amir Muhammad Burunduq Barlas said, "If we go to Balkh, Kipik Mirza, who does not agree with his brothers because he desires to conquer the realm of Khurasan, will lead his army to Herat, and, since the people of the city are inclined by nature to support the government of Amir Muhammad Wali Beg, and Amir Shaykh-Ali Taghai and Amir Yusuf Ali Kükältäsh are incapable of defending the city, Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza will bring the capital of Khurasan under his control. After that happens, most of the amirs and soldiers, who have family and dependents in the city, will abandon us and go to Herat. It would be better for us to repel the domestic enemy this winter and then, at the beginning of spring, when there will be plentiful fodder for the animals in the plains, we can turn our attention with a free and easy mind to fighting the Uzbek army."

During these deliberations news arrived that Amir Sultan Qulanchaq and the troops of Balkh, their supplies exhausted, had been unable to defend the city and sought quarter from Muhammad Shaybani Khan. The khan had tricked them with seductive promises, and Amir Sultan had opened the gates of Balkh and joined the khan's retinue. The Uzbek army had then swept Balkh clean with the broom of pillage and plunder. After it reached the hearing of Muhammad Khan that most of the generals and soldiers of Khurasan were gathered on the banks of the Murghab with an eye to battle, he had withdrawn on wings of haste. When this news spread through the camp of the sultans of Khurasan—and to be sure, to cross the Oxus and do battle with Muhammad Khan Shaybani that winter was beyond the capacity of any mortal—Amir Muhammad Burunduq's opinion gained favor.

In the month of Rajab of that year [November 1506] the stone of anxiety shattered the glass house of the Khurasani's peace of mind. Muhammad Babur Padishah determined to go to Kabul, and Ibn-i Husayn Mirza went to Qayin. Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza took the road to Merv, and the sons of Amir Dhu'l-Nun and Amir Sultan-Ali Arghun set out for the Garmser region. Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza proceeded to the capital, and at that same time Abu'l-Mansur Muzaffar-Husayn Küräğän went to the town of Kusuya to deal decisively with Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza and there to winter over. Amir Muhammad Burunduq Barlas and some other amirs joined his retinue, while Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza stayed that winter in Herat with Amir Dhu'l-Nun and the other *noyans*.

During the blessed month of Ramadan [Badi'uzzaman Mirza] observed the fast and performed his obligatory and supererogatory prayers. **[373]** Close to the feast he ordered a magnificent distribution of *ash* for the repose of the victorious *khaqan*'s soul, and when the auspicious crescent moon of Shawwal unveiled itself, the train of splendor and grandeur went to the Idgah, where the festival prayer was held. On the way back, he ennobled the Madrasa-i Sharqi-i Sultani by stopping there, and the nobles and grandees of the capital Herat, sayyids, ulema and cadis were honored to attend court, and the stewards brought foodstuffs too numerous and delicious to describe and sweets beyond the imagination. All classes of people partook of that banquet. After the banquet and reading of the Koran, that splendid sultan mounted his swift steed and went to the Bagh-i Jahan-ara, where the carpet of pleasure and revelry was spread.

Make the most of any good time that presents itself: no one knows what the end will be.

SULTAN BADI'UZZAMAN MIRZA GOES TO THE MARAL SUMMER PASTURE AND THE BANNERS OF MUHAMMAD KHAN SHAYBANI'S FORTUNE ARE RAISED BY GOD'S DECREE

When the time of winter's supremacy came to an end and Sultan Badi'uzzaman led the springtime tracks of the army of vegetation and flowers into the field of the open plain, the soldiers of cold and winter were defeated by the onslaught of the forces of spring, and the *khaqan* of the orient, subduing the house of Bahram, took his banner of supremacy from the seventh sphere.

The world-traversing sultan of days pitched his tent in Bahram's throne room, raised his banners in the freshness of the steppe, and the world was filled with the army of vegetation.

Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza stationed Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun Arghun and Amir Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ali Taghai in Herat and went to the Badghis summer pasture. He stayed for several days in the Manzil-i Maral, a meadow like paradise. Just then Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza desired to see his elder brother and set forth from his winter quarters. At the end of Dhu'l-Hijja 912 [May 12, 1507] the two met at Manzil-i Maral. Happy to see each other, the two brothers discussed plans to ward off the enemy and spoke of the past and future, imagining that Muhammad Khan Shaybani would cross the Oxus that spring in search of conquest. To that end they sent emissaries to the princes and great amirs ordering them to gather, and this insignificant one was assigned to go to Qandahar to summon Shuja' Beg. At the end of that month this writer was given permission to leave and hastened from Maral to Herat to get my things and set out.

Just at this time the pearl of the casket of chastity, Badi'uzzaman's daughter Chüchük Begim, departed this sorrow-laden world in Herat, [374] and Amir Dhu'l-Nun and Amir Shaykh-Ali attended to her funeral arrangements in the style of great sultans, buried her in the Badi'iyya Madrasa, distributed food to the poor and had the Koran recited for the repose of her soul.

When the crescent moon of Muharram 913 [May 13, 1507] rose from the east of fortune and magnificence over the green sea of the celestial sphere, news was received that Muhammad Khan Shaybani had crossed at Kirki and was headed for Khurasan. Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza summoned Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun and Amir Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ali Taghai to the royal camp, and they hastened from Herat to the court on Monday the 4th of that month [May 16, 1507]. The next day they were honored to pay homage, and in the company of all the great amirs they spread the carpet of counsel, thinking that they could repel the arrow of fate with the shield of machination and hold back the torrent of the Great Effector's will with a handful of chaff. Alas, alas,

There is no shield against the falling of the arrow of fate.

Since it was the absolute will of the Omnipotent King that the province of Khurasan enter into the domain of Muhammad Khan Shaybani and that the reign of the sons of the victorious *khaqan* [Sultan-Husayn] come to an end, there was no profit in gathering their brave forces or in the wise amirs' planning. At that very moment the mighty army of Transoxiana had crossed the Oxus like a torrent pouring down from on high and was enveloping Khurasan in a flood of calamity.

When divine decree is that the kingship of Khurasan be transferred, there is nothing either the brave or the wise of the realm can do.
I heard these words from young and old:
"What can be done against divine decree?"

The affair was as follows. At the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 912 [April 1507]

Muhammad Khan Shaybani set out on the road of conquest from Samarqand, crossed at Kirki and quickly reached Andkhud. Amir Shah Mansur, who was then Mirza Badi'uzzaman's governor of that region, learned of the might and strength of the khan's forces and capitulated. Next the khan flew on wings of haste from Andkhud towards the banks of the Murghab River. When he arrived, Maruchaq the castellan followed Shah Mansur's example and declared his allegiance to the khan. Until that time the news of the invincible army train's having crossed the Oxus had not been truthfully reported to Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Abu'l-Mansur Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza Kürägän. When Muhammad Khan reached the vicinity of Badghis, a torrent of terror swept the sultans and amirs of Khurasan into rout and, engulfed in a sea of perplexity and worry, once again they turned to council.

The courageous Amir Dhu'l-Nun was of the opinion that battle was the proper course of action, while it seemed to Amir Muhammad Burunduq that to hole up in Herat was the prudent thing to do. Before a decision on either of these courses could be made, on Thursday morning the 7th of Muharram 913 [May 19, 1507] Muhammad Khan Shaybani could be seen approaching with an army more numerous than the hosts of heaven. The vanguard of that army, under the command of Muhammad Khan's son, [375] Temür Sultan, and Ubaydullah Khan the son of Mahmud Sultan, entered the battlefield with right and left flanks arrayed. Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza also arrayed their forces and, like someone who wants to soak up the ocean with a chunk of dry earth or stop a catastrophic flood with a handful of sticks and twigs, stood in resistance.

Two armies stood aligned face to face. They drew their blades, intent upon each other.

The shouts of warriors as mighty as Rustam, the roar of the kettledrums, and the yell of the charge caused the earth to quake. The glitter of helmets and the gleam of maces and armor made manifest the Koranic verse, "The brightness of his lightning wanteth but little of taking away the sight."[134]

In the dust of the army the spark of the blade shone like lightning in a cloud.

The eagle of the arrow opened its beak to swallow lives, and the dragon of the spear stretched out its tongue to prick young and old alike.

In that field the tongue of the spark-shooting spear grew sharp to stab warriors. The beak of the eagle arrow turned red from the blood of the courageous on the day of battle.

Among the amirs and soldiers of Khurasan, Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun Arghun and Amir Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ali Taghai, with their companies of lions from the forest of pugnacity, made manifest the day of resurrection in that battle of vengeance, and with blows from crocodile-like swords and death-dealing arrows they scuttled in a whirlpool of annihilation the boats of life of a number of those who trod the highways of heroism. Nonetheless, since the invincible Uzbek force was many times that of the Khurasanis, and too they poured in as reinforcements like waves, company after company, the princes' army was incapable of resisting. Turning their reins toward the valley of defeat, every group fled in disarray in a different direction. However, Amir Dhu'l-Nun made this verse his slogan:

The malevolent enemy will never see from me anything but the face of my blade and the back of my bow.

[134]Koran 24:43.

Like an enraged lion now he attacked the right and now the left, and with blows from his sword and dagger he reddened the dust of the battle with the blood of champions. Finally the Uzbeks overwhelmed that champion cavalier of the battlefield. They wanted to take him to the khan, hands and neck bound, but Amir Dhu'l-Nun refused to submit and kept fighting until he was martyred.

Amir Shaykh-Ali Taghai and a group of Khurasanis were made captive by the hand of fate, and the superior Uzbek force pursued the fleeing men as far as Toquz Ribat. They seized so much booty that the fingers of exposition are incapable of reckoning the quantity and the pen is unable to count even a small portion thereof, and only God Almighty knows the truth thereof.

THE LEADERS AND ARMY OF KHURASAN ARE ROUTED

When the victory-laden breeze of divine favor blew from Ribat-i Amir Ali-Sher and Manzil-i Maral [376] through the banners of Muhammad Khan Shaybani, Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar Mirza Kürägän, along with most of the great amirs and soldiers, acted in accordance with the dictum, "Flee from what cannot be borne," and each fled in rout in a different direction. Sayyid Abdullah Mirza went with a group of amirs to Mashhad to help [Kipik] Mirza. Abdul-Baqi Mirza and Amir Muhammad Burunduq Barlas joined Ibn-i Husayn Mirza in the vicinity of Sabzawar, and Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza hastened outside of Herat to stay the night in the Bagh-i Naw and rest for a moment. The next morning he headed toward Qandahar and Zamin Dawar.

Under the cover of darkness Muzaffar Mirza entered Herat and went to the Bagh-i Shahr, where he summoned the Shaykh al-Islam Mawlana Sayfuddin Ahmad al-Taftazani, Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad b. Amir Jalaluddin Yusuf al-Razi, and Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Hasan. From them he sought assistance in defending Herat, but they replied, "It is not possible to protect the city with the army, and nothing can be achieved by our mere concern." Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza said, "Not more than three of my *nökärs* came into town with me." The dignitaries asked how then he expected to combat the Uzbek army. Therefore with much pain and anguish the prince bade farewell to his kingdom, possessions, mother and family. After dawn he left with a group of his servants and retinue through the Firozabad Gate and headed for Astarabad on the Turshiz road.

On Friday morning the 8th of Muharram 913 [May 20, 1507] the sayyids, judges, dignitaries and grandees of Herat assembled in the Shaykh al-Islam Madrasa to deliberate the situation. All were of one mind that they must submit to obey Muhammad Khan Shaybani, and they told this writer to compose a petition to this effect. The document was sent with the *muhtasib* Mawlana Uthman's nephew. As the young *mawlana* set out he was plundered on the Khiyaban but managed to get himself, naked and on foot, to the vicinity of Toquz Ribat, where he told Muhammad Temür Sultan what had happened, and Muhammad Temür sent him to his father.

At the end of the day, after learning of the contents of the Heratis' petition, Muhammad Khan Shaybani camped in the Kahdistan Meadow, assured of his mastery over the realm of Khurasan and with the standards of majesty and success raised high. "O God, thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt."[135]

AFTER WANDERING IN THE VALLEY OF PERPLEXITY THE DIGNITARIES OF

[135]Koran 3:26.

HERAT PAY HOMAGE TO MUHAMMAD KHAN SHAYBANI

On the aforementioned Friday, in fear and trepidation of Muhammad Khan's retaliation, the citizens of Herat closed the city gates as tight as the gates of joy and waited in dejection and sadness. [377] Having raised their banners outside the city, the Uzbek soldiers were pillaging and plundering when a most strange event occurred, i.e., a group of Transoxianan soldiers were killed. The details of this event are as follows.

Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Husayn Shabankara'i, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Munshi and a few other servants of the royal family who had fled from the Battle of Maral stayed the night in the gardens outside of Herat. The next morning they thought to flee in order to save themselves by some ruse. Completely armed, they mounted their fleet-footed stallions and shouting, "The state is Kipik Mirza's," they told everyone they met that Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza had arrived with a large army and was about to do battle with the king of the Uzbeks. When the rabble of Herat heard this, they poured through the city gates like a shot and killed around three hundred of the soldiers who were looting in the quarters outside the city. A short while later it was ascertained that the news was false, and everyone began to be extremely worried over the killings. As the people fell into an ocean of perplexity, caravans of grief and sorrow unpacked their baggage in the courtyards of the minds of young and old alike. The sayyids, judges, ulema, common folk and peasants, indeed all creatures spent that night distraught and worried how to save themselves. On Saturday morning Mawlana Banna'i's brother came to Herat from the conqueror's camp to deliver a document that the secretaries of that royal court had written to the Shaykh al-Islam and Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Hasan, the contents of which were as follows:

"When the victorious banners reached the vicinity of Badghis, Badi'uzzaman Mirza was defeated by the onslaught of the conquering forces, Amir Dhu'l-Nun Arghun was killed, and Shaykh-Ali Taghai was seized by the talons of fate. We, having made the Kahdistan Meadow our regal camp, are determined to see to the welfare of all the inhabitants of the realm of Khurasan. When this document arrives be comforted and easy of mind. It behooves you to hasten to the world-receiving court, bringing with you any of the nobles you think fitting."

When the dignitaries learned of the contents of the order, they showered the messenger with gifts and presents. That very hour the Shaykh al-Islam, the Dean of Sayyids Amir Kamaluddin Ata'ullah al-Husayni, Amir Abdul-Qadir, Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad b. Amir Yusuf, Sayyid Sadruddin Yunus, Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Hasan, Qazi Sadruddin Muhammad al-Imami, Sayyid Raziyuddin Abdul-Awwal, Khwaja Jamaluddin Ata-'ullah, and Khwaja Nizamuddin Abdul-Hayy Sahib-Iyar set out for Kahdistan Meadow. As they approached the camp, Mawlana Nizamuddin Abdul-Rahim Turkistani, who not only held the post of *sadr* at Muhammad Khan Shaybani's court but was invested with unlimited power, and Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud Saghrïchï, who was supervisor of the divan, met that honorable delegation and had them settled in a tent. When informed of their arrival, Muhammad Khan ordered that first of all the amount of tribute and *peshkash* the Heratis were to give [378] be determined. Then he had the dignitaries brought into the royal assembly. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim and Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud held deliberations in that regard, and it was decided that the general citizenry and artisan class would give the amount of one hundred thousand one-mithqal *tangachas*, with a *tangacha* at that time equal to six Kepeki dinars. The great lords and

fief-holders would present a personal gift to the khan of twenty thousand *tangachas*, and fifteen thousand *tangachas* to Mawlana Abdul-Rahim. Thereupon Muhammad Khan Shaybani, his court adorned by great sultans and amirs like Muhammad Temür Sultan, Ubaydullah Sultan, Hamza Sultan, Mahdi Sultan and Janwafa Mirza, gave audience to the nobles and dignitaries. Most of them entered the court tent with fear and trepidation, but the amirs rose to honor them, and the khan gave them permission to sit. That very hour he indicated that they might withdraw. Janwafa Mirza was appointed governor and prefect of Herat, and he left with the grandees. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim was assigned to carry out all other tasks. Janwafa Mirza stayed in the house of Amir Ghiyath's sons, and Mawlana Abdul-Rahim in quarters above the Khush Gate.

THE GRAND VIZIERS ENTER HERAT WITH SEVERE DEMANDS

When, in accordance with the Great Effector's scheme, the sun of Muhammad Khan Shaybani's fortune rose and he subjugated the capital of Khurasan, which has always been and is still the seat of mighty sultans, and set before his sight the wise words, "There is no kingdom without men, and there are no men without property," he concentrated entirely upon the acquisition of money, property and the amount the delegates had accepted.

On the 11th of Muharram [May 23] Khwajas Kamaluddin Mahmud and Abu'l-Wafa, who was known as Khwaja Khurd, entered Herat with a group of collectors of revenue and soldiers. They wrote orders of collection and demanded with severity the full amount from the lords and subjects, and within one week they had reaped their harvest.

The personal possessions of the noble wives and daughters of His Late Majesty and the property of Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza Kürägän were seized, and that group was sent to the royal camp, where they were received with honor. Her Highness Khanzada Khanïm, who was the daughter of Ahmad Khan, niece of His Late Majesty and wife of Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza Kürägän, found favor in Muhammad Khan's eyes, and he proposed marriage to her. The khanïm claimed that Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza had divorced her two years previously, and a number of religious people testified on behalf of her claim so that she could be legally married to the khan.

Mihrangez Begim, the daughter of Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza and the aforementioned [Khanzada Khanïm], was married to Ubaydullah Sultan. [379] The rest of the royal harem were sent back to the city, where their treasures and valuables were sequestered. So many lustrous pearls, emeralds, Badakhshan rubies and other gems and gold vessels were obtained that not a decimal of a tenth could be contained in the imagination of any emperor. From the personal possessions of the amirs and ministers of that dynasty much cash and goods were taken, and the Uzbek soldiery seized every one of the rectors of Khurasan's benefices and endowments of Khurasan on some pretext and tormented and tortured them until they got from them what they could get. Indeed, the meaning of the Koranic verse, "Verily kings, when they enter a city by force, waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants thereof,"[136] was fully realized, and the cries of many people of quality and station, reduced to misery and degradation, rose to the celestial spheres. The delicate beauties of the inner sanctum of inviolability were taken captive and tormented by the merciless Uzbeks, and Venuses of the chambers of

[136]Koran 27:34.

chastity were left by ravaging Mughuls to wander destitute in the lanes and bazaars.

The flames of tyranny licked at that region; the world turned dark from the cries of the oppressed. Wailing and gnashing of teeth came from the people; there was no mercy at all upon them.

Finally, through Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud's efforts, the severity was reduced, and the lights of security shone upon humanity. On Friday the 15th of Muharram [May 27] in the great congregational mosque of Herat the *khutba* was read in Abu'l-Khayr Khan and Muhammad Khan Shaybani's names. As Muhammad Khan ordered, his titles were announced as Imam of the Age and Viceroy of the Merciful, and that world-conquering khan commanded with high-mindedness that a demi-*dâng* (one-twelfth) be added to the old *tangacha*. When the royal coinage was thus ornamented, each one became worth six Kepeki dinars, and the old one-mithqal *tangachas* were taken for five dinars.

During all this, some of the viziers and other Persians who had served the sultans and governors of Khurasan and, holed up in the mountains around Herat in fear of the Uzbeks, had not drawn an easy breath since, sent petitions to the exalted court seeking security of their lives. Billets of safe pass were issued them, and all were admitted to royal audience, most of them receiving favor and patronage and reinstated in their posts. Among them, Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Husayn Shabankara'i and Mawlana Hajji Muhammad Quhistani were assigned to the vizierate, and Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Munshi and Mawlana Jalaluddin Qasim Khwandamir became chiefs of the Bureau of Derelict Property. Amir Jalaluddin Mahmud, a son of Sayyid Ghiyathuddin Muhammad Baghban, was selected to serve as steward to the throne, and Amir Sultan Mahmud was assigned as steward for Janwafa Mirza.

IKHTIYARUDDIN CITADEL AND TIRATU FORT ARE SUBDUED

As is patently obvious from previous reports, Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza assigned Amir Ashiq-Muhammad Kükältäsh, the son of Amir Sarban Junayd as custodian of the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, [380] and when he set out for Maral he left his wife Kabuli Begim, the daughter of Mirza Ulughbeg b. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, along with Ruqya Agha, who was known as Andalib, in that fort. After the debacle at Maral, Amir Ashiq-Muhammad Arghun, Shaykh Abdullah Bäkäül and some other soldiers who had managed to flee took refuge in the fastness of that fort. Khwaja Jalaluddin Miraki also went there, and Her Highness Khadija Begi Agha also, fleeing the severity of the collectors of revenue, holed up there. Since this group was petrified of an assault by the mighty Uzbeks, although the affairs of the city had reached the point we have described, there was no shortcoming on their own part with regard to the defense of the fort, and Muhammad Khan concentrated all his efforts on taking it.

He sent emissaries to Amir Ashiq-Muhammad Kükältäsh to frighten him with the consequences of opposition and mollify him with promises of the favor enjoyed by those who joined the sultan's court and thus get him out. When the emissaries failed to achieve their end, command was given, and the iron-clawed tunnelers began to dig a breach into the fort. When they had been at it for three or four days, the foundation of the tower facing the Bagh-i Shahr was breached and it began to topple. Seeing that, those within failed in their resolve and sent a messenger to the caliphal court seeking security of their lives. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim was ordered to go to the gate of the fort, and both Ashiq-Muhammads, Shaykh Abdullah and Khwaja Miraki came down. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim reaffirmed the principles of the pact in

good faith and swore on the khan's behalf that if they turned over the fort none of their people would be harmed. Consequently the inhabitants of Ikhtiyaruddin left their narrow confines, some willingly but most by force.

The two Ashiq-Muhammads and Shaykh Abdullah were rebuked, but they got their possessions and property out and were given quarter. Ashiq-Muhammad Kükältäsh remained in Khurasan, but Ashiq-Muhammad Arghun and Shaykh Abdullah Bäkäül went off to join Badi'uzzaman Mirza. Khwaja Jalaluddin Miraki got off scot free through the good offices of Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud, one of his kinsmen. Kabuli Begim was given in marriage to Qambar Mirza Kükältäsh, and Temür Sultan took Andalib into his harem. Custody of the fort was given to Pahlawan Darwesh-Muhammad, and Janwafa Mirza moved there from his quarters outside the Khush Gate.

When Muhammad Khan Shaybani's mind was at ease concerning the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, he turned his attention to subduing the Tiratu Fort, which was under Amir Zaynuddin Ali's control. Consulting with his great amirs and pillars of state, and in view of the fact that this fort was one of the wonders of creation and to take it by force was beyond the capacity of the mightiest of kings, all were of the opinion that messengers and messages should be sent and Amir Zaynuddin [381] Ali should be persuaded to join [the Uzbek's] service. Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Munshi, who had a firm bond of friendship with the amir, was charged with that task. He went to Tiratu Fort, persuaded Amir Zaynuddin Ali with the strongest of oaths and assurances and brought him to court, where the amir turned over the keys of the fortress and its treasures to the servants of the court. He also presented his own personal possessions as tribute and escaped further retribution....

THE END OF SULTAN-HUSAYN MIRZA'S NOBLE OFFSPRING

It has been reported previously that when the victorious *khaqan* [Sultan-Husayn] raised his banners to the next world, he left behind seven sons born under lucky stars. Of these, Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza, Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza and Muhammad-Qasim Mirza quaffed the draught of martyrdom in Mashhad. Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza left one son, Sultan-Muhammad Bayqara by name, then aged three. On the day his father was killed some of the retinue took the prince and fled to Baward and Nasa. Apparently, after living in that region for several years, he died a natural death.

Abu'l-Mansur Muzaffar-Husayn Kürägän, as has been reported, died at Astarabad, leaving one daughter named Mihrangez Begim. When Muhammad Khan conquered Herat she was married to Ubaydullah Sultan. After living with him for a year or two, they separated and she came to Khurasan. At the present time, i.e., the year 929 [1523] that chaste lady is passing her days, without being under the command of a husband, somewhere in Iraq.

After leaving the Damghan fortress, Faridun-Husayn Mirza went among the Yaqa Turcomans. In the year 915 [1509-10], when Muhammad Khan Shaybani led his army against the tribes of the Qïpchaq Steppe, Faridun-Husayn Mirza gathered a small army and entered Khurasan, taking Kalat Fort. When the governor of Merv, Qambar Bey, heard of this, [394] he set out for Kalat Fort with a large Uzbek force, and the prince had too few supporters to hold onto the fortress. The victory went to Qambar, and Faridun-Husayn Mirza fell into the Uzbeks' hands and was put to death.

Ibn-i Husayn Mirza lived in comfort for several years under the protection of His Felicitous Majesty [Shah Isma'il], and in 919 [1513-14] he died of an accident in Kashan.

Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza, after spending three or four months in the royal camp of the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the globe [Shah Isma'il], was ordered to take up residence in Rayy. Because of the overbearing nature of Sultan Bayazid Barlas and Shaykh Abdullah Bäkäül, the prefect of that area Pir-Ahmad Warsaq was ordered to kill them both. Then he set out for Astarabad with the soldiers who had gathered around him. The governor of Jurjan, Khwaja Ahmad Qonqïrat, faced him and a fierce battle broke out between them. Muhammad-Qulï, who was the dearest of all persons to Badi'uzzaman Mirza and was distinguished among his peers for his beauty, conduct and elegant nature, was killed in that battle. Badi'uzzaman Mirza's forces were defeated, and that once mighty padishah emerged from the fray with his retainers and set forth for Hindustan. Reaching Uchh and Thatta, he was met and honored by the governor of that province, who sent him abundant gifts, *peshkash* and tribute. Sultan Badi-'uzzaman Mirza stayed among the Sindis for over a year before coming once again to the court of world refuge.

In the year 919 [1513] he arrived at court in Khurasan and was received with great favor. He accompanied the royal camp to Azerbaijan, where he submitted his resignation from the retinue, which was graciously accepted by His Majesty. It was settled that Badi'uzzaman Mirza should live in Shamb-i Ghazan and that the fiscal administrators of Tabriz should make over for his maintenance the amount of one thousand dinars a day.

In Rajab of 920 [August 1514], when the padishah of Rûm, Sultan Selim, came to Tabriz to fulfill the decree of the Lord of All, he honored Mirza Badi'uzzaman and took him to Istanbul. After three or four months in that country Sultan Badi-'uzzaman Mirza was stricken with the plague, and the meaning of the Koranic verse "No soul knows in what land it shall die" was applicable to his situation. When the time of his life came to an end, he responded to the call of death and passed on with a thousand regrets.

> O heart, the fortune of this world is not forever. Beware lest you hope for fidelity from the world. The brilliance of your perfection will fade in the end, no matter at what zenith of kingship you may be, O sun. How can the sun of life last forever? The light of eternity will not shine forever. King and beggar, lord and slave, the messenger of death comes to all.

"Every thing shall perish, except himself: unto him belongeth judgment; and before him shall ye be assembled at the last day."[137]

When Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza died, one son remained, Mirza Muhammad-Zaman.

[137]Koran 28:88.

Anonymous

Synoptic Account of the House of Timur

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

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

❁

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

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

The next year Zhanda-Hasham revolted and was put down. Thereafter His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** set out for the Mughuls, going as far as Sangar Yaghach and subduing many tribes. As he was returning from there, Amir Musa, Zhanda-Hasham, the sayyids of Tirmidh and Shaykh Abu-Layth of Samarqand mutinied and went out against him. He killed Zhanda-Hasham but took no retribution upon the others. He set out for Khwarazm and returned peacefully that time.

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

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

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

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

In the year 787 [1385] His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** went once again to Iran, conquering Tabriz, Khoy, Salmas, ... Arran, Muqan, Shirvan and Georgia. Toqtamïsh came again to the banks of the Kura but retreated in defeat after seeing only the vanguard of the army. After those victories His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** returned via Burujird, Nihawand and Khurramabad, which regions he conquered, taking prisoner Malik Izzuddin and his son Sidi-Ahmad. Then he headed toward Isfahan, which he devastated by massacre. Next he took Fars. By chance at that time Toqtamïsh had dispatched a large army to Transoxiana under the leadership of Aq Khwaja Oghlan. **Prince Umar-Shaykh** was in the capital [Samarqand]. The amirs of Samarqand, like Abbas, Sulaymanshah and Barat Khwaja joined His Highness, and in 788 [1386], in a place called Chugalak, they gave battle to the Toqmaq. The amirs of Samarqand withdrew in rout. His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** and his men made a valiant showing, but since it was not possible to regroup in the face of such a rout, he went to Uzjand. The Toqmaq headed for Samarqand, raiding and taking prisoners in Qarsh[ï], Bukhara and dependencies. Just then, by chance, Anga Tura came to Uzjand, and His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** faced him in battle. After much fighting he drove the rebel away. When His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** heard this news in Fars, he left Yahya b. Muzaffar b. Muhammad Muzaffar in Shiraz and set out to return home. When the Toqtamïshites learned that His Majesty was approaching, they fled. The imperial army pursued them for a great distance. His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** headed for Khwarazm. Sulaymanshah and Elyïghmïsh who were there abandoned the city and fled. His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** "turned [the city] upside down."[2]

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

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[2]Koran 11:82.

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

In the year 800 he held a great feast at which Begisi Sultan was married to His Highness the **Sultan**. In 801 he set out for India, conquering those realms up to be banks of the Ganges. Returning with many elephants and much booty, he ordered the construction of a new Friday mosque at Samarqand. Without warning Khanzada arrived to report that Miranshah's mind was deranged, that he had rebelled and that Azerbaijan was in turmoil. Consequently His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** went to Azerbaijan and reduced Miranshah to nought. The first year [of this campaign] he conquered Georgia; the second year he headed for Syria, which he conquered; the third year he massacred Baghdad; the fourth year he liberated Anatolia; and the fifth and sixth years he consolidated his gains and returned. During his return he placed Umar in Tabriz, Aba-Bakr in Baghdad, His Highness the **Sultan** in Hamadan, Rustam in Isfahan, and Prince Pir-Muhammad in Shiraz, with Miranshah in Aba-Bakr's charge. When he reached Samarqand he held great banquets at which were married Muhammad Taraghay b. Shahrukh, Sayyid-Ahmad and Bayqara b. Umar-Shaykh Bahadur, Ejil b. Miranshah, Ibrahim b. Shahrukh and Elängir b. Aba-Bakr b. Miranshah.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[5]Given elsewhere as 777.

and all the world had placed its hopes upon His Highness the **Sultan**, the realms of Fars and Iraq were adorned by his felicitous fortune and state, and he once again gained control of the realms that had been lost by the contention of Miranshah's sons. He killed Mu'tasim, the last hope of the Muzaffarids, defeated the Turcoman forces, and wrenched Isfahan from the hands of its usurpers. After that he conquered all of Luristan and other provinces up to the gates of Tabriz, and from Mecca and Medina to Kuch and Makran, and from Khurasan to the Iron Gates of Darband, all were under the control of prefects appointed by him. From the age of ten until this very moment the wake of his renowned sword and his successful arm has spread through Iran and Turan and across time and space. The Mughul nation is held back by the force of his sword like Gog and Magog behind a dam of fear and trembling. And whenever they encroach, his heros arrive like demons from lightning bolts and madmen from water and drive them farther back. The Emperor of China, the heir of Faghfur, Khaqan and Afrasiyab, recognizes his suzerainty to this state and acknowledges himself a servant of His Highness, and his emissaries travel for two years bearing gifts and tribute. All the scions of royal families, like Ahmad of Baghdad and other *khaqan*s too, prostrate themselves at his golden threshold. Although there are great records of past sultans and emperors, His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** and His Highness Prince Umar-Shaykh annulled them all and established records impossible to equal, yet His Highness has achieved such works and left such a record of deeds in the world that all the perfection of the [aforementioned] two sultans and so many thousands of other rulers would also be effaced from the pages of the mind and the ledgers of thought. Of the sciences of divinity, philosophy, arithmetic, mathematics, revelation, rational and tradition and other rare accomplishments, of what every class of the nations of the world employ, know, do and use, he has surpassed the totality of the masters of those arts and founders of those canons and added a hundred thousand points and subtleties to each of them. He has elevated every art to such an apogee of perfection, unsurpassable apex and degree of absoluteness that no addition can be imagined. Even in sciences the likes of Sayyid Nuruddin Ni'matullah, Sayyid Sharif, Khwaja Sadruddin Turka, and Shaykh Muhammad Jazari, each of whom is miraculous in several thousand arts and sciences, consider themselves honored to benefit from his assembly, and every problem that has presented itself during this period of time to each of these men in the religious and mystical sciences, they have reported to him one by one and discovered a solution. All the various nations and classes of creatures of the world, externally and internally, bow to his generous existence in fealty and obedience and seek from his high-minded great fortune assistance and aid. They recognize that their lives, religion, worldly goods, safety and security, fame and status depend upon his grace and favor, and they acknowledge that eternal torment and humility hang upon disobedience of his command.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Sons of Prince Shahrukh. [Shahrukh] has ruled Khurasan well, and although he was plagued by several large-scale rebellions, such as Sayyid Khwaja's revolt and Hasan Jandar and Jahan Malik's mutiny, he did not give up an inch. Another time he had to fend off Umar's sedition, which was the worst of all. When Umar was defeated, he joined [Shahrukh] in Astarabad. Prince Shahrukh gave him all of Mazanderan. After one year of residence there, during which he gained power, he rebelled and caused much devastation as he set forth for Herat. Although Prince Shahrukh heard of Pir-Ali's movement, he paid no attention and went out to meet Umar. In the vicinity of Bardu [?], a dependency of Jam they encountered each other and a battle ensued. [Shahrukh] defeated Umar, who headed to take refuge in Balkh. In the area of Chechäk Tu he ran across some of [Amir] Mizrab's herdsmen and wanted to drive the horses. The herdsmen surrounded him with swords, brought him down and took him to the *ordu*. Since he had a bad wound on his head, he died of that. However, many people claim that during surgery a needle was driven into his head, destroying his brain. His tomb is on the Khiyavan in Herat. When the news of his defeat was published abroad, Pir-Ali killed Pir-Muhammad and wanted to head toward Herat, but he was unable and remained uncertain what to do. Prince Shahrukh came out toward him and drove him into exile from Balkh. He gave Balkh to Qaydu, Pir-Muhammad's son. While Shahrukh was in Sistan, Qaydu connived with Khalil and laid the foundations of sedition. Prince Shahrukh took Balkh from him and gave it to his own son Ibrahim-Sultan and dispatched Qaydu to Kabul and Ghazni. Today he has consolidated from the piedmont of Kashghar to the borders of Qumis and Tabaristan and has amassed treasures and wealth beyond the imagination.

NAME	Taraghay	Ibrahim	Baysunghur	Soyurghatmïsh
FATHER	Shahrukh	Shahrukh	Shahrukh	Shahrukh
MOTHER	Gawharshad	Tuti[7]	Gawharshad	Gawharshad

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

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

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

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

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

Copied[8] on Tuesday evening, the 21st of Rabi' I, A.H. 816 [June 21, 1413], praising God and praying for his prophet, at the Abode of Security Isfahan—may God preserve her from calamity.

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

Babur Mirza

Baburnama

Babur Mirza, son of Umar-Shaykh Mirza and grandson of Sultan Abu-Sa'id, originally from the Ferghana Basin, was driven from Central Asia by the Uzbek invasion. In search of territory to rule he finally crossed the Indus and defeated the rulers of northern India. There he founded the dynasty known to the west as the Mughals of India, although in fact this last branch of the Timurids, who ruled in India until 1858, always referred to themselves as the Gurkaniyya, the dynastic name adopted from Timur's title, Kürägän.

In his memoirs written in his native Chaghatay Turkish, Babur gives character sketches of his uncles Sultan-Ahmad Mirza, Sultan-Mahmud Mirza, and his cousins Baysunghur Mirza and Sultan-Husayn Mirza. The description of a visit he made to Herat in 1506 while Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza were exercising their short co-rule is a classic instance of the country cousin come to town.

❁

Sultan-Ahmad Mirza

His birth and lineage. He was born in the year 855 [A.D. 1451], the year Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza took the throne. He was the eldest of all Sultan Abu-Sa'id's sons. His mother was Ordu Buqa Tarkhan's daughter and Darwesh-Muhammad Tarkhan's sister. She was [Sultan Abu-Sa'id] Mirza's principal wife.

His features. He was tall in stature, his beard was brown, he had a red face and was fat. He had a beard on his chin but not on his cheeks. **[18b]** He was very well spoken. He wore his turban in the fashion of the time, wrapped in four folds with the fringe forward over the brow.

His character. He was a man of orthodox Hanafi belief. He never missed the five daily prayers. Even when he was drinking he didn't skip his prayers. He was devoted to Khwaja Ubaydullah and was especially respectful in the Khwaja's company. It is said that in the Khwaja's assembly he never sat with one knee over the other.[1] Only once in the Khwaja's presence did he, contrary to his custom, sit with his feet together. After the mirza had gone, the Khwaja ordered the place where he had been sitting to be searched, and there was a bone there. He never read anything at all and was unlettered. Although he had grown up in the city, he was rustic and simple. He had not a shred of poetic talent. He was a just person, and as he followed in the Khwaja's footsteps, most of his affairs were decided according to Islamic law, and his word was absolutely reliable. Never did he break his

[1] I.e., he sat in the "respectful" position, both knees to the ground and resting on the heels.

word. He was brave, and although he never got a chance really to do battle, they say that in several frays his courage was obvious. [19a]

He was an excellent archer, and his arrows usually hit the bull's eye. Mostly he could hit the *qabaq* while charging from one end of the field to the other. Toward the end he got fat and hunted pheasant and quail with a ball and chain, seldom missing. He was a falconer, and quite good at it too. After Ulughbeg Mirza there was no king so given to hawking. Moreover, he was extremely modest. They say that even in privacy with his confidants and *ichkis* he used to hide his feet. When he started drinking he drank continually for twenty or thirty days, but when he stopped he did not drink again for another twenty or thirty days. Once he sat down in an assembly he could sit all night and through the next day. He was a good drinker. On the days he was not drinking he would take his meals on the run [?]. His temperament was dominated by parsimony. He was a man of few words and humane. His affairs were managed by his begs.

His battles. He fought four battles. He fought Shaykh Jamal Arghun's younger brother Ni'mat Arghun in the vicinity of Zamin at Aqar Tozï and won. Another time he fought Umar-Shaykh Mirza at Khawass and won. Another time was with Sultan-Mahmud Khan beside the Chir River in the vicinity of Tashkent. Although it was not a real battle, [19b] Mughul raiders came from his rear in ones and twos and got hold of the baggage, and such a huge army fell to pieces without any fighting or endeavor or any encounter at all. Many of the army were drowned in the Chir River. Another time he defeated Haydar Kükältäsh near Yar Yaylaq.

His domain. He held Samarqand and Bukhara, which his father had given him. After Abdul-Qaddus killed Shaykh Jamal, he seized Tashkent, Shahrukhiyya and Sayram, which remained under his control for a while. Later he gave Tashkent and Sayram to his younger brother Umar-Shaykh Mirza. Khujand and Örä Tepä were held by Sultan-Ahmad Mirza for a time.

His children. He had two sons who died in infancy. He had five daughters. The eldest of the four he had by Qataq Begim was Rabi'a Sultan Begim, who was called Qara Köz (Black Eyes) Begim. During the mirza's lifetime she was married to Sultan-Mahmud Khan, by whom she had one son named Baba Khan. He was a very nice little boy, but when the Uzbeks martyred the khan at Khujand, they killed him and several others. After Sultan-Mahmud Khan's death Jani Beg Sultan married her.

The second daughter was Saliha Begim, who was called Aq Begim. After Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's death Sultan-Mahmud Mirza arranged [wedding] feasts and married her to his eldest son Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza. Later she and Mihrnigar Khanïm went to Kashghar.

The third daughter was Ayisha Sultan Begim. When I was five years old and went to Samarqand, we were affianced. Later, during my rencontres,[2] she came to Khujand and I married her. The second time I took Samarqand she had a little girl who died after several days. Shortly before the loss of Tashkent she left me at her elder sister's instigation.

The fourth daughter was Sultanïm Begim. Sultan-Ali Mirza married her. After [his death] Temür Sultan married her. After him, Mahdi Sultan married her.

The youngest daughter was Ma'suma Sultan Begim. Her mother was Habiba Sultan Begim, niece of Sultan Arghun of the Arghuns. I saw her when I went to

[2]The term is *qazaqlïq*, a guerilla engagement. It refers to a claimant's battles and combats during an interregnum or before the claimant attains the throne.

Khurasan, liked her and asked for her hand. I had her brought to Kabul and married her. She had one daughter, and she died in childbirth. The girl was named for her mother.

His wives and concubines. The first was Mihrnigar Khanïm, whom Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza chose for him. She was Yunus Khan's eldest daughter and my mother's elder sister. [20b]

Another was Tarkhan Begim, who was of the Tarkhans.

Another was Qataq Begim. She was Tarkhan Begim's *kükältäsh*. Sultan-Ahmad Mirza married her for love. He adored her passionately, but she was utterly domineering. She also drank wine. During her lifetime Sultan-Ahmad Mirza did not go to any of his other wives. In the end he had her killed and obtained release from disgrace.

Another was Khanzada Begim. She was of the Tirmidh *khanzadas*. Sultan-Ahmad Mirza had just married her when I went to Samarqand at age five. Her face was still veiled, and they had me remove her veil, as is the Turkish custom.

Another was Ahmad Hajji Beg's granddaughter named Latif Begim. After the mirza died Hamza Sultan married her. By him she had three sons. When I defeated the sultans under Hamza Sultan and Temür Sultan and took Hisar, these and other *sultanzadas* fell into my hands. I freed them all.

Another was Habiba Sultan Begim, a niece of Sultan Arghun.

Sultan-Mahmud Mirza

His birth and lineage. He was born in 857 [1453], the third son of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza. He was a full brother to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza.

His features. He was short in stature, had a scanty beard, was a fat and rather ill-shaped (*sïnčïsïz*) person. His character and conduct were good. He never missed his prayers. His administration was excellent. He knew accounting well. Not a dirhem or a dinar was spent in his province without his knowing about it. He never denied his liegemen their allowances. His assemblies, table and divan were very good. Everything was done according to rule. The military and civilians were not able to transgress any arrangement or plan he made. He is said to have kept birds formerly, and later he did a lot of battue hunting.[3] He was addicted to vice and debauchery. He drank wine continually. He kept a lot of catamites. He turned his begs' sons and his sons' begs and *kükältäsh*es into catamites. He demanded this service even of the brother of his own *kükältäsh*. During his time this shameful vice was so widespread that there was no one at all who did not have catamites. To keep them was considered a virtue, and not to keep them was a fault. His sons all died young of shameful immoderation and debauchery.

He had poetic ability and made a divan, but his poetry is very weak and flat. He composed so much that it probably would have been better if he had composed less. He was irreligious. He made fun of Khwaja Ubaydullah. He was a cowardly man and had little modesty. Around him he had buffoons and clowns who performed lewd, indecent acts during his divan, right out in front of people. He did not express himself well, and no one could understand immediately what he meant.

His battles. He twice fought battles, both times with Sultan-Husayn Mirza. Once he was defeated at Astarabad, and once he was defeated at a place near Andkhud called Chäkmän. Twice he made raids into Kafiristan, which is to the south of Badakhshan. For this reason

[3] *Nihilam avïnï qalïn avlar edi.* The term *nihilam* is explained as the Badakhshani equivalent of *tasqavul* (battue). See Abu'l-Fazl, *The Akbar Nama*, I, 496.

[26b] he was styled "Sultan-Mahmud Ghazi" on his seal.[4]

His domain. Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza gave him Astarabad. During the Iraq campaign he went to Khurasan. At that time Qanbar-Ali Beg, the governor of Hisar, mobilized the Hindustan army at Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's order and was following the mirza to Iraq. When he reached Khurasan he joined Sultan-Mahmud Mirza. As soon as the people of Khurasan heard of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's approach, they attacked Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and drove him from Khurasan. He then went to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza in Samarqand. A few months later, Sayyid-Badr, Khusrawshah and some other warriors under the leadership of Ahmad Mushtaq took Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and fled with him to Qanbar-Ali Beg in Hisar. Thereafter the region to the south of Quhqa and the Kohtin Mountains, i.e., Tirmidh, Chaghaniyan, Hisar, Khuttalan, Qunduz, Badakhshan and the Hindu Kush range, were under Sultan-Mahmud Mirza's control.

After the death of his elder brother Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's possessions came under his control.

His children. He had five sons and eleven daughters.

The eldest son was Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza, whose mother was [27a] the daughter of Mir Buzurg of Tirmidh.

Baysunghur Mirza was another, and his mother was Pasha Begim.

Another son was Sultan-Ali Mirza, whose mother was Zuhra Begi Agha, an Uzbek concubine.

Another son was Sultan-Husayn Mirza. His mother was Khanzada Begim, a granddaughter of Mir Buzurg. He died during the mirza's lifetime at the age of thirteen.

Another was Sultan-'Ways Mirza, whose mother was Yunus Khan's daughter, my mother's younger sister Sultan Nigar Khanïm. Accounts of these four mirzas will be mentioned in this history according to the year of occurrence.

Of the three daughters who were full sisters to Baysunghur Mirza, the eldest was married to Malik Muhammad, the son of Minuchihr Mirza, Sultan-Mahmud Mirza's paternal uncle.

There were five daughters by Khanzada Begim, Mir Buzurg's granddaughter. The eldest was married to Aba-Bakr Kashghari after Sultan-Mahmud Mirza's death. [27b]

The second was Bikä Begim. When Sultan-Husayn Mirza was besieging Hisar, before making peace and withdrawing from Hisar, he betrothed her to Haydar Mirza, his son by Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's daughter Payanda Sultan Begim.

The third daughter was Aq Begim.

The fourth was affianced to Jahangir Mirza[5] when Sultan-Husayn Mirza attacked Qunduz and Umar-Shaykh Mirza sent his son Jahangir Mirza with the Andijan regiment as reinforcements. In 910 [1504–5] Baqi Chaghaniyani came to me on the banks of the Oxus to pay homage. These ladies were then in Tirmidh with their mothers and came with Baqi Chaghaniyani's people and joined [me]. When we reached Kahmard Jahangir Mirza married her. He had one daughter by her. At this date she is with her grandmother Khanzada Begim in Badakhshan.

The fifth daughter was Zaynab Sultan Begim. When I took Kabul, through the good offices of my mother Qutlugh Nigar Khanïm I married her. She was not very congenial, and two or three years later she died of small-pox.

[4] *Ghāzī*, warrior for the faith.

[5] Babur's younger brother.

There was another daughter, Makhduma Sultan Begim, Sultan-Ali Mirza's elder sister. She is now in Badakhshan.

There were two other daughters by concubines. [28a] One was named Rajab Sultan, the other Muhibb Sultan.

His wives and concubines. His chief wife was Khanzada Begim, daughter of Mir Buzurg of Tirmidh. The mirza loved her very much. She was Sultan-Mas'ud's mother. When she died the mirza grieved greatly. Later he married Mir Buzurg's granddaughter, who was Khanzada Begim's brother's daughter. She too was named Khanzada Begim. She was the mother of five daughters and one son.

Another was Pasha Begim, the daughter of Ali-Shakar, a Turcoman beg of the Baharlu tribe of the Qaraqoyunlu confederation. She had been married to Jahanshah Mirza Barani Qaraqoyunlu's son Muhammadi Mirza. When Uzun Hasan of the Aqqoyunlu confederation took Azerbaijan and Iraq from Jahanshah's sons, Ali-Shakar Beg's sons entered Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's service along with four or five thousand households of Qaraqoyunlu Turcomans. When Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza was defeated, they came to these regions [Transoxiana] and entered Sultan-Mahmud Mirza's service when he went to Hisar from Samarqand. It was then that the Mirza married this Pasha Begim, who became the mother of one son and three daughters.

Another was Sultan Nigar Khanïm, whose lineage has already been given with that of the khans. [28b]

There were many concubines and mistresses. The chief concubine was Zuhra Begi Agha, an Uzbek. She had one son and one daughter.

He had many mistresses. By two of them he had the two daughters already mentioned....

Baysunghur Mirza

His birth and lineage. He was born in 882 [1477] in the province of Hisar. He was Sultan-Mahmud's second son, younger than Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza and older than Sultan-Ali Mirza, Sultan-Husayn and Sultan-'Ways Mirza, who was known as Khan Mirza. His mother was Pasha Begim. [68b]

His features. He had big eyes, a full face, a medium build, and Turcoman features—altogether a good-looking young man.

His character. He was a just and humane, good natured and learned prince. His teacher, Sayyid Mahmud, is said to have been a Shiite, and for this reason Baysunghur Mirza was similarly infected. They say that later in Samarqand he renounced this vile doctrine and became orthodox. He was too fond of the wine cup, but when he was not drinking he performed his prayers. He was moderate in his liberality and generosity. He wrote the *nasta'liq* character very well,[6] and his hand was not bad at painting either. He composed some marvelous poetry. His nom de plume was Adili, but he did not compose enough poetry to make a divan. This is one of his verses:

> Like a shadow I stumble and fall from weakness. If I don't lean against a wall I fall down.

Baysunghur Mirza's poetry was so popular in Samarqand that there were few houses in which you would not find some of his poems.

His battles. He fought two battles. Once he fought with Sultan-Mahmud Khan. When he first came to the throne, Sultan-Mahmud Khan was enticed by

[6] A specimen of his calligraphy is preserved in Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, folio 17[a]a.

Sultan-Junayd Barlas and some others to take Samarqand. He led his army through Aq Kotal to the vicinity of Ribat-i Sughd and Kanabay. Baysunghur Mirza came forth from Samarqand and defeated Sultan-Mahmud Khan at Kanabay. He had three or four thousand Mughuls beheaded. Haydar Kükältäsh, who was the khan's factotum, died in this battle.

Another time at Bukhara he fought Sultan-Ali Mirza and was defeated.

His realm. His father Sultan-Mahmud Mirza gave him Bukhara. After his father died, his father's begs agreed to make him padishah in Samarqand. Bukhara was also within his jurisdiction for a while, but he lost it after the Tarkhans' revolt. When I took Samarqand he went to Khusrawshah, who took Hisar and gave it to him.

He had no children. When he went to Khusrawshah, he married his uncle Sultan-Khalil Mirza's daughter. He had no other wife or concubine. He never ruled so autonomously as to have elevated anyone or made anyone an important beg. His begs were those of his father and uncle. **[69b]** ...

The Death of Sultan-Husayn Mirza and an Account of His Career

Around this time Sultan-Husayn firmly resolved to repel Shaybani Khan and to that end summoned all his sons. He sent Sayyid Sultan-Ali Khwabbin's son Sayyid-Afzal to invite me too. It was incumbent upon us to go to Khurasan for several reasons. One was that when a great king like Sultan-Husayn, who occupied Timur Beg's throne, **[163a]** sent out a summons to all parts to his sons and begs and was mounting a campaign against an opponent like Shaybani Khan, if others were going on foot we would go on our head, and if others were going armed with clubs we would go armed with rocks. Another reason was that in view of the ill feeling with which Jahangir Mirza had gone off, we would either have to resolve the dispute or have to ward off an attack by him.

This same year [911/1505-6] Shaybani Khan laid siege to Chïn Sufi at Khwarazm for ten months. During the siege there were many skirmishes. The defenders of Khwarazm performed valiantly, with no shortcoming on their part. They shot so well that often their arrows pierced shield and mail—sometimes even two layers of mail. The siege was sustained for ten months with no hope [of relief] from any quarter. In despair some of [Chïn Sufi's] men opened negotiations with the Uzbeks, and while firing on and unhorsing the Uzbeks approaching the fortress, he was hit from behind in a volley of arrows and killed by his own page. As there was no one left to fight, [the Uzbeks] took the fort. God have mercy on Chïn Sufi, he left nothing to be desired in courageousness and manliness.

Shaybani Khan gave Khwarazm to Köpäk Bey and went to Samarqand.

In the latter part of the year, in Dhu'l-Hijja [May 1506], having led his army against Shaybani Khan as far as Baba Ilahi, Sultan-Husayn Mirza died.

Birth and lineage. He was born at Herat in 842 [1438] during Shahrukh's reign. He was Sultan-Husayn Mirza b. Mansur b. Bayqara b. Umar-Shaykh b. Amir Timur. Mansur Mirza and Bayqara Mirza did not rule.

His mother was Firoza Begim, a great-granddaughter of Timur Beg. [Through her] Sultan-Husayn Mirza was also a great-grandson of Miranshah, and noble on both sides—a king born. [Mansur Mirza and Firoza Begim] had two sons, Bayqara Mirza and Sultan-Husayn Mirza, and two daughters, Äkä Begim and the

one Ahmad Khan married, Bädkä Begim.[7]

Although Bayqara Mirza was older than Sultan-Husayn Mirza, Sultan-Husayn was still his liege lord. Bayqara Mirza was not always present at court, although at other than divan court they sat on one *töshäk*. The younger brother gave [the elder brother] the province of Balkh, where he ruled for a few years. Bayqara Mirza had three sons, Sultan-Muhammad Mirza, Sultan-'Ways Mirza and Sultan-Iskandar Mirza.

Äkä Begim **[164a]** was the prince's elder sister. She was married to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza, Miranshah Mirza's great-grandson, and had one son named Kichik Mirza. At first he was in his maternal uncle's service, but later he left the military and took up study. It is said that he became a scholar. He had a talent for poetry. This quatrain is his:

> For a long time I took great pains to acquire piety; in asceticism I showed myself to be outstanding.
> When love arrived, where did my asceticism and piety go? Thank God I tested myself.

[The sentiment] coincides with a quatrain by Mulla [Jami]. In the end he went on the pilgrimage.

Bädkä Begim was also older than the Mirza. During his rencontres she was married to Ahmad Khan the son of Hajji Tarkhan Khan. There were two sons by this marriage, both of whom went to Herat and were long in the Mirza's service.

His appearance. His eyes were slanted, and he had the build of a lion, slender from the waist down. Even when he was very old and had a white beard he wore beautiful red and green silk. He wore either a lambskin *börk* or a *qalpaq*. Occasionally on feast days he would put on a badly wrapped trifold turban, stick a heron feather in it and go to the prayer.

His character. When he first took the throne he thought to have the Twelve Imams' names read in the *khutba*;[8] **[164a]** however, Ali-Sher Beg and others prevented it. Later all of his acts were in accordance with the Sunni sect. Because of arthritis he was unable to perform prayers; he did not fast either. He was a talkative and good-humored person. His character was a bit sharp, and his words were like his character. In some of his dealings he maintained the religious law scrupulously. Once, because his son had killed a man, he turned him over to the dead man's heirs and sent him to the tribunal. He was abstinent for six or seven years when he first came to the throne, but he later took to drink. For the nearly forty years he was king in Khurasan not a day passed that he did not drink after the midday prayer, but he never had a morning draught. His sons and all his military and civilian men were addicted to drink and lived with inordinate revelry and debauchery. He was a brave and courageous person. Many times he took to the sword himself, and he often wielded the sword in battle. Of Timur Beg's progeny no one is known to have wielded the sword as did Sultan-Husayn Mirza. He had poetic talent, and composed a divan. He composed in Turkish with the pen name Husayni. Some of his lines are not bad, but the Mirza's divan is all in one meter. Although he was a great king both in terms of longevity and in terms of rule, he kept rams and doves like a little child and also indulged in gamecocks.

His battles. During his rencontres he once caused his horse to swim across the Gurgan River and soundly defeated a band of Uzbeks.

[7]Her full name was Badi'uljamal. See *Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 111.

[8]I.e., the establishment of Shiism as the official state religion.

Another time Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza sent three thousand troops into battle under Muhammad-Ali Bakhshï. Sultan-Husayn Mirza enjoined battle with only sixty warriors and beat them hands down. This was one of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's outstanding feats.

At Astarabad he fought with and beat Sultan-Mahmud Mirza.

Another time at Astarabad he defeated Sa'dlïq Sa'd b. Husayn the Turcoman.

After taking the throne, he defeated Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza at Chanaran.

He attacked from Sar-i Pul on the Murghab River and surprised Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza, who was prone from drink in the Bagh-i Zaghan. With that capture he secured Khurasan.

Again he fought with Sultan-Mahmud Mirza at Chekmän [Saray] in the vicinity of Andkhud and Shuburghan and beat him.

By defeating Aba-Bakr Mirza, who had joined with the Black Sheep Turcomans who had come from Iraq and beaten Ulughbeg Mirza at Takana and Khimar, Sultan-Husayn Mirza took Kabul. Because of the turmoil in Iraq he left Kabul, went through the Khyber Pass, crossed the Khushab near Multan and reached Siwi. Leaving there, he took Karman; however, unable to hold it, **[165b]** he attacked and seized the province of Khurasan.

At Pul-i Chiragh he once defeated his son Badi'uzzaman Mirza. Once again at Halwa Chashma he defeated two of his sons, Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and Kipik Mirza.

Once he led his army to attack Qunduz but, unable to take it, withdrew. Another time he attacked Hisar, which he was unable to take. Yet another time he moved against Dhu'l-Nun's province. The prefect of Bost turned over Bost, but nothing else was accomplished. He even left Bost and withdrew. In these two or three campaigns a brave and great king like Sultan-Husayn Mirza did not show royal resolve and withdrew without accomplishing anything.

At Nishin Ölängi he defeated his son Badi'uzzaman Mirza, who had come with Dhu'l-Nun's son Shah Beg. Here a strange coincidence of events occurred. The army with Sultan-Husayn Mirza was small, most of his troops having been sent to Astarabad. The very day of the encounter the troops that had gone to Astarabad arrived and joined him. From the other side Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza, who had let Baysunghur Mirza take Hisar, was coming to Sultan-Husayn Mirza. He too arrived that very day, and so did Haydar Mirza, who had gone to attack Badi'uzzaman Mirza in Sabzawar.

His realm. His realm was Khurasan, Balkh in the east, Bistam **[166a]** and Damghan in the west, Khwarazm in the north, and Qandahar and Sistan in the south. When a city like Herat fell to his possession, he did nothing night and day but revel and carouse. Among his followers and retainers there was no one who did not indulge in revelry and carousal. He abandoned the toil and trouble of conquest and military leadership. Consequently, as time passed, his retainers and realm dwindled instead of increasing.

His children. Fourteen sons, eleven daughters survived.[9] The eldest son was Badi'uzzaman Mirza, whose mother was [Bikä Sultan] the daughter of Sanjar Mirza of Merv.

Next was Shah-Gharib Mirza. He was lame and, although his body was deformed, his nature was good. Although his body was weak, his words were pleasing. His pen name was Ghurbati, and he made a divan and composed in both Turkish and Persian. This line is his:

[9] *Qalïp edi:* survived infancy.

I spied a beauty in the lane and became mad for her. What is her name? Where does she live? I do not know her house.

For some time Shah-Gharib Mirza was given the governorship of Herat by Sultan-Husayn Mirza. He died during his father's lifetime leaving no offspring.

Another was Muzaffar Mirza. He was Sultan-Husayn Mirza's most beloved son, although his character and actions were not so loveable. Because the other sons saw him so much more favored, most of them rebelled. The mother of these two sons [Muzaffar and Shah-Gharib] was Khadija Begim, who had been a concubine of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza, **[166b]** by whom she had a daughter named Aq Begim.

Another was Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza; and another was Kipik Mirza, whose name was Muhammad-Muhsin. The mother of these two was Latif Sultan Aghacha.

Another was Abu-Turab Mirza. Formerly he was much spoken of as a prodigy. When he received news that his father's illness was growing worse and other news, he fled with his younger brother Muhammad-Husayn Mirza to Iraq, where he left the military and became a dervish. Thereafter nothing was heard of him. He left one son, Suhrab Mirza, who was with me when I defeated the sultans under the leadership of Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan and took Hisar. He was blind in one eye and was exceptionally ill-featured. His character was equal to his looks. For committing an act of immoderation he could not stay [with me], so he fled and was put to death for his immoderation by Najm Thani in the vicinity of Astarabad.

Another was Muhammad-Husayn Mirza. He and Shah Isma'il were confined together in Iraq, and it must have been then that he became a devotee of [Shah Isma'il]. Later he became a dyed-in-the-wool Shiite. Although his father and brothers were all Sunni, he died astray in that heresy in Astarabad. He is said to have been very brave and heroic, but no deed of his is so outstanding as to be worthy of writing about. He had a poetic talent, and this line is by him:

Covered with dust, whom are you hunting down? Drenched in sweat, into whose warm heart have you penetrated?

Another was Faridun-Husayn Mirza. **[167a]** He pulled a hard bow and was an excellent shot. His cross-bow *(kamān-i guroha)* is said to have weighed forty *batmans*. He was very courageous, but he was not victorious in battle. Every time he fought he was defeated. At Ribat-i Dudar Faridun-Husayn Mirza and his younger brother Ibn-i Husayn Mirza fought Shaybaq Khan's attack under Timur Sultan and Ubayd Sultan, and they were defeated, although Faridun-Husayn Mirza made several good showings. At Damghan Faridun-Husayn Mirza and Muhammad-Zaman Mirza were taken prisoner by Shaybani Khan. Instead of executing them, he let them both go. Later, when Shah-Muhammad Dewana fortified Qalat, he went there. When the Uzbek took Qalat he was taken prisoner and killed. All three of these princes were sons of Mengli Bey Aghacha, [Sultan-Husayn's] Uzbek concubine.

Another was Haydar Mirza. His mother was Payanda Sultan Begim, Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's daughter. During his father's lifetime he governed Mashhad and Balkh for a time. When Sultan-Husayn Mirza attacked Hisar, Sultan-Mahmud Mirza's daughter by Khanzada Begim was affianced to him, after which he left Hisar. One little daughter survived infancy, Shad Begim by name. She later came to Kabul and was given in marriage to Adil Sultan. Haydar Mirza departed this world during his father's lifetime. **[167b]**

Another was Muhammad-Ma'sum Mirza. He was given Qandahar, upon which occasion Ulughbeg Mirza's daughter was affianced to him. She was

brought to Herat and a large banquet was given for which a beautiful pavilion was set up. Although he was given Qandahar, no matter what he did it was really Shah Beg Arghun who did everything. This prince had no say of importance in any matter. For this reason he left Qandahar and went to Khurasan. He passed away during his father's lifetime.

Another, Farrukh-Husayn Mirza, departed this life before [Sultan-Husayn] Mirza did.

Another was Ibrahim-Husayn Mirza. His temperament was not bad, but by overindulging in Herat wine he drank himself to death during his father's lifetime.

Another two were Ibn-i Husayn Mirza and Muhammad-Qasim Mirza. They will be mentioned later. The mother of these five mirzas was Papa Aghacha, a concubine.

The eldest daughter was Sultanïm Begim. She was without siblings, and her mother was Chöli Begim, of the Adaq begs. She had a large vocabulary and was never at a loss for a word. She was married to her cousin, Bayqara Mirza's middle son, Sultan-'Ways Mirza, and had by him a daughter and a son. The daughter was given in marriage to Esänqulï Sultan, younger brother of Yili Bars Sultan of the Shaban sultans. The son is Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, to whom at this date I have given the governorship of the province of Qannawj. **[168a]** Sultanïm Begim died at Nilab as she was bringing her grandson from Kabul to Hindustan. Her people took her remains and returned [to Kabul]. Her grandson came on [to Hindustan].

Another was [Aq Begim, daughter of] Payanda Sultan Begim. She was sent to marry Babur Mirza's sister Bikä Begim's grandson Muhammad-Qasim Arlat. By him she had a little girl named Qara Köz Begim. Nasir Mirza married her.[10] [Payanda's] second daughter was Kichik Begim. Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza was very fond of her, but no matter how he tried Payanda Sultan Begim viewed him askance and would not give her to him. Later she was married to Mulla Khwaja, a descendant of Sayyid Ata. Her third daughter, Bikä Begim, and her fourth daughter, Agha Begim, were married to Rabi'a Sultan Begim's sons Babur Mirza and Sultan-Murad Mirza.

By Mengli Bey Aghacha there were two daughters. The elder was named Maryam Sultan,[11] and she was married to Sayyid Abdullah Mirza of the Andkhud sayyids, a grandson of Bayqara Mirza by one of his daughters. They had one son, Sayyid Baraka. When I took Samarqand he entered my service. Later he went to Urgench and became a pretender to rule. At Astarabad the *qïzïlbash* executed him. There was another girl named Fatima Sultan. She was married to Yadgar Mirza, who was of Timurid descent.

There were three daughters by Papa Aghacha. The eldest was Sultan-Nizhad Begim. She was married to Sultan-Husayn Mirza's brother's youngest son Iskandar Mirza. The middle girl was Begim Sultan, who was given in marriage to Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza after his eyesight was damaged. **[168b]** They had a daughter and a son. The daughter was raised by Sultan-Husayn Mirza's wife Apaq Begim. She left Herat and came to Kabul and was married to Sayyid Mirza Apaq. After Sultan Mas'ud Mirza was killed by the Uzbeks, [Begim Sultan] took her son on the pilgrimage. Lately it has been heard that both she and her son are in Mecca and that he has become something of a grandee. The third daughter was married to one of the Andkhud sayyids who is styled Sayyid-Mirza.

There was another daughter by another concubine, and she was called Ayisha

[10]Muhammad-Nasir Mirza, Babur's younger brother.

[11]Miscopied as Bayram Sultan in the text; Maryam Sultan given in *Mu'izz al-ansab* and *Habib al-siyar*.

Sultan. Her mother was Zubayda Agha, and she was a granddaughter of Hasan Shaykh Temür. She was married to Qasim Sultan, one of the Shaban sultans. By him she had a son named Qasim-Husayn Sultan. He joined my service in Hindustan, was present during the campaign against Rana Sanga and has been given Badaon. After Qasim Sultan she married a relative [of her first husband], Puran Sultan, by whom she had a son named Abdullah Sultan. As of this date he is in my service, and although he is young in age his service is not bad.

His wives and concubines. His first wife was Bikä Sultan Begim, daughter of Sanjar Mirza of Merv. Badi'uzzaman Mirza was born of her. She was very ill-tempered, and Sultan-Husayn Mirza suffered greatly from her. Because of her ill temper the Mirza came to such distress that in the end he put her away and was delivered. What was he to do? **[169a]** He had every right. "An evil woman in a good man's house is hell on earth." May God not afflict any Muslim with this catastrophe. O God, may there remain no ill-tempered, irascible woman in the world.

Chöli Begim of the Adaq begs, the mother of Sultanïm Begim.

Shahrbanu Begim, daughter of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza. He married her after ascending the throne. At the Battle of Chekmän all the Mirza's ladies got out of their litters and mounted horses, all except this one, who, relying upon her younger brother,[12] did not get out of her litter. This was reported to the Mirza, and for this reason he divorced Shahrbanu Begim and married her younger sister Payanda Begim. After the Uzbeks took Khurasan, Payanda Sultan Begim went to Iraq, where she died in a foreign land.

Khadija Begim had been Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's concubine, and by him she had one daughter, Aq Begim by name. After Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's defeat in Iraq she came to Herat, where Sultan-Husayn fell in love with her and married her. From the rank of concubine she advanced to the status of begim. Afterwards she became completely dominant. Muhammad-Mu'min Mirza was killed through her machinations. It was mostly her doings that caused Sultan-Husayn Mirza's sons to rebel. She thought herself clever, but she was a brainless chatterbox female. She was also a Shiite. Shah-Gharib Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza **[169b]** were born of her.

Apaq Begim had no children. Papa Aghacha, who was so dear [to the Mirza], was her *kükältäsh*. Since she had no children, she cared for Papa Aghacha's as her own. During the Mirza's illnesses she nursed him beautifully; none of his women could nurse as she did. The year I came to Hindustan she came from Herat, and I did her as much honor and paid her as much respect as I possibly could. During the siege of Chanderi I heard the news of her death in Kabul.

Latif Sultan Aghacha was a concubine. She was from Charshamba and was the mother of Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and Kipik Mirza.

Mengli Bey Aghacha was an Uzbek. She was one of Shahrbanu Begim's retinue and the mother of Abu-Turab Mirza, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and Faridun-Husayn Mirza. There were also two daughters.

Papa Aghacha was Apaq Begim's *kükältäsh*. The Mirza saw her, fell in love with her and took her [as a concubine]. She was the mother of five sons and four daughters, as has been mentioned.

Begi Sultan Aghacha had no children.

There were many other concubines and mistresses of no consequence. The important wives and concubines are those who have been mentioned.

[12] I.e., Shahrbanu Begim relied on her younger brother Sultan-Mahmud Mirza, whom Sultan-Husayn was fighting, to protect her.

It is strange that of the fourteen sons of a great king like Sultan-Husayn Mirza, the king of an Islamic city like Herat, only three were not illegitimate. In himself, **[170a]** his sons, his people and his nation vice and debauchery were rife and rampant. It was due to their shamefulness that, of such a great house, within seven or eight years, the only trace of them left was Muhammad-Zaman Mirza.

HIS AMIRS

Muhammad Burunduq Barlas. He was of Chäkü Barlas descent. Muhammad Burunduq b. Ali b. Burunduq b. Jahanshah b. Chäkü Barlas. He was a beg under Babur Mirza. Afterwards he was also patronized by Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza, who gave Kabul to him and Jahangir Barlas and made him *beg atäkä* to Ulughbeg Mirza. After Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza, Ulughbeg Mirza rose up in rebellion against the Barlas tribe, but they learned of it, kidnapped the mirza and moved the tribe toward Qunduz. They graciously escorted the mirza from the Hindu Kush toward Kabul and then went themselves to Khurasan to Sultan-Husayn Mirza, who patronized them well. Muhammad Burunduq was an extremely intelligent man and a great leader. He was so inordinately fond of hawking that when a falcon died or was lost, he would call his sons' names and say, "If so-and-so were to die or break his neck, what would it be compared to the death or loss of this bird?"

Muzaffar Barlas. He was present during the Mirza's rencontres. I do not know what it was in him that pleased the Mirza so, but he certainly patronized him greatly. He was of such importance that during the rencontres Sultan-Husayn Mirza promised him that of whatever realms were conquered two thirds would be the mirza's **[170b]** and one third would be his. This was a strange promise. In kingship how can it be right to make one's own retainer a co-ruler? One does not make such a promise to one's own brother or son, much less to a beg. After ascending the throne he regretted having made this promise, but it was too late. This dull-witted jerk had received such patronage that he had visions of grandeur. The Mirza had not acted intelligently. In the end they say he was poisoned, but God only knows the truth of the matter.

Ali-Sher Beg Nawa'i. He was not a beg but a companion. He [and Sultan-Husayn] were schoolmates in their youth and were close friends. I do not know for what offense Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza expelled him from Herat, but he went to Samarqand, where he stayed for a few years under the patronage and protection of Ahmad Hajji Beg. Ali-Sher Beg is well known for his temperamental delicacy. People imagined that his delicacy was due to pride in his wealth, but it probably was not so: this characteristic was probably innate in him. While he was in Samarqand he was just as finicky. Ali-Sher Beg had no equal. No one composed so much or so well in the Turkish language as he did.

He composed six *mathnawis*, five in imitation of the *Khamsa* and one called *Lisan al-tayr* (Tongue of the birds), in the meter of [Attar's] *Mantiq al-tayr* (Discourse of the birds). He completed four divans of *ghazals*, entitled *Gharayib al-sighar* (Extraordinary verse from childhood), *Nawadir al-shabab* (Rarities of youth), *Badi' al-wasat* (Remarkable verse from middle age), and *Fawayid al-kibar* (Benefits of old age). He has some good quatrains also. There are also some compositions by him which, in comparison with the ones mentioned, **[171a]** are inferior and weak. Among these are his epistolary compositions, which he collected in imitation of Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami. In short, every letter he ever wrote to anybody for anything he has collected. Another [of his works] is

the *Mizan al-awzan* on metrics. It is full of mistakes. Of the twenty-four quatrain meters he has made mistakes in four. In the scansion of some of the meters he has also made mistakes. This will be obvious to anybody who knows about metrics. He also made a Persian divan, in which he uses Fani as his pen name. Some of his lines are not bad, but most are flat *(sust)* and of low quality. He also composed some excellent things in music. He has some good *naqsh* and preludes.

No one is known ever to have been such a patron and encourager of artists as was Ali-Sher Beg. Master Qul-Muhammad, Shaykhi the flutist and Husayn the lutinist, who are tops on their instruments, gained advancement and reputation through the beg's patronage and encouragement. Master Bihzad and Shah-Muzaffar became so famous for painting through the beg's good offices.

Few have built as many charitable edifices as he did. He had no children or family and departed the world single and alone. At first he was a seal keeper; later he became a beg and governed Astarabad for a time. In the end he gave up the military. He took nothing from the mirza but rather made gifts every year of substantial sums to the mirza. **[171b]**

When Sultan-Husayn Mirza was returning from the Astarabad campaign he went out to greet him. As he went to get up after his interview with the Mirza, he had a seizure and could not rise. They got him up, but the physicians were incapable of making a diagnosis. The next morning he passed away. One of his lines of poetry is appropriate:

> Since no disease is apparent in this pain of which I am dying, what can physicians do for this calamity?

Ahmad Tükäl Barlas. For a time he held the governorship of Qandahar.

Wali Beg. A descendant of Hajji Sayfuddin Beg, he was one of the Mirza's great begs. He did not live long after Sultan-Husayn Mirza ascended the throne. He was observant of the prayers and was coarse *(türk)* but sincere.

Hasan Shaykh Temür. He was promoted by Babur Mirza to the rank of beg.

Noyan Beg. His father was of the Tirmidh sayyids; on his mother's side he was kin to both Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza and Sultan-Husayn Mirza. He was patronized by Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza, and he was an important beg in Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's service. He also served Sultan-Husayn Mirza and was well rewarded. He was an adventurer, a roué, a heavy drinker and loved to have a good time. Hasan Ya'qub became known as Hasan Noyan because he was in his service.

Jahangir Barlas. For a while he ruled Kabul jointly with Muhammad Burunduq. Later he joined Sultan-Husayn Mirza's service and was well rewarded. He was elegant and refined in his manners. He knew how to have a good time. Because he knew the methodology of hunting and falconry Sultan-Husayn Mirza left most of these things to him. He was a companion to Badi'uzzaman Mirza, who recminisced about being with him.

Mirza Ahmad Ali Farsi Barlas. Although he did not compose poetry, he had talent and knew poetry well. He was elegant and without peer.

Abdul-Khaliq Beg. Firozshah Beg, whom Shahrukh Mirza patronized so greatly, was his grandfather, for which reason he was known as Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah. He held Khwarazm for a while.

Ibrahim Dulday. He knew finance and administration very well. He was Muhammad Burunduq's right-hand man.

Dhu'l-Nun Arghun. He was a courageous man and wielded the sword well in Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's service during his reign. Afterwards also he joined the fray whenever he could. There was no disputing his bravery, but he was rather crazy. He left the service of our [Miranshahid] mirzas and entered the service of Sultan-Husayn Mirza, who gave him Ghor and the Nikdari. With seventy or eighty men **[172b]** he won many battles in those regions. With very, very few men he subdued many, many Hazaras and Nikdaris. No one else has ever maintained order among the Hazaras and Nikdaris as he did. For some time after he was given Zamin Dawar. His son Shah-Shuja' Arghun, even in his childhood, did battle alongside his father. Against Dhu'l-Nun's wishes, Sultan-Husayn Mirza promoted Shah-Shuja' and made him co-ruler with his father in Qandahar. Later the one father and son [Sultan-Husayn and Badi'uzzaman Mirza] caused rebellion between this father and son and stirred up strife. Later, when I had captured Khusrawshah, separated him from his retainers and taken Kabul, Dhu'l-Nun and Khusrawshah, unable to counter me, went to see Sultan-Husayn Mirza. He grew even greater after Sultan-Husayn Mirza died, when he was given the piedmont region around Herat, such as Awbih and Chaghcharan. When Badi-'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar Mirza became co-rulers, he was Badi'uzzaman Mirza's steward, while Muhammad Burunduq Barlas was Muzaffar Mirza's steward.

Although he was brave he was a bit of a fool. If he were not, would he have been so susceptible to flattery and disgraced himself? The details are as follows. He held such a position of authority and importance in Herat that several shaykhs and mullas went to him and said, "We are in touch with the *Qutb*. He has named you Hizhibrullah [Lion of God], and you will conquer the Uzbeks." He swallowed this flattery and, throwing a shawl around his neck, made motions of gratitude. **[173a]** When Shaybani Khan had defeated the mirzas one by one at Badghis, Dhu'l-Nun, believing those words to be true, faced Shaybani Khan at Qara Ribat with a hundred or a hundred and fifty men. A large contingent came forth, seized them and took them away. Dhu'l-Nun was taken and executed.

He was an orthodox man and never missed his prayers. He often performed supererogatory prayers too. He adored chess and put his whole heart and soul into playing. He played however he wanted. Avarice and stinginess were dominant in his character.

Darwesh Ali Beg. He was Ali-Sher Beg's younger brother. For a time he governed Balkh, where he commanded well. He was dull witted and devoid of talent. When Sultan-Husayn Mirza first attacked Qunduz he had him arrested for his stupidity. He was relieved of the governorship of Balkh. When I went to Qunduz in 916 [1510] he came to me. He was vacant and babbling, not worthy to be a beg and with no aptitude for companionship. It must have been through Ali-Sher Beg's influence that he was ever promoted.

Mughul Beg. For a time he held the governorship of Herat. Later he was given Astarabad. From Astarabad he fled to Iraq to Ya'qub Beg. He was a scoundrel and an inveterate gambler.

Sayyid Badr. He was very strong and extremely graceful. **[173b]** He was amazingly well mannered *(ṣāḥib-uṣūl)*. He was a fantastic dancer and performed inimitable dances that must have been his own invention. He was constantly in the Mirza's service and was always invited to drinking parties.

Islim Barlas. He was a coarse individual, but he certainly knew falconry well.

Some things he performed wonderfully. He could draw a thirty- or forty-*batman* bow and send the arrow straight through the target. In the *qabaq* field he could charge from one end of the field, unstring his bow, string it again (*yaynï tüšürüp qurup*), fire and hit the target. He could tie his string-grip (*zihgïr*) to one end of a string a yard or a yard and a half long and then tie the other end to a tree, pull it and fire an arrow through the string-grip. He could do a lot of such amazing things. He was always at [the Mirza's] service and attended every party.

Sultan Junayd Barlas. In his old age he joined Sultan-Ahmad Mirza. He is the father of the Sultan Junayd Barlas who is now the co-governor of Jawnpur.

Shaykh Abu-Sa'id Khan "Dar-miyan." I do not know whether it is because he brought a horse to the Mirza during a battle or because he repelled an assailant that he gained his nickname.[13]

Bihbud Beg. Early he served in the circle of pages. During the Mirza's rencontres he favored Bihbud Beg to such an extent that his name appeared on customs stamps and coinage.

Shaykhïm Beg. Because his pen name was Suhayli, he was called Shaykhïm Suhayli. He composed some fantastic poetry in which he used ferocious words and meanings. One of his lines is the following:

> On the night of grief the whirlpool of my cries swept the celestial spheres away: the dragon of my torriential tears carried off the inhabited quarter of the world.

It is well known that once when he recited this line to Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami, the Mawlana said, "Mirza, are you out to compose poetry or to frighten people?" He has put together a divan and has *mathnawis* also.

Muhammad-Wali Beg. The Wali Beg who has been mentioned was his son. In the end he became a great beg in the Mirza's service and, although he was a great beg, he never abandoned his station. Day and night he leaned against the gate, and even his meals were brought to him right there. A person who serves thus will of course get promoted. What a ghastly time this is that a beg who sees five or six bald and blind people behind him has trouble getting to the gate. Where is that old type of service? Well, it's their own wretchedness. Muhammad-Wali's victuals were good, and his servants were kept in very smart livery. He usually dispensed charity to the poor with his own hand. He was a foul-mouthed swearer. When I took Samarqand in 917, Muhammad-Wali Beg and Darwesh Ali the librarian were with me. At that time he was paralyzed, and his words were without flair and he wasn't worthy of promotion. Probably all that service got him to the rank he attained.

Baba Ali the gatekeeper. He was patronized by Ali-Sher Beg and raised to the rank of beg. Yunus Ali, who at this date is one of my begs, courtiers and intimates, and will be mentioned often, is his son.

Badruddin. Formerly he was with Mirak Abdul-Rahim, Sultan Abu-Sa'id's *sadr*. He was very nimble and quick. They say he could jump over seven horses. He and Baba Ali were chums.

Hasan-i Ali Jalayir. His name was originally Husayn Jalayir, but he became known as Hasan-i Ali. His father, Ali Jalayir, was patronized by Babur Mirza and made a beg. Later when Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza came to power, there

[13] *Dar miyān*, "in the midst" or "in the way." It appears from the context to mean something like "Johnny-on-the-spot." In *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 158) the name is given as "Jan Dar-miyan."

was no one greater than Ali Jalayir. Hasan-i Ali Jalayir was a falconer for Sultan-Husayn Mirza. He was a poet with the pen name Tufayli. He wrote very good *qasida*s and was the premier *qasida* writer of his time. In 917 [1511], when I took Samarqand, he joined me and remained with me for fifteen years. He wrote good *qasida*s for me. He was an insouciant and extravagant individual. He kept catamites. He always played backgammon and was an inveterate gambler.

Khwaja Abdullah Murvari[*d*]. Formerly he was a *sadr*, then he became an *ichki*, a courtier and a beg. He was a very learned man. No one could play the dulcimer the way he did: the *girift* [style] in dulcimer-playing is his invention. He was also good at calligraphy, and he wrote the *ta'liq* script best. His epistolary style was very good. He was a good conversationalist and composed poetry, in which his pen name was Bayani. His poetry was quite inferior to his other accomplishments, but he knew poetry well. He was a libertine and a rake. Due to the shame of his debauchery he was afflicted by the pox and lost the use of his hands and feet. For many years he suffered various and sundry pains and hardships, and in the end he passed from this world with this affliction.

Muhammad [*b.*] *Sayyid Urus*. Urus Arghun, who was a great and powerful beg when Sultan Abu-Sa'id took the throne, was his father. In those days there were youths who were expert archers, and he was one of the best. His bow was strong, his arrow long, and he was an expert archer. He held the governorship of Andkhud for a while.

Mir Ali the Stablemaster. It was he who sent somebody to lead Sultan-Husayn Mirza to take Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza by surprise.

Sayyid Hasan Oghlaqchï. He was the younger brother of Sayyid Yusuf Beg and son of Sayyid Oghlaqchï. He also had an accomplished and talented son named Mirza Farrukh. In 917 [1511], when I took Samarqand, he came to me. Although he composed but little poetry, it was pretty good. He knew all about astrolabes and astronomy. His conversation was good and he mixed well with everyone. He was fairly bad when in his cups. He died at the Battle of Ghijduvan.

Tengriberdi Samanchï. He was a coarse but brave, sword-wielding beg. At the gates of Balkh he battled beautifully with Nazar Bahadur, Khusrawshah's great *nökär*, as has been mentioned.

There were several other Turcoman begs who came to the Mirza's service and found favor. One of the first to come was Ali Khan Bayïndïr. Others were the brothers Asad Beg and Tahamtan Beg. Tahamtan Beg's daughter was married to Badi'uzzaman Mirza, and she gave birth to Muhammad-Zaman Mirza. Another was Ibrahim Chaghatay. Another was Amir-Umar Beg. Later he was with Badi'uzzaman Mirza and was brave, a real Turk and a good person. One of his sons, Abu'l-Fath by name, came to me from Iraq. At this date he is still [with me]. He is a weak, unaudacious coward. Such a son from such a father!

Abdul-Baqi Mirza, a descendant of Timur Beg through Miranshah,[14] was one of those who came to Khurasan later, after Shah Isma'il had taken control of Iraq and Azerbaijan. Formerly Miranshah's descendants went to that territory and, having gotten their pretense to the throne out of their heads, entered the service of the kings there and attained honor. This Abdul-Baqi Mirza's paternal uncle Temür Uthman was a great and respected beg in Ya'qub Beg [Aqqoyun-

[14]He was the son of Muhammad-Baqir b. Sidi-Ahmad b. Miranshah.

lu]'s service. Once he had a notion to send a large force against Khurasan. When Abdul-Baqi Mirza arrived, Sultan-Husayn Mirza showed him great favor by making him his son-in-law, giving him Sultanïm Begim, who became the mother of Muhammad-Sultan Mirza.

Another of those who came later was Murad Beg Bayïndïri.

SADRS

Mir Sarbirahna. He is from a village in Andijan. He most likely pretends to be a sayyid. He is a very good conversationalist, has poetic talent and is a good speaker. Among the learned men and poets of Khurasan his word carries great weight. However, he has wasted his life on an imitation of Amir Hamza's *qasida* and has produced a lengthy, overlong pack of lies. The thing is contrary to good taste and sound reason.

Kamaluddin Husayn of Gazargah. Although he was no Sufi, he pretended to be one. Around Ali-Sher Beg were gathered a lot of pseudo-sufis who indulged in ecstatics and music, but [Kamaluddin]'s manners were better than most of them. Probably the reason for his being patronized was his manners, for otherwise he had no particular accomplishment. He has one work called *Majlis al-ushshaq*.[15] He attributed what he wrote to Sultan-Husayn Mirza, but it is weak and mostly lies, tasteless and impious words that he writes, so much so that sometimes it is near blasphemy, for he ascribes to many of the prophets and saints metaphorical (carnal) love and has invented a paramour for each of them. Another piece of folly is that in the introduction Sultan-Husayn Mirza writes that it is "my own composition." But at the head of all the poems and *ghazals* by Kamaluddin Husayn that are included in the book is written "by the writer." It was due to this very Kamaluddin Husayn's sycophancy that Dhu'l-Nun Arghun was dubbed "Lion of God."

VIZIERS

Pir Majduddin Muhammad. He was the son of Shahrukh Mirza's divan plenipotentiary, Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khani. Early on there was no order in Sultan-Husayn Mirza's divan, and extravagance and squandering were rife—neither was the peasantry well maintained nor did the soldiery have any reason to be grateful. At that time Majduddin Muhammad was a clerk and was called Mirak. [Once] when the Mirza needed a little money and asked the divanis, they answered, "There is none, there is no income." Majduddin Muhammad was present and smiled. When the Mirza asked why [he had smiled], he withdrew in private and told him what was in his heart, saying, "If the Mirza should stipulate that my hand be strengthened and that my word not be crossed, in a little while I shall make it so that the realm will flourish, the peasantry will be grateful, the treasury full and the army strong." The Mirza stipulated as he had wished and put him in charge of all of Khurasan and put all tax collection into his care. He, in turn, endeavored to the best of his ability, and in a short while the army and peasantry were satisfied and grateful: he caused plenty of money to pour into the treasury and he made the realm flourish. However, all the begs and officeholders, with Ali-Sher Beg at their head, suffered a decrease in income. For this reason they became upset with him. By intrigue they put a stop to him and had him deposed from office. Nizamulmulk became divan in his stead. After some time they put a stop to Nizamulmulk and had him killed. After him Khwaja Afzal was brought from Iraq and made divan. When I came to Kabul, they had made

[15]Usually known as *Majalis al-'ushshaq* (Sessions on lovers). See Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, ii, 960.

Khwaja Afzal a beg, and he affixed the seal in the divan.

Khwaja Atâ. Although he did not hold such an office as [others] did and was not a divan, in all parts of Khurasan no decision was made without consulting Khwaja Atâ. He was a pious man, observant of his prayers and a religious individual. He is still active.

[LEARNED MEN]

Sultan-Husayn Mirza's followers and retainers are those who have been mentioned. Sultan-Husayn **[177b]** Mirza's time was a marvelous time. Khurasan, especially the city of Herat, was filled with people of talent and extraordinary persons. Everyone who had an occupation was determined to execute his job to perfection. Among them was Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami. In esoteric and exoteric knowledge there was no one like him at that time. His fame is such that it is beyond need of description. However, it occurs to me that, by way of good omen, at least a mention of him should be made in these miserable pages.

Shaykh al-Islam Sayfuddin Ahmad. He was a descendant of Mawlana Sa'duddin Taftazani, of who[se descendants] there have been many *shaykh al-islams* in Herat and Khurasan. He was a very scholarly person and knew the Arabic sciences and the traditional disciplines well. He was pious and religious. Although he was Shafiite by sect, he honored [all] the sects. They say that for seventy years he never missed a congregational prayer. When Shah Isma'il took Herat, he martyred him. No one remains of his line.

Mulla Shaykh Husayn. Although his career took place during the time of Sultan Abu-Sa'id, since he lived into Sultan-Husayn's time, he is mentioned here. He knew the philosophical and rational sciences and dialectic theology well. He could express much in a few words, and to speak with precision was his invention. In Sultan Abu-Sa'id's time he was close to the royal personage and powerful. He had a hand in all dealings in the realm. No one has managed the office of enforcer of public morals better than he. Because he was of Sultan Abu-Sa'id's elite, during Sultan-Husayn Mirza's time such a peerless person was subjected to insults.

Mullazada Mulla Uthman. He was from a village called Charkh in the Lhogar Tümän, one of the districts of Kabul. In Ulughbeg Mirza's time, at the age of fourteen, because he studied so much they called him Mulla Madarzad ("born a mulla"). As he was on his way from Samarqand to the pilgrimage, Sultan-Husayn Mirza prevented him [from continuing] and kept him [in Herat]. He was a very scholarly man; at that time there was no one so scholarly as he. They say that he reached the level of a *mujtahid*, but he did not practice. It is told of him that he used to say, "How can one forget something that one has heard?" He had quite a prodigious memory.

Mir Murtaz. He knew well the philosophical and rational sciences. He earned his nickname by fasting so much. He was so addicted to chess that while playing with one person he would grab another person's skirt to keep him from getting away.

Mulla Mas'ud Shirwani was another.

Mulla Abdul-Ghafur Lar. He was Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami's disciple and student. Most of Jami's works were turned over to him. He has written something like a commentary on the *Nafahat.* He was very adept at the exoteric sciences and was not unadept at the esoteric sciences. He was remarkably unaffected and unceremonious. He had no objection to letting anyone calling himself mulla copy

his notes (?). Whenever he heard of a dervish, he did not rest until he had gone to see him. When I went to Khurasan Mulla Abdul-Ghafur was ill. When I visited Jami's tomb I paid a call on Mulla Abdul-Ghafur in Jami's *madrasa*. A few days later he died of that illness.

Mir Jamaluddin Muhaddith. In Khurasan there was no one who knew *hadith* as he did. Extremely aged, he is, as of this date, still alive.

Mir Ata'ullah of Mashhad. He knows the Arabic sciences well. He has written a treatise in Persian on rhyme. Its only fault is that he uses only his own poetry as examples [179a] and deems it necessary to preface every line with the words "as in this line of mine." Some critics have made justifiable criticisms of his treatise on rhyme. Another treatise of his on rhetorical devices, called *Badayi' al-sanayi'* (Remarkable rhetorical devices), is very good. There is said to be some deviation in his religion.

Qazi Ikhtiyar. He executed the office of cadi with distinction. He wrote a treatise in Persian on jurisprudence, and it is superb. He also made a selection of Koranic verses that have similar meanings. Qazi Ikhtiyar and Muhammad Mir Yusuf joined the princes at Murghab to come see me. A question was asked about my Baburi script. He requested the individual letters, which I wrote down for him. During that very session he read the letters, mastered the principles and wrote something in it.

Mir Muhammad Yusuf. He was the Shaykh al-Islam's pupil. Later he was appointed to the Shaykh al-Islam's place. In some assemblies the Shaykh al-Islam sits above Qazi Ikhtiyar. In other assemblies [it is vice versa]. Later he became so infatuated with military science and military command that he talked of nothing else, although he did not have the slightest talent for either. In the end he ruined himself and all he had on account of this obsession. He is said to have been a Shiite.

POETS

Of this group the most outstanding [179b] was Mawlana Abdul-Rahman "Jami". Another was Shaykhïm "Suhayli" and Husayn Ali "Tufayli" Jalayir, whose names and characteristics have been mentioned in Sultan-Husayn's circle of begs and *ichkis*.

"Asafi." Because he was the son of a vizier he adopted "Asafi" as his pen name.[16] His poetry is not devoid of verve and benefit, although he does not exhibit any trace of love or ecstasy. His own claim was that "I have never been involved in collecting any of my *ghazals*." This was an affectation on his part, because he left it to a brother or some other relative to collect his poetry. Aside from *ghazals* he composed little poetry. When I went to Khurasan he paid homage to me.

"Banna'i." He was from Herat. His father, Ustad Muhammad, was a master builder *(bannā)*, and for this reason he adopted the pen name Banna'i. In his *ghazals* there are verve and ecstasy. He has made a divan and has *mathnawis*. He has one *mathnawi* in the *mutaqarib* meter about fruit, but it is not a polished piece and was written in his spare time. He has another short *mathnawi* in the *khafif* meter and another rather long *mathnawi*, also in the *khafif* meter, that he finished later.

Early in his career he knew nothing of music, for which he was taunted by Ali-Sher Beg. One year when the Mirza went to Merv for the winter Ali-Sher Beg went

[16]Taking the name from Asaf b. Barakhiya (Asaph ben Berechiah), Solomon's vizier in Islamic lore.

too. Banna'i stayed in Herat and studied music. By summer he had progressed to the point of composing. That summer when the Mirza returned to Herat he presented a vocal composition and a *naqsh*. Ali-Sher Beg was astonished but praised him nonetheless. He really had some fine musical compositions. One of them is a *naqsh* called Nuh Rang, in which there is a nine-fold theme *(tükäniš)* and variation *(yillä)* on a *naqsh* in the Rast mode. Banna'i was a great rival of Ali-Sher Beg and suffered much ill treatment in this regard. Finally he could take no more and went to Ya'qub Beg in Iraq and Azerbaijan. He did not do badly at Ya'qub Beg's court and became a fixture at parties.[17] After Ya'qub Beg's death he left that country and returned to Herat, still with his witticisms and ready retorts. One day at a chess party Ali-Sher Beg stretched out his leg and touched Banna'i's backside.

"What a sad state this is," Ali-Sher Beg said in jest, "that in Herat one cannot stretch out a leg without poking a poet in the ass."

"Yes," Banna'i retorted, "and if you pull your leg back in, you'll poke another." In the end he left Herat for Samarqand because of such jokes.

Many things were devised for Ali-Sher Beg, and anyone who devised something of any sort and wanted it to sell called it "Alisheri." Many elegant things were thus named for Ali-Sher Beg. For example, just because Ali-Sher Beg had tied his head up in a handkerchief when he had an earache, the triangular blue kerchief ladies used was dubbed an "Alisheri comforter." When Banna'i decided to leave Herat **[180b]** he commissioned an outrageous saddle cloth for his donkey, and it became known as an Alisheri.

"Sayfi" of Bukhara. He had reached the pinnacle of mullahood, and in order to prove that he was a mulla he would show a list of all the books he had read. He composed a divan. He has another divan that was composed for tradesmen and craftsmen. He composed many proverbs. He has no *mathnawis*, as he himself said in this piece:

> Although *mathnawi* is the stock in trade of poets, I consider the *ghazal* obligatory.
> If there are five lines that are pleasing, they are better than two *Khamsas*.

He has a Persian [treatise] on metrics in which he says too much and too little. Too little in the sense that the necessary things are not written, and too much in the sense that the obvious words are dotted and pointed. He is said to have been bad to drink and a reprobate. He was a powerful boxer too.

Abdullah Mathnawi-guy. He is from Jam and a nephew of Mulla Jami. He has composed *mathnawis* in imitation of the *Khamsa*. The *mathnawi* he wrote in imitation of the *Haft paykar* (Seven beauties) he called *Haft manzar* (Seven sights), and his imitation of the *Sikandarnama* is *Timurnama*. Of these *mathnawis* his *Layli and Majnun* is the most famous, although it is not so nice as it is reputed to be.

Mir Husayn "Mu'amma'i." Probably no one has composed so many riddles.

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[17] In his *Bagh-i Iram* Banna'i describes Sultan Ya'qub's library, which he says contained numerous copies of books written by famous calligraphers like Shaykh-Mahmud, Ja'far and Azhar: "Kātib-i ān kitābhā akthar / Shaykh Maḥmūd u Ja'far u Aẓhar // khaṭṭ-i Yāqūt-rā nihāyat nī / chi nihāyat ki ḥadd u ghāyat nī" (The scribes of those books were mostly Shaykh-Mahmud, Ja'far and Azhar. There was no end to the writing of Yaqut.) He also speaks of an album "kamtarīn-i mawāḍi' andar way / kārhā-yi Khalil u 'Abdul-Ḥay" (the least of the pictures in which were the works of Khalil and Abdul-Hayy). Verse quoted in Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, 1910), p. 99.

He spent all his time thinking them up. He was an amazingly unambitious and inoffensive person. **[181a]**

Mulla Muhammad "Badakhshi." He was from Ishkamish, but since Ishkamish is not in Badakhshan it is strange that he took the pen name Badakhshi. His poetry is not equal to that of the poets already mentioned. He wrote a treatise on the riddle, and his riddles are very good. He was also a good conversationalist. He paid me homage in Samarqand.

Yusuf "Badi'i." He was from the province of Ferghana and composed fairly good *qasidas*.

"Ahi." He composed really good *ghazals*. Toward the end of his career he joined Ibn-i Husayn Mirza's retinue. He also has a divan.

Muhammad "Salih." He has delightful *ghazals*, although they are not so uniform as they are delightful. He composed Turkish poetry too, which is not bad. Later he joined Shaybani Khan and was well patronized. He wrote a *mathnawi* in Turkish in the meter *ramal* hexameter, which is to say the meter of [Jami's] *Subhat [al-abrar]*, and dedicated it to Shaybani Khan. It is very weak and of poor quality. Anyone who reads it will lose faith in Muhammad Salih's poetry. The one good line from it is this:

> A fat man *(tanbal)* settled in Ferghana: he turned Ferghana into Tanbalkhana ["fat man's house"].

(Andijan province is called Tanbalkhana.) Not another such line is known to exist in that *mathnawi*. He was an evil, iniquitous and pitiless man.

Shah-Husayn "Kami." His poetry is not bad. He composed *ghazals* and is said to have a divan.

"Hilali." As of this date he is still alive. His *ghazals* are uniformly delightful but shallow *(kamkhadsha)*. He has a divan and a *mathnawi* in the *khafif* meter called **[181b]** *The Shah and the Dervish*. Although some lines are wonderful, the content of this *mathnawi* is hollow and the premise is terrible. In the *mathnawis* poets of former times wrote on love, they give the attributes of the lover to a man and those of the beloved to a woman. Hilali has made a dervish the lover and a king the beloved. The lines in which the acts and speech of the king are reported make the king into a shameless strumpet. It is really an affront that, in the interests of his poem, he should describe a young man—and a king at that—as a shameless woman or prostitute. He is supposed to have a prodigious memory and to have memorized thirty or forty thousand lines of poetry. It is said that he has committed most of the two *Khamsas* to memory. He has a good recall of the sciences of metrics, rhyme and poetics.

"Ahli." He is a commoner, but his poetry is not bad and he has a divan.

[ARTISTS]

Although there were many calligraphers, the most outstanding of all in *naskh-ta'liq* was Sultan-Ali of Mashhad. He copied a great deal both for the Mirza and for Ali-Sher Beg. Every day he copied thirty lines for the Mirza and twenty lines for Ali-Sher Beg.

Bihzad was one of the painters. He painted extremely delicately, but he made the faces of beardless people badly by drawing the double chin too big. He drew the faces of bearded people quite well.

Shah Muzaffar also painted very delicately, **[182a]** and he did very swift and delicate floral work. He did not live long, passing away just as he was gaining advancement.

[MUSICIANS]

Among musicians no one could play the dulcimer the way Abdullah Murwari did, as has been mentioned.

There was also Qul-Muhammad the lutanist. He played the *ghichak* beautifully and added three strings to the instrument. No musician composed so many beautiful preludes as did he. Even aside from preludes there are none like him.

Shaykhi the flutist played both the lute and the *ghichak* superbly. From the age of twelve or thirteen on he played the reed well. Once at a gathering at Badi'uzzaman Mirza's he produced a beautiful melody on the reed. Qul-Muhammad was unable to reproduce it on the *ghichak* and said, "The *ghichak* is a limited instrument." Shaykhi immediately took the *ghichak* from Qul-Muhammad's hand and played the [melody] beautifully, without flaw, on the *ghichak*. Other [such] stories are also told about Shaykhi. He had such a recall of melodies that any melody he heard he could say whose it was and in what mode, but he did not do much composition, only one or two *naqsh*.

Shah-Qulï the guitarist was from Iraq. He came to Khurasan and learned the instrument, attaining great heights. He composed many *naqsh, peshraw* and *ish*.

Husayn the lutanist composed tasteful things on the lute. He could make all the strings of the lute as one and play like that. His flaw lay in that he played too coquettishly. [182b] Once Shaybani Khan ordered him to play. He made a big fuss about it and not only played badly but also brought not his own instrument but an inferior instrument. Shaybani Khan caught on and ordered him to be severely beaten right in the assembly. The one good thing Shaybani Khan did in this world was this. Really he did a good thing: such temperamental fellows deserve such punishment.

Another musician was Ghulam Shadi, the son of Shadi the singer. Although he could play, he did not play so well as the others. He had a good voice and made some beautiful *naqsh*. At that time there was no one like him for voice composition. In the end Shaybani Khan sent him to Qazankhani Muhammad Amin Khan. He was never heard from again.

Mir Izzu played and composed. Although he composed few things, he has some nice works.

Banna'i was also a musician and has some good vocal and instrumental compositions.

Another incomparable was Pahlawan Muhammad Busa'id. In wrestling he was outstanding. He also composed poetry and wrote vocal and instrumental compositions. He has a beautiful *naqsh* in *chargah*. He was a good company, and to have such accomplishments and be a wrestler too is a marvel.

When Sultan-Husayn Mirza died, only Princes Badi'uzzaman and Muzaffar-Husayn were present. Muzaffar-Husayn was the favorite son, and Muhammad Burunduq Barlas, his *atäkä*, was the chief beg. [Muzaffar-Husayn's] mother was Khadija Begim, [183a] the Mirza's principle wife. The mirza's people also often referred to Muzaffar Mirza. For these reasons Badi'uzzaman Mirza was apprehensive and thought of not coming. Muzaffar Mirza and Muhammad Beg got on their horses and went to him to allay his fears and get him to come.

Sultan-Husayn Mirza was brought to Herat with all royal honors and ceremony and buried in his *madrasa*.

At this time Dhu'l-Nun Beg was also present. Muhammad Burunduq Beg and the begs who remained met with these princes and agreed that Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza should be made kings jointly on the throne of Herat. Badi'uzzaman Mirza's steward was Dhu'l-Nun Beg, and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza's steward was Muhammad Burunduq Beg. On Badi'uz-

zaman Mirza's behalf the civil prefect was Shaykh-Ali Taghai, and on Muzaffar Mirza's behalf Yusuf Ali Kükältäsh. This was a strange arrangement: never has a joint kingship been heard of. It is against the purport of Shaykh Sa'di's words in the *Gulistan*, "Ten poor men can sleep under one blanket, but two kings cannot fit into one clime."[18]

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 912

In the month of Muharram [May-June 1506] we set out for Khurasan, taking the Ghorband and Shibartu road, to repel the Uzbek.

Jahangir Mirza had left the province in a huff. If he gathered the tribesmen around him, I wondered what some of those evil and seditious people would stir up. I said, "Let's leave our baggage train at Ushtur Shahr in the custody of Wali the treasurer and Dawlatqadam Qaravul and get the tribes on our side as fast as possible." So saying, we set out unencumbered. That day we reached Fort Zahhak. Thence we came by way of the Gunbadhak Pass, took Sayiqan, went through Dandanshikan Pass and stopped at Kahmard Meadow. Sultan-Muhammad Dulday was dispatched to Sayyid-Afzal Khwabbin, and a report that we had set out from Kabul was sent to Sultan-Husayn Mirza.

Jahangir Mirza had lingered a bit behind. As we approached Bamiyan there were twenty or thirty men coming from the opposite direction toward Bamiyan. As they got nearer they could see the tents of our campfollowers who had stayed behind. Thinking they were we, they quickly retreated. As soon as they reached their own camp they decamped without care for anything. Without looking behind them they withdrew to Yäkä Öläng.

Shaybani Khan was besieging Balkh, where Sultan Qulanchaq was. Shaybani Khan had sent two or three sultans with three or four thousand troops to attack Badakhshan. At that time they had reached Mubarakshah, Zubayr and Nasir Mirza. **[184a]** Although previously there had been quarrels and bad blood, they had led their forces and camped at the eastern side of the Kishm River in Shakhdan below the Kishm when, at dawn, the Uzbeks made a surprise attack, crossing the Kishm and attacking Nasir Mirza, who immediately withdrew to the hills. He mustered his troops from the hillsides and, sounding the charge, advanced and took the Uzbeks. The Kishm River was swollen. They crossed the river. Many were shot or fell to the sword, and very many were taken prisoner. Many of his men died in the river also. Mubarakshah and Zubayr were further up the Kishm than the mirza was. As the Uzbeks came down upon them they forced them to flee to the hills. When they learned that Nasir Mirza was forced to flee, they advanced upon this group. From above, the begs of Kohistan gathered their cavalry and infantry and advanced, but they were unable to make a stand and were routed. Of this group too, many were taken prisoner and many were hit, run through or died in the river. Perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred Uzbeks died. This was one good action of Nasir Mirza's. News of this was brought to us by one of Nasir Mirza's men while we were in the Kahmard plain.

While we were in this region our army obtained grain from Ghuri and Dahana. **[184b]** Here we received letters from Sayyid-Afzal and Sultan-Muhammad Dulday, who had been sent to Khurasan, with the news of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's death. Concerned for the good name of this dynasty, we set out for Khurasan, although there were other reasons also for our going. We went through the Ajar Valley, Tup and Mandaghan, crossed the Balkh River and emerged at Koh-i Saf. When we received news of the Uzbek's

[18] Sa'di, *Gulistan*, p. 40.

raid on San and Chaharyak, we sent troops with Qasim Beg against the raiders. He met them, defeated them soundly and brought back many severed heads.

We sent men to Jahangir Mirza and the tribe and camped for several days in the Koh-i Saf summer pasture until they should bring back news. There are an awful lot of deer in this region.[19] We went hunting once. After a day or two all the tribesmen came and swore fealty to me. Several times Jahangir Mirza had sent people to the tribes, once sending Imaduddin Mas'ud. They did not go [to him], but they came to me instead. Finally there was nothing the mirza could do, so he came to see me when I went down from Koh-i Saf and camped at the foot of the valley. As we were anxious over Khurasan, with no attention to him and no concern for the tribes, we advanced through Gurzawan, Almar, Qaysar and Chichäk-tu, passed through Fakhruddin Ölümi and came to a place called Dara-i Bam, a dependency of Badghis. **[185a]**

As this was a world in strife, anyone who stretched forth his hand could take from the province and people. We, too, for our part, imposed a tribute on the tribes and Turks of those regions and began to take something. Within a month or two we had taken in perhaps three thousand Kepeki tümäns.

A few days before us the Khurasan light troops and Dhu'l-Nun's forces had soundly defeated the Uzbek raiders at Pand Deh and Maruchaq and killed many of the enemy.

Badi'uzzaman Mirza, Muzaffar Mirza, Muhammad Burunduq Barlas and Dhu'l-Nun Arghun's son Shad Beg had decided to move against Shaybani Khan, who was besieging Sultan Qulanchaq at Balkh. To this end people were sent from Herat to summon all of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's sons. As [we] reached Badghis, Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza came from Merv and joined them at Chihil Dukhtaran. Later Ibn-i Husayn Mirza came from Tun and Qayin. Kipik Mirza was in Mashhad. Many people were sent, but he behaved in an unreasonable and unmanly fashion and refused to come because of his jealousy of Muzaffar Mirza, of whom, when he became king, he said, "How can *I* go before *him*?" At such a juncture, when all the brothers were gathering in one place and **[185b]** agreeing to move against an enemy like Shaybani Khan, he indulged in petty jealousy and refused to come. His refusal to come is now attributed to jealousy, but everybody will attribute it to cowardice. In the end, only a few things survive a person in this world. Whoever has a modicum of intelligence will take steps so that he will not be ill spoken of afterwards. Why should anyone who has a trace of awareness not take pains that his actions be approved? The wise have said that a good memory is a second life.

Emissaries came to me too. Later even Muhammad Burunduq Barlas came. Why should I not go? I had already traversed a road of one or two hundred stages for this purpose. I set out at once with Muhammad Beg. At that time the mirzas had come to the Murghab.

Babur Meets the Mirzas and Visits Herat

On Monday the 8th of Jumada II [October 26, 1506], I met with the mirzas. Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza came out half a *kuroh*[20] to receive me. As we approached each other, I dismounted on one side and he on the other. We walked forward, met and then remounted.[21] Further on, near

[19]The word for deer is *keyik*, a generic term meaning "wild four-legged game animal," and it encompasses deer, gazelle, wild goat, &c.

[20]The *kuroh* is approximately two miles, equivalent to the *shar'i*.

[21]*Yürüp körüšüp atlanïldï*. This type of meeting (*körüšmäk*, lit. "seeing one another") was an important ritual among the mirzas

the camp, Muzaffar Mirza and Ibn-i Husayn Mirza came. They were both younger than Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and should have come farther out to receive me. Their delay was probably due to a hangover, **[186a]** not to arrogance. This shortcoming was on account of their having indulged in revelry and pleasure, not a desire to offend. Muzaffar Mirza apologized profusely, and we met on horseback. A similar meeting was held on horseback with Ibn-i Husayn Mirza. We dismounted at Badi'uzzaman Mirza's gate. What an awful crowd there was. It was so congested that during the gathering some were picked up off the ground and carried three or four paces. Others who thought they would get out for some reason were picked up and carried backwards four or five paces.

We went to Badi'uzzaman Mirza's court tent. It had been settled that I would kneel as soon as I entered the tent. Badi-'uzzaman Mirza would rise and come forward, and there we would meet each other. As I entered the tent I knelt once and started forward without delay. Badi-'uzzaman rose quite sluggishly and came slowly forward. Qasim Beg, a partisan whose honor was dependent upon my own, held me back by my belt. I realized what was going on. Moving more slowly I advanced to the appointed spot, where we met.

In this huge tent[22] four *töshäks* had been placed. Badi'uzzaman Mirza's tents were always provided with a doorway on one side, and he always sat on the side of the doorway. One of the mats had been placed on the doorway side, and there Badi'uzzaman Mirza and **[186b]** Muzaffar Mirza sat. Another mat had been placed on the right-hand place of honor *(tör)*. Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and I sat there. On the left-hand side of Badi'uzzaman Mirza's mat another mat had been placed, and there, to the right of my mat, sat Qasim Sultan the Uzbek and Ibn-i Husayn Mirza. (Qasim Sultan of the Shaban Sultans was the mirza's son-in-law and father of Qasim-Husayn Sultan.) There was one more mat, and there Jahangir Mirza sat with Abdul-Razzaq Mirza. Muhammad Burunduq and Dhu'l-Nun Beg sat on the right with Qasim Beg, in a position much inferior to Qasim Sultan and Ibn-i Husayn Mirza.

Food was served, although it was not a convivial gathering. In the place where food was being served trays were placed and on them were set gold and silver vessels. In former times our fathers and forefathers meticulously observed the Genghisid Code. In assemblies and court, at banquets and dinners, in sitting and serving, nothing was allowed to go counter to the code. However, Genghis Khan's code is not a binding text according to which a person must act absolutely. It is necessary to act in accordance with a good rule when someone leaves one behind; if, however, an ancestor has set a bad precedent, it should be replaced by a good one.

After dining we mounted our horses and returned to where we were staying. Between our camp **[187a]** and the mirzas' camp was one *shar'i*.[23]

The second time we came, Badi'uzzaman Mirza did not do me the courtesy he had done before. I said to Muhammad Burunduq Beg and Dhu'l-Nun Beg that although I was young in years, nonetheless my rank was high. Twice by dint of the sword I had recaptured and sat on my ancestral throne in Samarqand. Who had fought with foreigners and rebels for the sake of this dynasty as I had done? To

(descendants of Timur) and the *khanzadas* (descendants of Genghisid khans). Earlier Babur describes a *körüšmäk* with his uncle the khan in which they met before they had planned to and spoiled the ritual—to the great consternation of the khan.

[22]*Aq öy*, a trellis tent.

[23]The *shar'i* is a linear measure equal to approximately two miles.

delay in honoring me was inexcusable. As soon as this was mentioned—since it was reasonable, after all—he apologized and showed me the appropriate courtesy.

Another time when I went before Badi'uzzaman Mirza after the noon prayer, there was a drinking party. At that time I did not drink. It was a really elaborate gathering. On tables were foodstuffs of every description. Roast fowl, goose and every type of food were served. Badi'uzzaman Mirza's parties were much talked about, and truly it was a relaxing gathering that lacked nothing. Two or three times I attended the mirza's drinking parties on the banks of the Murghab. Since they knew I did not drink, they did not offer me any.

Once I went to a party at Muzaffar Mirza's. Husayn Ali Jalayir and Mir Badr were in attendance. **[187b]** Everybody was friendly at that party. When everyone was feeling good, Mir Badr danced. He danced well, and the type of dancing he did was probably of his own devising.

It took three or four days for the mirzas to get out of Herat, come to an agreement, gather themselves and get to the Murghab. Sultan Qulanchaq came, having given the Balkh Fort over to the Uzbeks. After the Uzbeks took Balkh they returned to Samarqand. Although these mirzas were outstanding in the social graces, they were strangers to the actuality of military command and the rough and tumble of battle.

While camped at the Murghab news arrived that Haqq-Nazar Noyan had overrun the Chichäk-tu region with four or five hundred men. All the mirzas were present, but no matter what they did they could not manage to send a force against this raider. Between the Murghab and Chichäk-tu was ten stages. I volunteered for this mission, but as it touched upon their honór they did not let me go.

Since Shaybaq Khan had withdrawn, and it was getting late in the year, it was decided that the mirzas should winter over wherever it was convenient and next spring they should move together against the enemy.

They invited me to winter over in Khurasan. Kabul and Ghazni were evil places filled with strife, and Turks, Mughuls, tribesmen and nomads, Afghans and Hazaras were lurking there. By the shortest route, which was through the mountains, it took a month to get from Khurasan to Kabul—provided there was no snow or other impediment. By the low country it was a forty- to fifty-day journey. The country had also not yet been satisfactorily pacified.

Not one of our well-wishers thought it wise for us to winter there. We made our apologies to the mirzas, but they would not accept. They insisted. The more excuses we made, the more they pressed their invitation. Finally Badi'uzzaman Mirza, Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and Muzaffar Mirza rode over to my tent to urge me to stay the winter. We could not say no to the mirzas' faces, when such royalty had come themselves to urge us to stay. Besides, I really wanted to see Herat, which had no equal in all the world and which during Sultan-Husayn Mirza's reign had been adorned and decorated ten, nay twenty times over. For these reasons we accepted to stay.

Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza went to his province of Merv. Ibn-i Husayn Mirza went to Tun and Qayin. Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar Mirza set out for Herat. Two or three days later I set out for Herat via the Chihil Dukhtaran and Tash Ribat road.

All the ladies, my aunt Payanda Sultan Begim, Khadija Begim and some of my other aunts, Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza's daughters, were gathered at the Sultan-Husayn Mirza Madrasa. All the ladies **[188a]** were at the mirza's tomb when I went to see them. First I knelt to Payanda Sultan Begim and had a meeting *(körüshmäk)*. Then, without kneeling to

Apaq Begim, I had a meeting with her. After that I knelt to Khadija Begim and had a meeting with her. We stayed for a while and, after some recitation from the Koran, we went to the south *madrasa*, where Khadija Begim's tent had been set up. Khadija Begim's dinner was served. After dining I went to Payanda Sultan Begim's tent and stayed that night with her.

A campsite was first assigned to me in the Bagh-i Naw, where I came at dawn. I stayed there one night, but since I found it unsuitable, I was assigned Ali-Sher Beg's quarters, and there I stayed until I left Herat. Every two or three days I went to the Bagh-i Jahan-ara and showed myself to Badi'uzzaman Mirza.

Several days later Muzaffar Mirza sent an invitation to his quarters in the Bagh-i Safed. Khadija Begim was there also. Jahangir Mirza went along with me. After dinner was served in Khadija Begim's presence, Muzaffar Mirza took us to an edifice built by Babur Mirza called the Tarabkhana. There a drinking party took place. The Tarabkhana was situated in the middle of a small garden. It was a smallish building of two stories and rather pleasant. The upper story had been constructed very elaborately. In the four corners were four alcoves *(ḥujra)*. Aside from these four alcoves, the space in the middle and between the alcoves was all like the interior of one room. [189a] It was one room, and between the alcoves were things like *shahnishins*. Every side of the room was painted. Although the building had been built by Babur Mirza, the paintings were commissioned by Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza to depict his battles and encounters.

On the *shahnishin* on the north side were placed two cushions that faced each other with their sides toward the north. On one cushion Muzaffar Mirza and I sat down. Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza and Jahangir Mirza sat on the other. Since we were guests in Muzaffar Mirza's quarters, he had me sit in a place of greater honor. The pleasure cups were filled and the cupbearers began to circulate and offer them to the guests, who started gulping down the clear wine as though it was the water of life. The party grew heated as the wine went to people's heads.

They thought they could make me drink and draw me into the circle. Although at that time I had not committed the sin of drinking to tipsiness, had not experienced drunkenness and did not know the delight and pleasure of being drunk as it should be known, not only was I inclined to have a drink of wine, but my heart was actually urging me to cross that valley. In my childhood I had no desire, for I did not know the pleasure of wine. Occasionally my father had offered me some, but I had made excuses and not committed the sin. After my father['s death] I was abstinent and followed piously in Khwaja Qazi's blessed footsteps. How could I, who avoided suspect food, have committed the sin of drinking wine? Later, with the desires of young manhood and the promptings of the carnal soul, when there was an inclination for wine, nobody offered. There was nobody who even knew that I was so inclined. So, although I was willing, it was a difficult thing to do all by oneself. It crossed my mind that since they were making such offers, and here we had come to a fabulous city like Herat, where all the implements of pleasure and revelry were ready and present, and all the devices of entertainment and enjoyment were close at hand, if I didn't drink now, when would I? Deliberating thus with myself, I resolved to make the leap and drink. However, it then occurred to me that since I had not accepted a drink from Badi'uzzaman Mirza, who was the elder brother, if I took a drink in his younger brother's house, it might be an affront. I voiced my hesitation. Agreeing that my excuse was reasonable, they did not offer me any wine at this gathering. It was settled that both Badi'uzzaman Mirza

and Muzaffar Mirza should gather in one place and that I should drink at the invitation of both mirzas together.

The entertainers at this gathering [190a] were Hafiz Hajji, Jalaluddin Mahmud the flutist and Ghulam-Shadi's brother Shadi Bachcha, who played the harp *(chang)*. Hafiz Hajji recited beautifully. The Heratis recite low, delicately and evenly. Jahangir Mirza had one of his singers along, a Samarqandi named Mir Jan. He recited in high voice, coarsely and unevenly. In the heat of pleasure Jahangir Mirza ordered him to recite. He recited terribly in a high, coarse voice. Khurasanis all lead a life of elegance, and one of them stopped up his ears at this fellow's singing while another made a face; but because [Jahangir] was a prince, no one could tell him to stop.

After the night prayer we left the Tarabkhana and went to Muzaffar Mirza's newly established winter quarters. There, high as a kite, Yusuf Ali Kükältäsh got up and danced, which he did very well, knowing the principles [of dance]. In those quarters the conviviality really waxed warm. Muzaffar Mirza gave me a sword belt, a lambskin cloak and a fine grey horse. Janak recited in Turkish. Muzaffar Mirza's slaves Kätä Mah and Kichik Mah were also there, and in the midst of the drunkenness they did some tasteless impertinences. The party went on quite animated until late, when the gathering broke up. That night I stayed there.

When Qasim Beg heard that they were offering me wine, he sent somebody to Dhu'l-Nun Beg, who gave the mirzas some pretty strong admonition. Thereafter all offers of wine ceased. [190b]

When Badi'uzzaman Mirza heard of Muzaffar Mirza's entertainment, he arranged an assembly in the Bagh-i Jahanara in the Muqawwakhana and sent me an invitation. Some of our *ichkis* and warriors were also invited. They could not drink in my presence out of respect for me, and when they did drink, maybe once every thirty to forty days, they would do it with the door bolted fast and with a hundred trepidations. Invited they went, but it was very difficult for them to drink. Sometimes they tried to distract me, and sometimes they held up their hands to conceal what they were doing, although all those in attendance had blanket permission from me because it was a party given by someone who was like my father or elder brother....

At this gathering they placed a roast goose before me. Since I had never carved or disjointed a fowl, I did not touch it. Badi'uzzaman Mirza asked, "Do you not care for it?" I said that I was unable to disjoint it. Immediately Badi'uzzaman Mirza carved and disjointed it and set it before me. In such things Badi'uzzaman Mirza was without equal. At the end of the entertainment he gave me a jewel-studded belt, a dagger, a *charqab* and a horse.

On each of the twenty days I was in Herat I went out on horseback to tour the places I had not seen. My guide on these excursions was Yusuf Ali Kükältäsh. At every place we stopped, Yusuf Ali Kükältäsh had me served something to eat. During these twenty days, with the one exception of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's *khanaqah*, there was no place we did not see.

I saw Gazargah, Ali-Sher Beg's garden, Juwaz-i Kaghidh, Takht-i Asitana, Puligah, Kahdistan, the Nazargah Garden, Ni'matabad, the Gazargah Avenue, Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's burial enclosure, the Takht-i Safar, the Takht-i Nawa'i, the Takht-i Barkar, Takht-i Hajji Beg, Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar, Shaykh Zaynuddin and Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami's shrines and tombs, the Mukhtar *namazgah*, the Hawz-i Mahiyan, Saq-i Salman and Buluri, which was originally [the shrine of] Abu'l-Walid, Imam Fakhr, the Khiyaban Garden, the Mirza's *madrasas* and tombs, Gawharshad Begim's

madrasa, tomb and Friday mosque, the Zaghan Garden, the Naw Garden, the Zubayda Garden, the Aq Saray built by Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza outside the Iraq Gate, **[191b]** Puran, the Suffa-i Tirandazan, Chiragh Meadow, Amir Wahid, the Malan Bridge, Khwaja Taq, the Bagh-i Safed, the Tarabkhana, the Jahanara Garden, Kushk, the Muqawwakhana, the Susanikhana, the Duwazdah Burj, the great pool on the northern side of Jahanara and the four structures along its four sides, the outer gate to the fort, the Malik Gate, the Iraq Gate, the Firozabad Gate, the Khush Gate, the Qïpchaq Gate, the Malik Bazaar, the marketplace, Shaykh al-Islam's *madrasa*, Malik Lar's Friday mosque, the Bagh-i Shahr, Badi'uzzaman Mirza's *madrasa* on the banks of the Injil Canal, Ali-Sher Beg's quarters, which were called Unsiyya, his tomb and Friday mosque, which were called Qudsiyya, his *khanaqah* called both Khalasiyya and Ikhlasiyya, and his bath and hospital, which were called Safa'iyya and Shifa'iyya. All these I saw in a short period of time.

Before the interregnum, Ma'suma Sultan Begim, Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's youngest daughter, had been brought to Khurasan by her mother, Habiba Sultan Begim. One day when I went to see my *äkä*, she came with her mother and saw me. Upon first seeing me she felt a great inclination toward me. By secret messenger my *äkä* and *yengä*,[24] **[192a]** as I called Payanda Sultan Begim and Habiba Sultan Begim, held deliberations and decided that after I left, *yengä* should take her daughter to Kabul.

Muhammad Burunduq Beg and Dhu'l-Nun Beg tried hard to get me to stay for the winter, but they were not forthcoming with good arrangements for either a place or provisions for the winter. It was now winter, and snow had fallen in the mountains between [Herat and Kabul]. There was still great trepidation over Kabul, and these people had come up with no place for the winter and no provisions. In the end there was nothing else to do, although we could not say so frankly.

On the pretext of [finding] winter quarters, we left Herat on the 7th of Sha'ban [December 23, 1506]. We marched, stopping a day or two at a time in the Badghis region, so that those who had gone to their provinces to collect revenue and on business could join us. We halted and delayed so much that two or three days out of Langar-i Mir Ghiyath we saw the Ramadan moon. Some of the warriors who had gone to their provinces rejoined us; others came to Kabul[25] twenty days to a month later [than we], and still others stayed and joined the mirzas' service. One of these was Sayyidim Ali Darban. He remained and became an attendant to Badi'uzzaman Mirza. I had promoted none of Khusrawshah's attendants as I had him. When Jahangir Mirza left Ghazni he turned it over to Sayyidim, and when he in turn had come away with the army, he had stationed his brother-in-law, Dost...Shaykh, in Ghazni. Truly among Khusrawshah's retainers there were none better than Sayyidim Ali Darban and Muhibb-Ali Qorchï. Sayyidim was a man of good character and disposition. He was courageous with the sword. His quarters were never without a convivial gathering and good conversation. He was very generous and an amazingly organized and competent person. His elegance and grace were superb, his company and conversation sweet. He was jovial, talkative and witty. His only fault was that he

[24] In Chaghatay *äkä* refers to any elder female relation. Payanda Sultan Begim was Babur's father Umar-Shaykh's sister. *Yengä* is, among other things, the wife of a paternal uncle. Habiba Sultan Begim Arghun was the widow of Babur's uncle Sultan-Ahmad Mirza; Babur later married her daughter Ma'suma Sultan.

[25] The MS has *Käbuldïn* (from Kabul), clearly an error on the copyist's part or a *lapsus calami* by Babur. Beveridge translates "into Kabul" (*Bäbur-näma*, I, 307).

practiced vice and pederasty. There was also some deviation in his religion. He was a slightly hypocritical person, which characteristic some attributed to his wit, but there was more to it than that. When Badi'uzzaman Mirza let Shaybaq take Herat and went to Shah Beg, [Sayyidim Ali] had advised mediation between the Mirza and Shah Beg. For this the Mirza had him thrown into the Helmand River and he drowned. Muhibb-Ali's story will come in its proper place in the history.

Leaving Langar-i Mir Ghiyath, we skirted the villages of Gharjistan and came to Chaghcharan. There was snow all the way from Langar to Gharjistan. Further on the snow was even deeper. Chaghcharan belonged to Dhu'l-Nun Beg and was under the charge of his servant Mirak Jan Irdi. We purchased Dhu'l-Nun Beg's grain at full price. Two or three marches out of Chaghcharan the snow was so deep it came above the horses' stirrups, **[193a]** and in most places the horses' hooves did not reach the ground. And still it kept on snowing.

Out of Chiraghdan there was so much snow that the road was completely obscured. In the Langar-i Mir Ghiyath region we deliberated over which road we should take to Kabul. I and most of the others were of the opinion that since it was winter, the mountain road would be fraught with danger. The Qandahar road, although slightly longer, would be safer. Qasim Beg said that the latter road was too long and we should go by the former. In so saying he made a great mistake, but by that road we went.

Our guide was a Pashai named Sultan. Whether he was too old or faint-hearted, or whether because of the depth of the snow, in any case he lost the road and could not guide us. Since it was at Qasim Beg's insistence that we had come by this road, and it reflected upon his honor, he and his sons trampled down the snow, found the road again and went on ahead. One day the snow was so deep and the road so hidden that no matter what we did we could not go on. There was nothing for us to do but turn back and camp in a place with firewood. I appointed seventy or eighty warriors to retrace our steps to find and bring to guide us any Hazaras who were wintering in the valley. We did not move from this camp for three or four days until those who had gone out returned. When they did return they did not bring with them anyone who could show us the way. **[193b]** Trusting in God, we sent Sultan Pashai ahead and set out back down the very road where we had lost the way. During those few days much hardship and misery were endured, more than I had ever endured in my whole life. At that time I composed this line:

Carxnïng men körmägän jawr u jafāsï qaldï mu?/ Xasta gönglüm čekmägän dard u balāsï qaldï mu?

Is there any cruelty or misery the spheres can inflict I have not suffered? Is there any pain or torment my wounded heart has not suffered?

For nearly a week we proceeded, unable to cover more than a *shar'i* one day and half a *shar'i* another. I became a snow trampler with ten or fifteen of my *ichkis*, Qasim Beg, his sons Tengri-berdi and Qanbar-Ali and another two or three of their servants. We progressed on foot, trampling down the snow. One person would advance for eight to ten yards, trampling down the snow. Every time we put our foot down we would sink in to the waist or chest and pack the snow down. After going however many paces, the lead man would stop, exhausted. Then another would go in front. Together these ten, fifteen or twenty people on foot could pack down enough snow for an unmounted horse to be led through. Sinking down to the stirrups or girth strap, the horse could be pulled forward for ten or fifteen paces before it gave out. In this manner we ten to twenty persons **[194a]** trampled down the snow, and our horses

were pulled through. Then all the rest of the great warriors and begs entered the prepared, packed down road without dismounting and proceeded with their heads down on their arms. It was no time to compel or insist. Anyone with stamina and fortitude will join in such a labor without waiting for an invitation. So, by packing down the snow and creating a road, we made it in three or four days from that horrible place to a cave known as Khawal Qutï, below the Zirrin Pass.

That day there was an amazing snowstorm. It was so terrible we all thought we were going to die. The people there call the caves and hollows in the mountains *khawal*s. As we arrived the storm was unbelievably fierce. We dismounted right in front of the *khawal*. The snow was so deep that the horses had difficulty coming across a road that had been packed down by twenty men. Light was fading as the first people arrived at the cave. By the evening prayer and nighttime prayer they were still coming. Thereafter they dismounted where they stood. Many were still on horseback when dawn broke.

The cave seemed to be rather small. I took a shovel and cleared away enough snow at the mouth of the cave to make myself a place to sit. I dug down chest deep, and still I did not reach the ground; **[194b]** but it was a bit of shelter from the wind. There I sat down. Several people said for me to come inside, but I refused. It occurred to me that to leave my people out in the snow and the storm, with me comfortable in a warm place, or to abandon all the people to hardship and misery, with me here asleep without a care was neither a manly nor a comradely thing to do. Whatever hardship and difficulty there was, I would suffer it too. Whatever the people could endure, I could too. There is a Persian proverb: "Death with friends is a feast." In the midst of such a storm there I sat in a dug-out hole. By the time of the night prayer the snowstorm was still raging so much that I sat all huddled up. There were four spans of snow on my back and covering my head and ears. That night my ears got frostbite. At the night prayer those who had made a thorough inspection of the cave called out, "The cave is really big. There's enough room for everybody." When I heard this, I shook the snow off myself and, calling the warriors who were nearby to come in, went into the cave. There was enough room for forty or fifty people comfortably. All who were there brought out their provisions, hardtack, parched grain and whatever they had. In the midst of such cold and such a storm, what a marvelously warm, safe and secure place we had come to!

At dawn the storm stopped. We set out early and by trampling down the snow again made it to the top of the pass. **[195a]** The road itself seemed to take a turn and go higher up to what is called the Zirrin Pass. We did not follow it higher but went right up the valley bottom. By the time we reached the other side of the pass it was late in the day. We stopped at the mouth of the valley. That night was bitterly cold, and we spent it in utter misery and hardship. Many people's hands and feet were frostbitten. Kipä's feet, Sevindük Türkmän's hands and Akhi's feet were frostbitten that night. Early the next day we proceeded straight down the valley. Although we could see this was not the road, we put our trust in God and marched through the valley bottom. In places with treacherous slopes and precipices we had to dismount. It was evening when we emerged through the mouth of the valley. No one could remember this pass being crossed with the snow so deep; it was not even known whether it had ever occurred to anyone to attempt a crossing at this time of year. Although for a few days we had experienced a great deal of difficulty because of so much snow, in the end it was due to the depth of the snow that we were able to get

ourselves to our destination. If the snow had not been so deep, how could those trackless slopes and falls have been crossed? [195b] If the snow had not been so deep, everybody's horses and beasts of burden would all have been stuck on the first slope.

Whatever happens, good or bad, when you look closely, [you'll find that] it is all for the best.

Night had fallen by the time we reached Yäkä Öläng. The Yäkä Öläng people heard of our arrival. Warm houses, fat sheep, hay and fodder for the horses, abundant water, limitless kindling and dung for fires. To be delivered from such cold and snow and to find such a village and warm houses, to be saved from such hardship and misery and to discover so much bread and fat sheep—this is a comfort that only those who have endured such hardships can know, a relief that only those who have undergone such travails can comprehend. We stayed in Yäkä Öläng one day. From there we proceeded one stage. The next day was the Ramadan feast. Passing through Bamiyan and crossing the Shibartu Pass, we arrived in Jangalak.

Ghiyathuddin Naqqash

Report to Mirza Baysunghur on the Timurid Legation to the Ming Court at Peking

Embassies were exchanged between the Timurids and Ming China on a fairly regular basis.[1] After Timur's death, the first Chinese embassy to Shahrukh arrived in Herat in 815/1412.

The second embassy arrived in Rabi' I 820 (April 1417) with three hundred horsemen and gifts and presents sent by the Emperor of China consisting of falcons, brocades, velvets, silks, porcelain vessels, Chinese paper, etc. In the letter from the emperor expressing friendship for Shahrukh, he sent his gratitude to Sayyid-Ahmad Tarkhan for a white horse he had sent when the first embassy returned to Peking. A picture of this horse, commissioned by the emperor, was sent with the embassy.[2] When the second embassy set out for Peking in Rabi' I 820 (May 1417), Shahrukh sent Ardashir Tovachï, who is mentioned in Ghiyathuddin's report.[3]

A third embassy from Ming China arrived in Herat with Ardashir Tovachï in Ramadan 822 (October 1419),[4] and the embassy to which Ghiyathuddin Naqqash was attached seems to be a reciprocal legation, departing some two months later. Although the purpose of the delegation is not given, it is certainly of significance that not only Shahrukh, but Baysunghur, Ibrahim-Sultan, Soyurghatmïsh, Amir Shah Malik and the king of Badakhshan all sent emissaries on this mission.[5]

❁

In the year 822 [A.D. 1419] His Late Highness Mirza Shahrukh appointed a group, at the head of which was Shadi Khwaja, on a mission to Cathay. Along with them Prince Mirza Baysunqur sent Sultan-Ahmad and Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Naqqash, who was an artist of no mean talent. He established with the khwaja that, from the day they departed the capital Herat until the day they returned, they would record on the pages of their notebooks, without addition or deletion, all they witnessed—events, condition of roads, construction of towns, description of garrisons, situations of buildings, conditions of kings, etc. When the emissaries returned, Khwaja Ghiyathuddin, in com-

[1] See Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, II, 256–61.

[2] Such a picture is preserved in one of the Istanbul albums (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2154, folio 33b) and reproduced in *Islamic Art* I (1981): fig. 83B.

[3] See Faṣīḥī Khwāfī, *Mujmal*, p. 230f. and 'Abdul-Razzāq, *Majma'-i sa'dayn*, II, 201–2.

[4] 'Abdul-Razzāq, *Majma'-i sa'dayn*, II, 216.

[5] Notice of their arrival in Peking is given in Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, II, 284–85.

pliance with the order, presented written down in the form of a journal all he had seen, the choicest marvelous tales and rare stories of which will be quoted from his report, for [the verity of] which he is responsible.[6]

GHIYATHUDDIN NAQQASH'S ACCOUNT

On the 16th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [December 4, 1419] the emissaries[7] left Herat for Cathay.[8] ⌜Having traversed a distance, they reached Balkh on the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 27, 1419]. On account of heavy rain and severe cold they remained there until the beginning of Muharram 823 [mid-January 1420].⌝ On the 22nd of that month they stopped in Samarqand. {Two months} ⌜previously Mirza Ulugh-Beg had dispatched his own emissaries, Sultan-Shah and Muhammad Bakhshï, with a number of Cathaian people. The messengers from Khurasan stopped in Samarqand⌝ until Mirza Soyurghatmïsh's emissary ⌜Arghudaq⌝, Amir Shah-Malik's emissary ⌜Ardawan⌝, [and] the shahs of Badakhshan's emissary ⌜Tajuddin⌝ joined them. Then, on the 10th of Safar [February 25], ⌜together with the emissaries of Cathay⌝ they left Samarqand ⌜and, passing through Tashkent {on the 4th of Rabi' I} and Sayram[9] {on the 13th}, came {at the beginning of Rabi' II to Ashpara and on the 21st [May 5]} among the Mughul people. {At this time the spring season had begun, and the views afforded by the roads, mountains and meadows were pleasant beyond description.}

At the same time [**RS VII, 479**] they arrived, news came that Uways Khan had attacked Sher-Muhammad Oghlan, for which reason there was a disturbance in the nation *(ulus)*.[10] After that there came

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[6]Following report taken from *Rawḍat al-ṣafā (RS)*, VII, 479–98, and compared with the corresponding section in *Ḥabīb al-siyar (HS)*, IV, 634–49, where it is said to have been taken from 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī's *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn (MS;* see Persian text and French translation by Etienne Quatremère, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, XIV [Paris, 1843], pp. 308–41, 387–426; Shafī' edition, II, 267–88, significant variants in which are noted); an abstract in English of Quatremère's translation is given in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. Henri Cordier (Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Co., 1966), I, 271–89.

Half brackets ⌜...⌝ indicate matter given in *RS* but missing from *HS*; square brackets [...] indicate matter given in *HS* but missing from *RS*. There also exists an Ottoman translation, entitled *'Ajāyib al-laṭāyif (AL)*, made by one Chelebizade during the reign of Ahmed III, dedicated to the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha and copied into a miscellany in the possession of Mr. Muḥammad-'Alī Karīmzāda Tabrīzī, who has made a Persian translation from the Ottoman and included it in his *Aḥwāl u āthār-i naqqāshān-i qadīm-i Īrān* (London: Interlink Longraph, 1363/1985), pp. 418–33. In view of the fact that this version has been translated from Persian into Turkish and back into Persian, it is remarkably faithful to the versions incorporated into Mīrkhwānd and Khwāndamīr's histories; however, in several places it fills in gaps in one version or another, and these are marked by brackets {...}. Significant variants given in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's version in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh (ZT)* are signaled by angled brackets <...>; for the Persian text with English translation see K. M. Maitra, *A Persian Embassy to China* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1970).

[7]*Ilchī* (< Tk. *elči*) will be translated throughout as "emissary."

[8]"Cathay" will be used throughout for the Persian *Khaṭāy*, the name by which the Timurids referred to China. "China" (*Chīn*) occurs only once in the narrative. According to Faṣīḥī *(Mujmal*, 251) the group left on 6 Dhū'l-Qa'da 822 (November 14, 1419).

[9]*RS* has Bayrām, an obvious mistake for the Sayrām of *AL*. This is the Sayrām north of Tashkent and near Chimkand, which could be easily reached in nine days.

[10]In *AL* this sentence reads: "Because of a desire on the part of Uways Khān to kill Sher-Muhammad Oghlan, Qul-Muḥammad Beg and some Moghul *amirs* had rebelled against Uways Khān and thrown the nation into an uproar." Uways (or Ways) Khān was the son of Sher-'Alī Oghlan, brother of Sher-Muḥammad Khān, and the hostility between Uways and his uncle con-

news of a truce {negotiated by} Amir Khudadad, who held the stewardship of that region and who came to the emissaries and gave them a document of safe pass. On the 18th of Jumada I [May 31] the emissaries reached a place [called] Sa'lubu {Bilghutu},[11] which belonged to Muhammad Beg. They stopped there for a while so that some of the stragglers, who were the king of Badakhshan's *nökärs*, could catch up. On the 22nd they departed there and crossed the Küngäz River.[12] The next day <they saw> the ruler of the *ulus*, Muhammad Beg <and> Sultan Shadi Kürägän, <Muhammad Beg's son> who was the son-in-law of Sham'-i[13] Jahan, whose other daughter had been given in marriage to Mirza Muhammad-Juki.[14]

On the 28th [of Jumada I] [June 10] they entered the Yulduz Prairie[15] ⌜and⌝ the *el* (tribe) of Sher-Bahram. In that wilderness, although the Sun was in Cancer, water was frozen to a depth of two fingers. ⌜On the 8th of Jumada II [June 20] they heard news of the plunder of Uways Khan's *daji* and emissary by the sons of Muhammad Beg.[16] {After this news} the emissaries were concerned⌝ {that henceforth, during the trip through mountainous terrain, they would have to be very careful.} Most of the time rain and sleet fell from the clouds, [and with much difficulty] they forded rivers and traversed the mountains.

At the end of the month [of Jumada II] they reached the city of Turfan.[17] In this town most of the people [HS IV, 635] were idolators and had huge idol temples. On a dais[18] in one temple they had placed a huge idol [which was a representation of Shakamuni[19]].

On the 2nd of the month [of Rajab] they left there and reached Qara Khwaja on the 5th. On the 10th [of Rajab] a group of Cathaian scribes came and wrote down the emissaries' names and the number of their people. ⌜On the 19th of the month [Rajab] they stopped in the entrepôt of Ata Sufi, where {someone named Khandzada Tajuddin} Alawi, a sayyid of Tirmidh, had built a dervish convent *(zāwiya)* and founded a hospice *(langar)*.⌝ {His son-in-law,[20] Mir Fakhruddin, was the ruler of the Muslims of Qamul.}

On the 21st [of that same month Shadi Khwaja and his companions stopped in] the city of Qamul,[21] where ⌜Amir⌝ [Sayyid] Fakhruddin had constructed a lofty and highly ornamented and decorated mosque, {opposite which a large temple was located. In this temple were various idols, among which was a golden statue the size of a ten-year-old boy that was executed with consumate mastery.} On the sides of {this temple} the idolators

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tinued until Sher-Muḥammad's death and the succession of Uways to the khanate of Mughulistan (see Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, ed. by N. Elias, trs. by E. Denison Ross [New York: Praeger, 1970], p. 64).

[11]Not verified, not located.

[12]*RS*: *LNKR*; *AL*: *KNKR*.

[13]For the Shāh of the text.

[14]Sentence incomplete in *RS*. *AL* has: "The wife of Muḥammad Bēg's son, who was the son-in-law of Sulṭān Shādī Kürägän Sham'-i Jahān, was the sister of Prince's Jūkī Bahādur's wife." Sham'-i Jahān and Muḥammad Khān were sons of Khiḍr Khwāja Khān of Mughulistan (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *History*, intro., p. 46). Sham'-i Jahān's daughter, Mihrnigār Khānīkā, was married to Muḥammad-Jūkī (*RS*, VI, 600, 668).

[15]The Yulduz is the principal *yaylaq* (summer pasture) of Mughulistan.

[16]This sentence taken from *AL*. The version given in *RS* is hopelessly garbled and reads: "On the 8th of Jum. II they heard the news that the sons of Muḥammad Bēg Wākhī, who were Uways Khān's emissaries, had been plundered."

[17]*HS*: Ṭūqān; *MS*: Ṭurfān.

[18]Reading *ṣuffa* with *ZT* for the *ṣafḥa* of *RS* and *HS*.

[19]Gautama Shakyamuni, the Buddha.

[20]*MS*: "his father-in-law."

[21]The older Chinese Hamil, now Ha-mi (Qomul). *RS* has Qā'il.

had made large and small paintings of fantastic forms. On the door to the temple was painted a depiction of two demons attacking each other. A very handsome youth, Mengli Temür Bayïrï[22] by name, was the ruler of Qamul. They left there and crossed twenty-five stages, finding water once every other day. On the 25th {12th} of Sha'ban, in the midst of that vast wilderness, [RS 480] they came across a yak, [which is so large and strong that once one seized a rider from his saddle and kept him on its horns for some time]. ⌜This is a novel report if it is true.⌝

To return to the narrative, on the 14th of Sha'ban [August 24, 1420] they came to a place [from which to Sukju, the first city inside Cathay, is ten days, the whole way desert wilderness.] There they encountered a group of Cathaians who had come to meet [Shadi Khwaja and his companions]. In one day, in a meadow that would have been the envy of the Garden of Iram, they made platforms, set up canopies, placed seats and chairs and arranged foodstuffs, goose, roast fowl, cooked viands and all types of fruit, both dried and fresh, on china platters; and there they gave a banquet *(toy)* that would have been difficult to hold in a great city. When they were finished eating they brought all sorts of intoxicants and gave each person the sheep, flour and barley he needed. They also took receipts *(nuskha)* of how many servants each of the emissaries had, and they emphasized that they should represent this in accordance with the truth and not inflate the number, for whoever told a lie would lose credibility [with the emperor]. The merchants were listed among the ranks of the servants. ⌜The receipts were as follows:

Amir Shadi & Kökchä..... 200 persons
Sultan-Ahmad & Ghiyathuddin Naqqash..... 150 persons
Arghudaq..... 60 persons
Ardaw[a]n..... 50 persons
Tajuddin..... 50 persons

Mirza Ulugh-Beg's emissaries had gone ahead, and Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan's messengers had not yet arrived.⌝

On the 16th {18th} of Sha'ban, Wang Daji,[23] the ruler of the march, gave a huge banquet and summoned the emissaries, who entered his *yurt*. The Cathaians, as was their wont, had camped in a square, tent rope hard by tent rope, such that no creature could come among them except by the four gates they had left on the four sides of the square. In the middle was a large open area, in the midst of which a high platform *(dukkān)* one *jarib* [in area] had been constructed. Therein was pitched a large tent, with two Cathaian spears[24] placed in front, with the flaps opened out ⌜like a *shāhnishīn*⌝, and a vestibule *(tālār)* of wood and canopies unfurled such that in that one-*jarib* area the sun did not shine. Beneath the two spears [the two-poled tent] they had placed the Daji's seat, to the right and left of which were chairs. The emissaries sat on the left, and the Chinese amirs took their places on the right. [RS 481] Among them the left is more the place of honor than the right ⌜since the heart, the ruler of the city of the body, has its abode on the left side⌝. One tray was placed before the emissaries and another before the amirs. On one tray were goose, fowl and cooked viands and both dried [and fresh] Chinese fruit, and on the other [HS 636] were little cakes and delicious bread. Dates of paper and silk were placed before every one. Opposite, on an elevated

[22]Reading with *ZT* for the *Bāburī* of *RS*.

[23]*Wāng* here is probably the Chinese *wang* (duke). *Dāji*, variants of which occur throughout, is taken to be a rendering of the Mongolian *taiji* (> Chinese *t'ai chi*), originally a designation of Jenghizids and later a title of nobility. *RS* has *W'MK W'JY*; *HS* and *MS* have *Dāng Dājī*.

[24]*RS*: *khayma-i buzurg...u du nayza-i khaṭā'ī*; *HS*: *khayma-i buzurg-i du-tira-i khatā'ī* ("a large, two-poled Cathaian tent").

place, the imperial *kävürgä*[25] was situated, and [large and small] china vases and [large and small] ⌜crystal and⌝ silver vessels [some of silver and others of china] were placed about. To the right and left of the *kävürgä* were standing singers and musicians, who played on psalteries, viols, flutes,[26] cymbals, tambours, castanets and drums.[27] Beautiful boys made up like girls with rouge and powder rubbed on their faces and pearls in their ears performed. In this open area, all the way to the four gates, soldiers clad in armor stood, so still and grave that they never moved a foot from their positions. In their hands they held spears ⌜and had no need of an officer. People were seated according to their various ranks, and the master of ceremonies handed the amirs and emissaries goblets.⌝ [After eating, when wine drinking had begun, the governor held a goblet, along with which was passed around a figured chest *(nakhl-bandī)*, and a little branch {of artificial dates} was taken from the chest and put in the turban of every person to whom the goblet was given, so that in the end the gathering resembled a garden.] The players had made animal masks of papier maché and fastened them over their heads in such a manner that their faces, ears and necks could not be seen at all [and they danced in the Chinese fashion]. ⌜The silvery cupbearers began to pass wine around and acted in accordance with this verse:

Cast Bahram's lasso of prey, clasp
Jamshid's cup, for I have crossed this desert,
and there is neither Bahram nor onager.⌝

Moon-faced, tulip-cheeked boys, holding vessels of delicious wine, stood by, while others held platters full of hazelnuts, jujubes, walnuts, peeled chestnuts, citrons, pickled garlic and onions, and slices of melon and watermelon. When the amir handed someone a goblet, one of the [servants] offered the platters for [the guests] to choose whatever appetizers they wished.

They had also fashioned a mask like a stork *(laklak)*, so enormous that a boy could get inside it. The stork danced rhythmically ⌜and shook [RS 482] its head in every direction so that the onlookers were astonished.⌝ That day, from morning till evening, was spent in enjoyment and pleasure.

On the 17th of Sha'ban [August 27, 1420] they set out [across the desert,] and traversing several stages, reached Qarawul in a few days.[28] Qarawul is a very strong fortress surrounded by mountains. [There is only one road.] ⌜It has one gate leading in and another leading out.⌝ As the emissaries entered the fortress, the people there counted each person and wrote down the names. Leaving Qarawul, they came to the city of Sukju,[29] stopping in a large post station *(yāmkhāna)* at the city gate. The [Chinese] took everyone's [pack animals and] belongings to the office. Among their stores they had very good quality foodstuffs, beverages, mounts and textiles, and they assigned

[25]A large kettle drum of regal significance, like the *naqāra*. The words seems to have originated with the Uighur *kövrüg* (Sir Gerald Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, p. 690–91) > Mongolian *kö'ürgä, kä'ürgä* > Chaghatay *kävürgä*. Radloff gives *kürägä* (*VWTD*, II, 1450) and *käürgä* (II, 1057); Doerfer (*TMEN*, §339) reads *körgä*.

[26]*MS* adds: of two sorts, end-blown and transverse.

[27]*Urghanūn, kamāncha, nay, sinj, daff, chahār[pāra], duhul.*

[28]*Qarāwul* means sentry or sentry post, but it seems to be used as a proper name here. Yule (*Cathay*, I, 274) identifies it as Kia-yü Kwan, the fortified entrance of the Great Wall.

[29]*RS* Bikjū, a misreading; *HS* Sukjū, alternating with Sujkū. The proper form is Sukjū or Sawkjū, for Su-chou (older Suk-chou) in Kansu Province. Abū'l-Fidā (*Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. M. Reinaud [Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1840], p. 366) spells and vocalizes it as Sawkjū.

each person a bed,[30] a pair of silk pyjamas and an obedient servant. They performed such services in all the post-houses all the way to the capital of Cathay.

Sukju is a large city with strong, high walls encircling it. In shape it is square and comprises bazaars fifty cubits wide, all watered down and swept. In most houses domestic pigs are kept, and in the butcher shops they sell mutton and pork hung next to each other. There are many bazaars and marketplaces *(chaharsu)* in that city, and at every marketplace there is a highly ornamented [wooden] archway[31] with crenellations [also of wood] fitted on top and Chinese stalactites (*muqarnas*). Every twenty paces **[HS 637]** along the city ramparts is a covered tower. The four gates in the four walls of the city are directly opposite each other, and although it is some distance from the middle of the city to the gates, the [streets] are so straight [and the people so numerous] it did not seem so far. Atop each gateway is a two-story pavilion. {The walls and gates were decorated with colored tiles, as the people of Mazanderan do, although in Mazanderan they build with tile that is not colored, while the Chinese execute them in their own particular colored tile.} There were numerous temples in this city, each one nearly ten *jaribs*, [the courtyards] all paved with cut baked brick and very clean and neat. At the temple doors beautiful boys stand and call out for people to enter.

From there to Khan Balïgh (Peking), which is the emperor of Cathay's capital, there were ninety-nine stage posts, all of which were flourishing. Every post station [is nearly as large as a town] ⌜comprises a town and an entrepôt⌝, and between each two posts are several *qarghus*.[32] A *qarghu* consists of a structure about sixty cubits tall, and there are always two [ten] people in these structures, which **[RS 483]** are so situated that the next *qarghu* is visible. When any event occurs—for example, if they catch sight of a foreign army—they immediately light a fire on the *qarghu* and, as the people in the next *qarghu* see it, they do the same so that the watchmen at the capital in Khan Balïgh learn of an event within a day and night, whereas it may be a three-month journey to the place where it occurred. Generally, immediately afterward, the relay station (*kidi qu*)[33] relays a letter explaining the event. *Kidi qu* is an expression for several householders who have been domiciled in a particular locality. They are responsible for passing on to the next relay station any letter or piece of news they receive so that, within a short period of time, a detailed [account] reaches the ears of the emperor. From one relay station to the next is ten *qaras* [*mara*],[34] sixteen *qaras* being one stage. Every day[35] ten people in turn serve the *qarghu*, while those who serve the relay

[30] *Kat*, a wooden platform or frame.

[31] *RS* has *chahārṭāq*, a four-arched pavilion; *HS* has simply *ṭāq*, arch.

[32] *RS* has the misdotted *qar'ū*. The beacon towers described are well known (*fêng sui*, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization*, IV, iii, 661).

[33] *Kidi qu* [*ki diqu*]. The Chinese equivalent has not been established with certainty: perhaps *ch'i di fu*, which signifies a message relayer. The institution, however, is well attested: under the Sung the post-station service was known as the "hot-foot relay" (*chi chiao ti*), while in the Yuan dynasty the relays appear as *phu ping* serving in post-stations *chan-ch'ih* (= the *yāmkhāna* of the text, both the Chinese *chan* and the Turko-Persian *yām* deriving from the Mongolian *jam* "road, way"). See Needham, *Science and Civilization*, IV, iii, 36.

[34] "Broadly speaking the main roads were equipped from Han to Sung times with a post-office (*yu*) every five *li*, a cantonal office (*thing*) every ten *li*, and a post-station (*ch'ih*) every thirty *li*" (Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, IV, iii, p. 35).

[35] *MS:* every ten days.

station reside there and have built houses and till the soil.

From Sukju to Qamju,[36] which is the next town and larger than Sukju, was one [nine] stages. Wang Daji,[37] who is the great ward of the march, rules in this town. Every posthouse has 450 dray horses [and donkeys. They brought nearly sixty wagons for the emissaries.] The boys who take care of the horses [are called *ma fu*,[38] the custodians of the donkeys are called *lü fu*,[39] and the wagon pullers are called *ch'e fu*[40]]. There are many of this class who draw wagons with ropes on their shoulders. In charge of every wagon are twelve men, and no matter how rainy or cold it is they do not slack from pulling the wagon, and all the boys are well spoken and hale physically [with fake Chinese pearls in their ears and their hair plaited]. The horses they keep ready for emissaries have saddles, bridles and whips, [and the *ma fus*, vying with each other, run in front of the horses from post to post]. At every stage post there were sheep, geese, fowl, rice, honey, flour, [liquor, pickled garlic and onions] and various legumes kept ready for the emissaries. They gave a banquet for the emissaries in every town. In every *dusun*[41] where they hold banquets (they call the government house *dusun*), they first place a dais (*takht*) [facing the imperial capital] in front of the imperial *kävürgä* and hang a curtain. Someone stands in front of [beside] the dais and spreads a large and very clean piece of felt [HS 638] on the ground, and the emissaries take their place on it. The rest of the people stand in rows, like Muslims at prayer. The person who stands to the left [RS 484] cries out in Chinese. [After that he puts his head to the ground three times, and they compel the emissaries to do the same three times], after which everyone takes his seat and begins to eat. ⌜The day the [duke] gave the emissaries a banquet was the 12th of Ramadan.⌝[42]

In Qamju was a temple 500 cubits square, in the middle of which was a [reclining] idol 50 cubits tall, 9 cubits wide at the feet and 21 cubits the circumference of the head. Over and behind it were other idols [each one cubit long more or less], and in that temple were representations [of *bakhshī*s] that moved in such a way that the viewer imagined they were alive. [On the walls were beautiful, intricate paintings.] {The above-mentioned statue had one arm under its head and the other over its face,[43] and the whole thing was gilded and clothed with various garments. It was called Shakamuni. The infidels bowed down in droves before it.} All around the temple were buildings like cells in a caravanserai, all adorned with gold-spun curtains, gilded platforms (*kursī*), chairs, candlesticks and banqueting vessels. In this city was another building which the Muslims called "Celestial Sphere":[44] it was like an octagonal pavilion, fifteen stories from bottom to top, and on every

[36]Kan-chou in Kansu Province.

[37]*RS* has a garbled *'NGJY*.

[38]Text has *pāqū*, a scribal error for the intended *māfū*, for Chinese *ma fu* "horse caretaker."

[39]Text has *lūqū*, again a scribal error for *lūfū* for the Chinese *lü fu* "donkey caretaker."

[40]Text has *chaqū*, again a scribal error for *chafū* for the Chinese *ch'e fu* "wagonpuller."

[41]*AL: rūsūn*.

[42]*MS* adds: He entreated the emissaries to eat since it was a royal feast. The emissaries begged to be excused, saying, "It is not permitted in our religion." The duke excused them and sent to their quarters all that had been prepared.

[43]*MS:* over its thigh.

[44]The names given in the texts, *falak-i gardān* ("turning sphere") and *charkh-i falak* ("celestial wheel"), would seem to indicate one of the Chinese astrological clocks (see Joseph Needham *et al., Heavenly Clockwork* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986]); the description, in which no moving or mechanical parts are mentioned, is at some variance with this conclusion, however, and may be a translation from a Chinese name such as Heavenly Pagoda.

story were belvederes *(manẓara)* consisting of Chinese stalactites, chambers and porticos *(aywān)*. All around the belvederes were placed [strange] pictures, among which was the picture of a throne on which was seated an emperor with servants, slaveboys and girls standing to his left and right. At the bottom of the pavilion were representations *(ṣuwar)* [of demons] holding the pavilion aloft. The circumference of the pavilion was 20 cubits and the height 12 cubits, all of carved wood but so gilded that one would think it was of red gold. Beneath it was a cellar *(sardāba)* with a pillar reaching from the cellar to the top, with one end resting on an iron base and the other attached to the roof of the pavilion, so that with the slightest motion of the pillar the huge pavilion would shake.[45] In this city the gifts the emissaries had brought for the emperor were taken, except for a lion, which Pahlawan Salah[uddin] the lion keeper himself took to the emperor's court.

To return to the narrative, the closer the emissaries got to Khan Balïgh, the more elaborate the banquets and entertainments given by the rulers and magistrates of the post stations became. Every day they came to another post, and every week another town until the {1}4th of Shawwal [12 {22} October], when the Qara Mörän River[46] was reached. This river is as large as the Oxus. Across it is stretched a bridge with a chain of twenty-two boats tied together. At each end ten cubits of the chains, which were as thick as a man's thigh, were placed **[RS 485]** onto dry land, and on both sides of the river iron stakes, as thick as a man's waist, were securely planted in the ground, and to these the chains were firmly attached. The boats were secured by large hooks and chains. Atop the boats are laid planks, all fastened and secured. The emissaries crossed without difficulty.

On the other side of the Qara Mörän is an enormous town full of people and buildings.[47] There they gave the emissaries a banquet greater than they had had in any of the other towns. There was a temple so huge that from the borders of Cathay to there its like had not been seen. **[HS 639]** The town had three taverns in which beautiful girls sat. Although most of the girls of Cathay are beautiful, that town could be known as Husnabad[48] because of the extraordinary beauty of its women.

⌜Setting out from there and passing through a few other towns, on the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [November 18, 1420] they reached a river twice the breadth of the Oxus.[49] They crossed it safely by boat.⌝ Crossing several other rivers by boat and bridge, on the 27th of that month [in the year 823] they reached the city of Chiating Fu,[50] which is immense and contains innumerable people. It had a large temple and an enormous idol made of [cast] bronze and gilded, 50 cubits in height and with many arms, [in the palm of each hand an eye[51]], hence they call it the "Thousand-Armed." ⌜It is very famous throughout Cathay.⌝ This idol and the building all rest on a curiously carved stone platform that has arches and belvederes of several stories all around, the first reaching to above the idol's heel and the second not reaching its knee. The next reaches to above its knee, and the next does not quite reach the waist. The next reaches the breast, and so on until at the

[45] *MS* adds: All the carpenters, smiths and painters in the world should learn their crafts there.

[46] The Mongolian *Qara Mörän* (black river) is the Yellow River.

[47] An identification of this town as Lan Chou is offered by Yule (*Cathay*, I, 278).

[48] Ḥusnābād, "abode of beauty."

[49] This must be the second crossing of the Yellow River.

[50] *AL* has *ṢDYN FW; RS* and *HS* have *ṢDYN QWR*. In all of these the *Ṣ* must be a misreading of *JY*.

[51] Reading *chashm* with *MS*.

very top of that marvelous building are stalactites and so covered that the viewer is astonished. It is in all eight stories, and on each of them one can walk around the [inside and] outside. [From what was told it was understood that] this idol was made standing, and its two feet, the length of each of which is [about] ten cubits, rest on [two cast pillars, but they are not apparent, and it looks as though it stands in the air.][52] They said that approximately 100,000 *kharwar*s of bronze were used in making it. There are also smaller idols made of plaster and painted, [and there are mountains, slopes and caves drawn,] ⌜and next to each of them are temples *(ma'bad)*⌝ with pictures of monks, [*bakhshī*s] and yogis seated in retreat and performing exercises.[53] **[RS 486]** With brushes of magic they have painted [rams,] tigers, leopards, dragons and trees, and on the walls of the temples are paintings done with consumate expertise and mastery. That temple comprises other magnificent, strange buildings. In this city too there was a celestial wheel, even larger and more elaborate than the celestial wheel in Qamju. [Here too the emissaries were banqueted before leaving.]

⌜Every day the emissaries traveled four leagues until,⌝ on the [morning of the] 8th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 14, 1420], they reached the gates of Khan Balïgh (Peking). They beheld a city of inordinate magnitude, ⌜made all of stone⌝ [with walls a league in length]. Because they were still in the process of building, ⌜100,000⌝ scaffolds *(khuwāra*[54]) were fastened to the city walls. [When the emissaries reached the moat the gateway into Khan Balïgh was not open, so] the emissaries were taken into the city through a tower that was being worked on and brought to the gate of the Emperor [Dayming[55] Khan]'s sublime palace. At the palace gate a distance of 700 feet was paved with cut stone, across which the [Khurasanis] passed on foot. On each side of the way were standing five elephants with their trunks held across the path along which the emissaries passed until they reached the gate of the emperor's palace. [Although it was still dark,] they saw nearly five hundred [a hundred thousand] people gathered at the gate to the emperor's palace. When the emissaries reached there, they saw a vast, pleasant and captivating open area, and in front of Dayming Khan's pavilion they saw a platform *(kursī)* thirty cubits in height, and atop the platform were columns [50 cubits high and on top of that a hall (? *ṭunūb)* 60 cubits by 40 cubits. In front of the columns were] three gateways. The middle gateway was the largest and was the emperor's passageway, the people passing through the other two. Over the pavilion **[HS 640]** behind the gateway were a *kävürgä*, a bell hung and two people waiting for the emperor to step upon the dais. Nearly three hundred thousand people gathered at the court at dawn, and two thousand singers stood by, ⌜singing in Chinese in praise of the emperor in harmony, treble and bass, according to the principles of their music⌝. Another two thousand soldiers held halberts, clubs, steel javelins, battle axes, spears, swords and maces. ⌜Some held Chinese fans.⌝ All along the perimeter of the courtyard were chambers, balconies and columns of great magnitude. The walls of the buildings were all of jet, and the pavement was of cut stone.

In short, when the sun rose, those who were waiting for the emperor atop the pavilion sounded the *kävürgä*, drums,

[52]Text is garbled in *HS;* reading taken from *MS.*

[53]Undoubtedly portraits of bodhisattvas seated in meditation are referred to.

[54]For the scribal error *ḥuwāza* in *RS.*

[55]*HS* has here "Dānmig," elsewhere "Dāyming," a good rendition not of the Ming emperor's name but of his title, *Ta(i) Ming han* ("great Ming emperor"), then Ch'eng Tsu, third emperor of the Ming dynasty.

cornets, cymbals and bells. As the [three] main gateways **[RS 487]** were opened, the people went inside in all haste, for it is the Chinese custom to run to see the emperor. After [the emissaries] had crossed the first space, they came to another open area, which was also vast and even more pleasing to the onlooker from afar than the first had been. ⌜There they saw a pavilion larger than the first palace.⌝ [Just then a dais was being set up.] It was a triangular platform, ⌜four cubits a side,⌝ with a covering of ⌜gold-flecked⌝ yellow China silk over it. In it were represented the phœnix, [dragons] and other birds [forms]. On top of the dais was placed a golden chair *(kursī)*. To the right and left the Chinese stood in rows, first the officers of 10,000, then of 1,000, then of 100. ⌜There were very many of them, and⌝ each held in his hand a tablet one cubit long and a quarter cubit wide, and their gaze was fixed on those tablets. Behind them were too many mail-clad soldiers and spearholders even to approximate. Some stood at attention holding naked swords, and they were all so silent that one would think they were not even breathing. After a time, when the emperor came out of his private quarters, a silver gangway with five steps was placed against the dais, on top of which was a chair of red gold.

First the emperor went up and sat on the chair. He was of medium height with neither large nor small features, with two or three hundred facial hairs so long that they had been knotted into three or four plaits. On either side of the emperor's dais were seated two girls with faces like the moon and countenances like the sun, hair of ambergris knotted on top of their heads, their faces and necks exposed, and lustrous pearls in their ears. They held paper and pens in their hands and waited to write down what the emperor said in order to report when he went into the private quarters. If a correction or change was to be made, they sent the writing out to the clerks to implement the order.

In short, when the emperor sat on the dais, they brought forward the emissaries along with prisoners who were shoulder to shoulder in chains.[56] First the emperor asked concerning the prisoners and criminals, who were seven [hundred] in number. Some had forked sticks around their necks, and others were tied to long boards with their heads sticking out [of holes in the boards]. Each one had a warden who held the criminal by the hair and waited for the emperor's command. The emperor [Dayming Khan] sent some of them to prison, and others he condemned to execution. In all the realm of Cathay no governor or magistrate **[RS 488]** is permitted to pronounce a death sentence, and whenever anyone commits a crime, the offense is written on a board and hung around his neck. They also write what the punishment for his crime is in accordance with the infidel code, fetter him with a forked stick and send him to Khan Baligh. [Even should it take a year to reach the capital from where the criminal is,] he cannot stop in any **[HS 641]** place ⌜until he reaches the capital.⌝

When the matter of the criminals was settled [for that day], the emissaries were taken to a distance of fifteen cubits from the dais. Then an officer genuflected[57] and read out the particulars of the emissaries, which were recorded on a tablet in Chinese writing. The contents of the writing was that they had traveled far and had come from Shahrukh and his sons, they had brought gifts and tribute for the emperor in order to place their foreheads in obedience upon the ground of servitude and be encompassed by the gaze of

[56] Yule comments (*Cathay*, I, 280) that the intentional slight of ambassadors by presenting them along with condemned criminals was characteristic.

[57] *RS: zānū zada* (genuflected) has been transformed in *HS* to *nūzdah* ("nineteen"), to which "pages" has been added.

favor and grace. Mawlana [Hajji] Yusuf Qazi, who was one of the officers privy to [Dayming Khan] and held one of the twelve posts of imperial minister {and who knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Mongolian and Chinese}, came before the emissaries with several other Muslims who spoke our language and said to them, "First bend down and then touch your foreheads to the ground three times." The emissaries bowed and lowered their heads but did not touch their foreheads to the ground. Then they took the letters from His Majesty Shahrukh and His Highness Baysunqur and the other princes and amirs [of Iran], which had been wrapped in yellow silk, as had been indicated by the Emperor [Dayming Khan]'s servants—it is the custom of the Chinese to wrap anything that pertains to the emperor in yellow silk [something yellow]. Then the aforementioned Mawlana Yusuf took the letters from them and handed them to a chamberlain [who was standing in front of the emperor's throne. The chamberlain then handed them to the emperor. The emperor opened the letters, looked at them and handed them back to the chamberlain.] Then [Dayming Khan] came down from his chair ⌜and took the letters⌝ [and sat on the throne.

Three thousand robes were brought, one thousand *dägäläs* and two thousand tunics *(qabā)*. The emperor divided them among his children and relatives and had robes of honor placed on the embassy.] Then seven of the emissaries, Shadi Khwaja and Kökchä [the *nökärs* of Mirza Shahrukh], Sultan-Ahmad and Ghiyathuddin [of Mirza Baysunqur's retinue], Arghudaq[58] [the emissary of Mirza Soyurghatmïsh], Ardawan [the emissary of Amir Shah-Malik] and Tajuddin [the representative of the shah of Badakhshan], were taken near the dais. They went down on their knees, and the emperor [Dayming Khan] asked them about ⌜Mu'in al-Saltana wa'l-Din⌝ Mirza Shahrukh. After that, he inquired if Qara Yusuf[59] would send an emissary and tribute *(māl)*.

"Yes," they said, "your *dajis* saw that his emissary came bringing gifts and tribute."

Then he asked, "In your country is grain expensive or cheap? Is welfare for the privileged few or widespread?"

"Grain is beyond the boundaries of perfection," they replied. "And welfare is more inexpensive and more widespread than can be imagined."

"Yes," he said, "when the ruler's heart is with the Lord, the Creator bestows bountiful welfare." Then **[RS 489]** he said, "I have in mind to send an emissary to Qara Yusuf and request from him some good-tempered horses, for I have heard that in his realm there are excellent horses." Then he asked, "Are the roads safe?"

The emissaries answered, "Within the realm under Shahrukh Sultan's command people come and go with utter peace of mind."

"So I understand," he said. "Now you have come a long way. Arise and have some food."

They were taken to the first courtyard, where a tray was set before each one. When they had finished eating, they went as ordered to the posthouse. There, in **[HS 642]** every chamber, were laid out a beautiful bed with bedding and a silken pillow, *kamkha*,[60] extremely delicate silken slippers, a chair, a brazier, ⌜a bowl *(āshdān)*⌝ and fine ⌜rugs *(zīlūcha)* and⌝ straw mats. To the left and right of those they saw other beds laid out. Each person was assigned a chamber, as well as a kettle *(deg)*, a bowl, ⌜a knife,⌝ a spoon and a

[58]The name is written *'RGhD'Q* and is taken to be Arqudaq, or Arqïdaq ("Gemini"). See Radloff, *VWTD*, I, 293.

[59]Qarā Yūsuf of the Qaraqoyunlu dynasty in Eastern Anatolia, Azerbaijan and Iraq, ruled (with interruption) from 791/1389 to 823/1420.

[60]< *kamkhʷāb*, a woven textile with a short nap (Mu'in, *Farhang-i fārsī*, III, 3065).

tray.[61] A daily ration was given to every [ten] person[s] of ten [one] sheep, one goose, two chickens, two maunds of flour, a large bowl of rice, two large lumps of halva, a jar of honey and vinegar, onions, salt, various legumes, a platter of sweets and several beautiful servants.

The next day, the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 15, 1420], the *shiqawul*[62]—{the individuals who took us to see interesting places and even to the emperor's banquets are called *ssŭ jen*,[63] which in Khurasan are known as *shiqawul*}—came at dawn with saddled horses and said to the emissaries, "Rise and mount, for the emperor is giving [you] a banquet." ⌜He took them and seated them in the first palace. At that time nearly 300,000 people had gathered at the palace gate. When the sun rose, the three gates were opened and the emissaries were taken to the dais and ordered to bow to the emperor five times. Then they were told to go out and relieve themselves because they would not be able to leave the banquet for a call of nature. The emissaries dispersed and returned.⌝ Passing through the first palace and then the second palace, which contained the dais, they came to a third palace. They saw that it was a very pleasant courtyard paved with cut stone. In front was a hall [sixty cubits long], and inside it was a large dais [taller than a man], on three sides of which were steps of silver, one in front and one on either side. Two chamberlains were standing, with papier maché over their mouths and fastened behind their ears. **[RS 490]** On top of the large dais was a small dais, like a chair but with many legs [and corners]. [To the right and left of the dais were things like incense burners,] all of gilded wood, ⌜and the columns, posts and steps of the structure were painted and lacquered in a turmeric color in such a way that the most accomplished craftsmen {of Khurasan and Iraq} would have been unequal to it.⌝ [Mawlana Yusuf said that it had been eight years since the dais had been made, but it showed no sign of wear.] ⌜Trays of food and sweets and figurines *(nakhl-bandi)* were placed before the emperor.⌝ To the left and right stood *dovachis*,[64] bodyguards with quivers and swords and shields. ⌜Behind them were soldiers holding halberts and a group of soldiers with naked swords. A place on the left was assigned to the emissaries.⌝ Before the emperor, near an opening in the hall was placed a large *kävürgä*. Near it someone was standing on a platform, and to his side musicians stood in rows. In front of the dais were placed ⌜seven parasols⌝ in seven colors, and outside the hall, to the right and left, were standing 200,000 arms bearers. ⌜At the distance of an arrowshot was a place, ten cubits by ten cubits, the walls of which were yellow silk, wherein the emperor's food was prepared. There was also *darasun*[65] there, and every time food and *darasun* are brought in for the emperor, the singers and musicians begin to play, and, spinning the seven parasols, they bring them up to the dais. The *ash* and *darasun* are placed in large shells, the covers of which are also of shell.⌝ In front of the harem was a door, at which was hung a large curtain. At the two sides the curtain was fastened by a silken cord. The ends were held by two chamberlains. The

[61] *HS: shira; RS: shīra-i zabīb*, raisin molasses (!).

[62] *RS* has *ŠQ'WL* throughout; *HS* has *TθQ'WL*. The *shiqāwul* was the court master of ceremonies and escort to ambassadors. See Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-ṭawārīkh*, p. 837; Doerfer, *TMEN*, §232.

[63] Reading *sajin* with *ZT* for the *SḤNYN* of *AL* for the Chinese *ssŭ jen* (palace-man or eunuch), see Yule, *Cathay*, I, 280.

[64] Here *RS*'s *dovachi* makes better sense than *HS*'s *dājlān*.

[65] Mongolian *darasun*, ordinary yellow wine made from grain or rice, equivalent to the Chinese *huang chiu*.

middle of the cord was attached such that when they pulled the cord, the curtain was folded up and the door was opened.

After the paraphernalia was arranged, the gathering was inaugurated as mentioned before. The emperor came out [through that door], and the instruments were sounded. When the emperor sat, all fell silent. Over the emperor's head to a height of ten cubits was a bower [curtain], like a canopy, of yellow silk, with four intertwined dragons painted on it. When the emperor [Dayming Khan] took his place, the emissaries were taken forward and, as ordered, bowed five times. After that they returned and sat down at [trays of food that had been prepared. When the Chinese honor someone they set before him three trays; less honor is two trays; and less than that is one tray. **[HS 643]** That day a thousand trays or more were set before the people. The emperor's food had been prepared near the seven colored parasols in a place enclosed by yellow silk.] Aside from the food and beverages that were on the trays, every so often [the waiters] brought *ash*es and viands, lamb, goose and chicken, and placed them before the people, **[RS 491]** ⌜and *darasun* was offered⌝.

[That day there were many beautiful boys and girls in the assembly, some to sing and others to perform.] ⌜The players began to perform: first a troop of beardless youths, like shining suns, with red and white rubbed on their faces like girls and pearls in their ears, wearing goldspun clothing, holding multicolored dates, roses and tulips made of paper and silk, began to dance rhythmically. After that two ten-year-old boys turned flips over two sticks. Someone lay down on the threshold and raised his feet. Some large reeds were placed on the soles of his feet, and another person took the bundle of reeds (?) and a ten- or twelve-year-old boy did all sorts of tricks on top of the reeds. In the end he threw the reeds away one by one until only one long reed was left. He turned a flip on top of that reed and did tricks. Suddenly, after these strange movements, he separated himself from the end of the reed in such a way that anyone would imagine he had fallen. The person who had been lying down leapt to his feet and caught him in the air. Then the instruments were played. {The musicians mostly played by themselves, though sometimes they coöperated with each other, for example one of them would be playing his own instrument with one hand while putting the fingers of his other hand over the holes of the instrument next to him.} This assembly lasted from morning until noon.⌝

In the open courtyard were several thousand birds, such as doves, pidgeons, ravens, crows, etc., which stole pieces of fruit and crumbs of food and were unafraid of people. No one bothered them at all. When the banquet was finished, the emperor made the singers happy with gifts of cash. Then, with the emperor's permission, the people dispersed.

To return to the narrative, the emissaries remained in [Khan Balïq] for five months,[66] and every day the allotments that were established for them the very first day came without decrease. Several times banquets were held, ⌜and every time the entertainers did new tricks. Finally, when the Feast of the Sacrifice came around, the emissaries went with a group of Muslims to a mosque the emperor had built for them in this city to perform the rites of that happy day.

On the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja a group of criminals was taken to the place of execution, according to the emperor's command, and the Chinese infidels wrote in the ministerial registry the crime of each one and the punishment.[67] {According to Chinese law, every crime has a particular punishment: some are decapitated, some

[66] *MS* adds: from the 8th of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 822 until the beginning of Jumādā I 823.

[67] *RS* and *MS* add here: "the elaboration of which is not deemed necessary." *AL* elaborates.

are hanged, and some are chopped to pieces. Every executioner is responsible for killing one person, and if there are a hundred convicts, there are a hundred executioners. However, for the capital punishment} of criminals the people there, as is their custom, take great precaution. The emperor has twelve ministries. If anyone is accused of a crime and the crime **[RS 492]** is proven to eleven ministries but is not clear to the twelfth, the criminal may obtain release. {In extreme cases the instrument of crime and a reliable witness must be produced, and without proof no sentence of death is given.} ⌜If there is a witness living at a journey of six months or more, the criminal is not punished but is imprisoned until the witness is produced and the matter is investigated.⌝ {If a criminal dies in prison, he cannot be buried without the emperor's permission. On the 23rd of Muharram the weather was so cold that several of the criminals died beside the emperor's palace. Someone said that in the past on cold days more than ten thousand persons had perished.}

On the 22nd [27th] of Muharram [January 27, 1421] Mawlana Yusuf Qazi sent a messenger to the emissaries to say, "Tomorrow is the New Year, and the emperor is coming to the new *ordu*. It is forbidden for anyone to wear white." They wear white for funerals. The eve of the 28th at midnight the emperor sent a eunuch to take the emissaries to the new *ordu*, which was a magnificent structure [that was finally completed after nineteen years of work]. That night the people so lighted their shops, houses and camps with lanterns, candles and torches that you would think the sun had risen. There were about 100,000 people from China, Cathay, Machin, Qalmaq,[68] Tibet, etc., gathered in that encampment. ⌜The emperor gave his amirs a banquet, and the emissaries were seated outside the throne room. Nearly 200,000 people were present bearing arms, and the boys began to dance and do acrobatics in an inimitable manner.⌝ From the door of the audience hall to the end of the building was 1,925 feet, and all the structures were of cut stone and baked brick. The bricks were of baked china clay, ⌜and for about 300 cubits were so laid that there was not a hair's breadth of crookedness. The masters of stonecutting, carpentry, painting and tilemaking of that region have no peers.⌝ [That day Dayming Khan gave the amirs from the surrounding areas a banquet that lasted until noon.] Finally, about noon, the banquet was finished, and the people went home.

⌜At dawn on the 9th of Safar [February 13, 1421] horses were brought and the emissaries were taken out. Every year the emperor abstained from eating animals for a few days and remained in solitude, not allowing any of his wives or men in his presence. He stayed in a room that had no pictures or statues and said, "I worship the God of heaven." The day the emissaries were taken was the day the emperor came out of seclusion and went to the private quarters. Elephants had been elaborately caparisoned and were driven in front of a round, gilded litter in which he sat. Banners of seven colors were carried along, and 50,000 men went before and behind. They carried another litter on their shoulders, and played instruments in such a way that it could not be described. In spite of all the crowd and throng, **[RS 493]** no sound, save that of the instruments, could be heard. In that pomp and circumstance the emperor was carried to his quarters, and the people went home.⌝

During that season is the Festival of Lanterns. For seven days and nights outside the emperor's palace an edifice is constructed of wood and covered with branches of cypress so that it looks like a mountain of emerald. Tens of thousands of lanterns are attached to it with string,

[68] I.e., the Qalmuq (Kalmyk), or Oyrat, Eastern Mongols.

and rockets of naphtha are made so that when a lantern is lit the rocket races along the string and lights every lantern it touches. In an instant the lanterns are lit from the top of the mountain to the bottom, and the people of the city light many lanterns in their shops and houses. During those seven days **[HS 644]** no one is condemned, the emperor proclaims amnesty and prisoners are set free. That year the astrologers of Cathay had calculated that the emperor's house would be damaged by fire, and for this reason no command was given for the night of lanterns, ⌜but the amirs had gathered as they always had and the emperor gave them a banquet and ordered gifts distributed.⌝

On the 13th of Safar the emperor's *shiqawul* came again for the emissaries and seated them at the palace gate. More than 100,000 people from all regions had gathered, and a jewel-studded throne had been placed at the gate to the first pavilion and the gates had been opened. The emperor sat on the throne, and the people [knelt and] placed their heads on the ground. Another dais was brought and put next to the emperor's throne, and three people went up on this dais. Two of them held up the decree that the Emperor [Dayming] had issued and which had been recorded somewhere, while the third cried out in a loud voice so that all the people could hear. However, it was in Chinese and the emissaries did not understand. The contents, [which they learned from those who knew the language,] were: "[On the tenth of] this month three years have passed since the emperor's lantern night, and another lantern night season has come. [Prisoners,] criminals and others held by the ministry are to be released, for I have pardoned their offenses, except those who have shed blood. For three years no emissary is to go anywhere." After reading the edict, they put something on top of the decree and wrapped it well in gold [sealed it in yellow paste, affixed] a ring, [tied it in] yellow silk cord and then lowered the decree. A parasol was carried over it, and the people and multitude of musicians followed it out of the pavilion. The decree was brought to the resthouse where [the emissaries] were, and from there copies of the decrees were sent to the provinces.

When the new moon of Rabi' I appeared [March 6, 1421], the Emperor [Dayming Khan] had [nine] falcons brought and once again summoned the emissaries. **[RS 494]** He said, "I will give a hawk to anyone who has brought me a good horse." Then he gave three falcons to Sultan-Shah, Mirza Ulughbeg's emissary, three to Sultan-Ahmad, Mirza Baysunqur's emissary, and three to Shadi Khwaja, His Majesty's emissary. After that he gave them back to his own falconers to keep until they should depart.

⌜The next day he summoned the emissaries and said, "The army is going to the borders of the country. You too get your arms to go along with them and go to your own country." To Arghudaq, the emissary of Mirza Soyurghatmïsh, he said, "There is no falcon for you. {If we were to give you one, <they> would take it from you, like Ardashir,[69] the servant of Prince Ibrahim-Sultan, from whom <they> took a falcon}[70]."

Arghudaq said, "If the emperor is gracious enough to give me a falcon, no one will take it from me."

"Wait here," he said, "until they bring two more falcons. I will give them to you."

On the 8th of Rabi' I Sultan-Shah and Bakhshï Malik were summoned and given 8 ingots of silver, 30 regal suits of

[69] Ardashïr Tovachï was sent with the second Chinese embassy to Shāhrukh when they returned to Peking on 23 Rabï' I 820 (May 10, 1417) (Faṣïḥï, *Mujmal*, 231).

[70] *RS* and *AL* are badly garbled here. *ZT* supplies the subject "they" for the "we" of *RS* and *AL*.

clothing <with lining, 24 ...,[71] 91 falcons,> 2 horses, one of which had a saddle, 100 reed arrows, and 25 Chinese three-pronged spears.[72] Bakhshī Malik was given the same, except that there was one ingot fewer. The emperor's wife also gave the emissaries gifts. On that day Uways Khan's emissary, with 250 men, saw the emperor and performed the rites of bowing. The ministerial clerks appointed for them regal clothing and foodstuffs.⌝ {On that same day the envoy of Uways Khan, <who was named Abu Yatïmur Atäkä,> along with his 250 servants and companions were given regal robes.}

On the 13th of Rabi' I the emperor ⌜summoned the emissaries and said, "I am going on a hunt and may not return for some time. You take your falcons lest you have nothing to do." {To taunt them he said, "The horses you brought me were short, but you have received select falcons."} In accordance with the command, their birds were given to them, and the emperor⌝ went on the hunt. ⌜During his absence a prince came from the province of Tamna<i> (?). On the 18th of that month the emissaries went to see him. He was in the eastern part of the imperial palace, and all around him was decorated. By the emperor's order trays were set and food was eaten, and they came away.⌝

At the beginning of Rabi' II [April 1421] the emissaries were told that the emperor was coming from the hunt and they must go out to meet him. They were mounting their horses when they saw Mawlana Yusuf Qazi at the gate of the posthouse, very sad and forlorn on his horse. When they inquired why he was downcast, he said in a very low voice, "The horse that His Majesty Shahrukh sent threw the emperor during the hunt. The emperor flew into a rage and commanded that the emissaries be taken in chains to the city of Khatay."

The emissaries [RS 495] were distressed to hear this [and set out for the emperor's camp. By midmorning they reached the station where the emperor had stopped for the night and there] saw that a wall had been constructed overnight around the imperial camp, 500 feet by 500 feet and four feet in breadth and ten cubits high. ⌜In Cathay they build walls of *terre pisé* very fast.⌝ In the wall were two gateways, and next to the wall, from where they had taken earth, there was a deep ditch. ⌜Upon the walls were men and soldiers, all armed, and⌝ inside the enclosure were two square canopies, each 25 cubits, raised on four columns. Around it were tents and canopies of yellow silk and gold brocade. Since there was a distance of 500 feet between [the camp and] the emissaries, Mawlana Yusuf said to them, "Get down and remain here [HS 645] until the emperor comes." He himself went forward, and when he came near the imperial entourage, he dismounted and saw Wali Daji[73] and Jan Daji standing before the emperor. The emperor was discussing seizing the emissaries when Wali Daji, Jan Daji and Mawlana Yusuf Qazi placed their heads on the ground and interceded, saying, "⌜These people are innocent. They have no power to command their emperor to send a good horse.⌝ If you were to kill them, no harm would come to their emperors' dominions, but an emperor who is renowned for clemency would gain a reputation for cruelty and tyranny. ⌜People would say that he has inflicted harm upon emissaries, whose captivity or imprisonment is licit in no religion.⌝" The Emperor [Dayming Khan] was soothed by the words of these benevolent men and changed his mind. Mawlana Yusuf came happy and joyful to the emissaries and said, "God has had mercy on you

[71] *ZT* has *q.lql*; others have *qal'ī* (tin), not likely in the context.

[72] Reading *kaybur* with *ZT* for the *kanīz* of *RS*.

[73] *RS* has *WLYL'JY*; *HS* has *WLY D'JY*; *ZT* and *MS* have *Lī Dājī*.

foreigners. The emperor has been merciful and pardoned the crime you did not commit."[74]

Just then the emperor drew near riding the black horse with four white feet that Mirza Ulughbeg had sent. A gold brocade cloak was thrown [over it], and two equerries were walking ⌜slowly⌝ on the left and right of the horse. The emperor was wearing a red [yellow] goldspun tunic and had covered his head with a black silk hood. Behind him were being carried on men's shoulders seven small covered litters in which were seated girls. There was also a large litter carried by seventy people, and for a distance of one arrowshot[75] to the right and left **[RS 496]** many horsemen were riding in such order that not one person was out of step. Between one row and the next was about twenty feet. When the emperor drew near the emissaries, they bowed ⌜at the prompting of Jan Daji, Wali Daji and Mawlana Yusuf⌝. The Emperor [Dayming Khan] said to them, "Mount!" They did as they were ordered and set out in the imperial retinue. The emperor said by way of complaint to Shadi Khwaja, "Presents, gifts, horses and animals [rulers] send [each other] should be good [so that mutual affection may increase]. ⌜As an act of favor I rode the horse you brought me during the hunt, but unfortunately⌝ [it was so old] it threw me and hurt my arm."

Shadi Khwaja spoke in apology and said, "That horse is a memento of His Majesty Timur Kürägän, and His Majesty Shahrukh sent it to the emperor as a mark of great favor." Shadi Khwaja's excuse was accepted by the emperor, who [praised Shadi Khwaja. Then he sent for a falcon and had a crane (? *kulang*) sent aloft. He threw the falcon into the air. It struck with its claw thrice and caught the crane. A platform was placed beneath the emperor to dismount, and he sat down on another dais and gave Sultan-Ahmad and Sultan-Shah each a falcon, but he did not give Shadi Khwaja anything. Once again] he mounted and set off toward the capital. Near the city [of Khan Balïq] many people had come out and were cheering the emperor in Chinese. ⌜In that pomp and circumstance⌝ the emperor [rode his horse in haste until he] entered his palace, ⌜and the people went to their own houses⌝.

On the 4th of Rabi' II [April 8, 1421] the emperor's *shiqawul* came again and led the emissaries away, saying, "Today the emperor will present you with [his *sang*,[76] which is to say special] gifts." When they reached the foot of the throne they saw the emperor seated with trays placed before him. [When Dayming Khan saw the emissaries he indicated that the trays should be taken to one side. He sent the amirs to the trays, **[HS 646]** and they placed the trays before the emissaries.] Then he gave the emissaries the following: to Shadi Khwaja 10 ingots of silver, 30 suits of silk clothing, 70 ...,[77] [silks, brocades and velvets,[78] 5,000 ch'ao,[79] and for his wife a third of the above-mentioned cloth]; to Sultan-Ahmad,

[74] *MS* adds: Trays sent by the emperor were brought—pork and lamb mixed. The Muslims among us did not partake.

[75] *LQM'R* in *RS:* based on the Persian equivalent *(yak tïr-partāb)* given in *HS*, it should be *tuqmar* (see Radloff, *VWTD*, III, 1157).

[76] *SNK*: perhaps the Mongolian *šang*, a gift made to an inferior.

[77] See note 71 above.

[78] Reading, with *ZT*, *ṭorqū-u lo-u shā-u kapakī* for the meaningless *ṬWQWWLWWS'W KPKY* repeated for each of the emissaries in *HS;* it is omitted altogether from the other texts. *Torqu* is a well attested word for silk (see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 539). *Lo* and *sha* both mean sheer, gauzy silk in Chinese; nonetheless, all readings are highly problematic, and translations are mere guesses.

[79] *Chāw*, Chinese paper money *(ch'ao)*. The fiasco that ensued when Geikhatu Khan attempted to introduce paper money into Iran in 1294 is well known (see J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 [Cambridge, 1968], p. 375).

Kökchä and Arghudaq each 8 ingots of silver, 16 silk suits, [silks, brocades and velvets, and for each of their wives 94 textile pieces (*waṣla*) and for each one 2,000 ch'ao]; to Khwaja Ghiyathuddin, Ardawan and Tajuddin each 7 ingots of silver, 16 silk suits, [silks, brocades and velvets, woolens, and 2,000 ch'ao]. [For each of Ulughbeg's emissaries, who were Sultan-Shah and Bakhshī Malik, 8 ingots of silver, 30 regal suits with lining, 24 woolens, silks, brocades and velvets, 2 horses, one of which had a saddle, 100 reed arrows, 25 Chinese three-pronged spears[80], 5,000 ch'ao, and cloth for their wives.] The emissaries gathered their gifts and went back to their rooms. ⌜Mirza Ulughbeg's emissaries had already received their gifts, as has been mentioned.⌝

Just at this time one of the emperor's beloved wives died, but it was not revealed until arrangements for the mourning were completed. On the 8th of Jumada I [May 11, 1421] news of her demise was announced. During the night before the burial day, by divine fate **[RS 497]** fire caused by lightning broke out in the emperor's newly built palace, so it came to pass that the astrologers' prediction came true, and the court that was 80 cubits long and 30 cubits wide and built upon colored columns ⌜wider than a man's girth⌝ burnt to the ground. From there it spread to the pavilion that was 60 cubits in circumference,[81] and the emperor's harem also burnt. Around the perimeter some 250 outbuildings also were ⌜burned, and many men and women were⌝ charred to ashes. It lasted from the night until noon the next day, and try as they might, the fire could not be extinguished. The emperor and his officers, however, paid no attention at all, that day being a holy day in their religion during which they paid no attention to [worldly] affairs. [Afterwards] the emperor went to the temple in supplication, crying, "The God of heaven is angry with me and has burned my throne room, although I have done nothing, [I have not vexed my mother or father] or done injustice to anyone." Of this sorrow he fell ill, and for this reason it was never known in what manner the emperor's wife who had died was buried. It was said that there is a special mountain in Cathay where great ladies are buried, and when one of them passes away she is taken to that mountain and put in a tomb tower *(dakhma)* [underground tomb *(sardāba)*]. Her own private horses are turned loose on that mountain to graze freely, and no one harms them. Many slavegirls and chamberlains are given [at least] five years' worth of supplies and sent to live in the tomb, which is vast. When their strength fails they die there. ⌜However, despite all this information concerning their customs attendant upon the death of ladies, because of the confusion and damage done by the fire, no one was able to ascertain in what manner they buried the departed lady.⌝

To return to the narrative, the emperor's illness grew worse day by day, ⌜and his son took his place in affairs of state.⌝ During this period the emissaries were given permission to depart. In the middle of Jumada I [mid-May 1421] they left Khan Balïgh, accompanied by *dovachis*. During the return they were served by the Chinese as they had been in coming, and they were given pack animals and wagons. ⌜At the beginning of Rajab [July 1421] they reached the city of Pingan[82] and were received by the governors and grandees. In accordance with the emperor's command the emissaries' baggage was not opened, although generally they open baggage and make inspections to prevent people from taking out things that are not allowed to be taken. The next day

[80]Translation taken from list given previously. See note 72.

[81]*MS* has: that was 20 cubits away.

[82]Identified by Yule (*Cathay*, I, 285) as the ancient capital Ping Yang Fu in Shansi.

a most elaborate banquet was given. [RS 498]

Setting out from there, they traveled until they reached the Qara Mörän on the 5th of Sha'ban [August 5, 1421]. Setting out, they came to a post station every day and to a town every week and, after being banqueted, continued on. On the 24th of Sha'ban [August 24, 1421] they came to the city of Qamju, and the Chinese returned to the emissaries everything they had taken from them when they arrived, and nothing was missing. They stayed in that town for two and a half months and then departed Qamju on the 7th of Dhu'l-Qa'da.⌝[83] On the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 13, 1421] they reached Sukju, [HS 647] where they met Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan's emissary {Amir Hasan}, who was coming from Shiraz, and Mirza Rustam's emissary {Pahlawan Jamal}, who had set out from Isfahan. ⌜They asked His Majesty Shahrukh's emissaries how to act in Cathay and received instruction.⌝ [As it was indicated that the roads were quite unsafe, they remained in Sukju for a while.]

In Muharram 825 [January 1422] they left Sukju and, [passing through settlements and wilderness,] came to ⌜Qamul,[84] the governors of which said that it was the Chinese custom, upon departure, to check the register of the number of people they had written upon arrival. So, after inspection and checking, they left Qamul, taking the desert route because they feared the insecurity and unsafety of the roads. With much difficulty they {emerged from the desert on the 8th of Rabi' I [March 2, 1422] and, after stopping for a while} arrived in Khotan on the 9th of Jumada I [May 1, 1422]. From there they traveled in stages and stopped in Kashghar on the 6th of Rajab [June 26, 1422]. Passing through⌝ Andigan on the 21st, [Mirza Ulughbeg's] emissaries took the road to Samarqand while the others chose the Khurasan road.[85] [Crossing the Oxus,] they stopped in Balkh the first of Ramadan, and on the 10th [August 28, 1422] [15th] reached Herat and attained the felicity of kissing the throne of His Imperial Majesty Shahrukh.[86]

[83] *RS* has: "They stayed in that town for twenty-five days and then departed Qamju at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja."

[84] *MS:* Qarawul.

[85] *MS* adds: On the 21st of Sha'ban they reached Hisar Shadman.

[86] According to Faṣīḥī (*Mujmal*, 251) they reached Herat on 11 Ramaḍān 825, having been away for two years, two months and five days.

Kamaluddin Abdul-Razzaq Samarqandi

Mission to Calicut and Vijayanagar

In January 1442 Kamaluddin Abdul-Razzaq Samarqandi, a high court functionary, was sent as emissary by Shahrukh in response to a request for a representative from the king of Calicut (present-day Kozhikode in Kerala) on the Malibar coast of India. In his history, *Matla'-i sa'dayn* (Rising point of the two lucky stars[1]), a chronicle covering the years up to 1470, he describes his experiences in Calicut and in the much larger neighboring kingdom of Vijayanagar and his misadventures at sea on his return journey to Herat in January 1445.

❋

God has said: "It is he who hath given you conveniences for traveling by land and by sea."[2] He whose eyes of insight are illuminated by the lights of reality, he the bird of whose soul flies in the air of knowledge realizes with certainty that both the revolution of the great bodies of the celestial spheres and the movement of the small particles of the earth proceed in accordance with the knowledge and will of the immaculate creator. He knows that the lights of all-encompassing power and the effects of perfect wisdom shine upon the atoms of the generations of the world and the movements of humankind, that the reins of earthlings are in the grasp of fate and the clutches of destiny, and that the necks of the obstinate of the world are subject to the command of God, who "doth that which he pleaseth."[3]

If the determination of worldlings is not by fate, why then do things happen contrary to [our] pleasure.
Yea, fate controls the reins of mankind for every good and ill for the reason that all machinations are erroneous.

The terrors of a sea voyage—"and it is not a sea that hath end or shore"—are the most obvious of the effects of fate and lights of wisdom. Hence in the miraculous words of the Omniscient King are found pearls of the benefits of sea voyages, and crossing the great sea is indescribable except by the empowerment of the Ever-Living, who renders every impossibility possible.

Through the command of fate and the order of divine destiny, to contemplate which is beyond human machination,
I was assigned to India, but how can I describe clearly how perplexed I was in that dark region?

His Majesty the Felicitous *Khaqan* generously provided money, drafts for fodder and post horses, and I got my personal belongings together and set out on

[1] A reference to Timur's title, Sahib-Qiran (see glossary of terms and titles).

[2] Koran 10:22.

[3] Koran 3:40.

the first of Ramadan [845 = January 13, 1442]. Proceeding on the Qohistan road through the Kerman desert, I came upon a city with a citadel and what were clearly four bazaars, but no one was there.

I passed by their halting places on the plains,
but I found only traces and remains.

That desert in all its breadth, from the borders of Kerman and Sistan to the vicinity of Damghan, holds nothing but calamity and terror.

On the 18th of Ramadan [January 30] I entered Kerman, "a good country," and "fair dwellings,"[4] a delightful city and refreshing area. The *darugha*, Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin, [767] was absent. Necessarily we stopped until the holiday, and His Excellency Amir Burhanuddin Sayyid-Khalilullah b. Amir Na'imuddin Sayyid-Ni'matullah, the most outstanding man of the city of Kerman—nay, of the entire world—had just then returned from India and extended much kindness.

On the 5th of Shawwal [February 16] we set out from Kerman. Along the way we encountered Amir Hajji Muhammad, who had returned from the farthest reaches of the province of Bampur. Headed toward Hormuz, we reached the shore and the port of Hormuz in the middle of the month. The *wali* of Hormuz, Malik Fakhruddin Turanshah, ordered a ship for us, and we disembarked safely in the city of Hormuz. Accommodations and provisions having been ordered, we were able to meet the padishah. [768] Hormuz, which they call Jarun,[5] is a port in the midst of the sea, "with no equal on the face of the earth." Merchants from the seven climes—Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Arabian and Persian Iraq, Fars, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Turkistan, the Qïpchaq Steppe, the Qalmaq regions, and all the lands of the Orient, China, and Khan Balïq—all come to that port, and seafaring men, from Indo-China, Java, Bengal, Ceylon, the cities of Zirbad [Malaysia], Tennaserim, Sumatra, Siam, and the Maldive Islands to the realm of Malibar, Abyssinia and Zanzibar, the ports of Vijayanagar, Gulbarga, Gujarat and Cambay, the coast of the Arabian peninsula to Aden, Jiddah and Yanbu' bring to that town precious and rare commodities which are made glittering by the sun, moon and clouds and which can be transported across the sea. Travelers from everywhere in the world come there, and everything they bring for exchange for what they want can be found without much search in that town. They deal both in cash and in barter, and the divanis take a tenth of everything except gold and silver. Adherents of various religions, even infidels, are many in that city, but they deal equitably with all. For this reason the town is called Dar al-Aman (abode of security), [769] and the people there have the glibness of Iraqis and the mysteriousness of Indians.

A stay of two months occurred there—rather, the rulers detained us on every pretext until the best time for sea voyage, which is the beginning and the middle of the monsoon, had passed. At the end of the monsoon, when the time of piracy was at hand, they gave us permission to depart. Claiming that our men and animals were too many to fit into one ship, they divided us into two parties, boarded us on ships and set sail. When the smell of the ship reached my nostrils and I experienced the terror of the sea, I lost consciousness to such an extent that for three days I was dead to the world, save for the rising and falling of my breath.

When I had partially come to, the merchants, who were loyal friends, together raised a ruckus, saying that the season for a sea voyage was past and anyone who

[4] Koran 34:15, 26:58.

[5] Also known as Zarun. Abu'l-Fida *(Taqwim al-buldan*, p. 339) explains that Old Hormuz had been destroyed by the "Tatars," and the population had moved to the nearby island of Zarun.

made a voyage at this time was committing suicide. Altogether they gave up for lost their *nawl*, that is, the fare for the ship, canceled their plans and disembarked after some difficulty at the port of Muscat. From Muscat my comrades and I reached a town called Qurayyat, where we stopped.

When seafaring merchants have embarked upon a sea voyage and it proves impossible and they are stranded somewhere, [770] they called it *tabahi* (ruination). From the influence of the revolution of the hardhearted celestial sphere and the contrary motion of treacherous fate, I too became *tabahi*, with a heart shattered like broken crystal, a soul sick of life and situation of extreme ruin. During these days, from the tyranny of the evil-moving sphere and the cruelty of inauspicious destiny, the mirror of my luminous mind, which had shone like the splendor of the sun, turned rusty from the catastrophes hurled by blue heaven, and the bright lamp of my lighted mind, from which the moon borrowed light every night, was blown out by the swift wind of untoward events. My glowing nature, which created night-illuminating pearls of meanings, and my critical genius, which produced luminous pearls of words, was afflicted with the catastrophe of extinction. My mind turned dark and my brain was perplexed.

Finally one day I met a merchant who was coming from Hindustan. When I asked him his destination, he said,

There is no destination other than Herat.

When I heard the name of that fair land,

There was fear that consciousness would leave my head.

I begged the respected merchant to tarry a moment and I wrote down these verses—exudings of the water of life dripping through the courses of words and expressions—with the ambergris-scented, musky pen upon the camphory white face of the page:

When the eve of the destitute falls and I begin to weep, I relate my tale after the manner of a stranger. [771] In memory of friends and homeland I weep so bitterly that I obliterate from the world all tracks of my passage.
I am from the region of the beloved, not from a foreign realm. O Ever-Vigilant, return me to my comrades.

As I wrote in detail all that pertained to my miserable condition, so many drops of tears fell upon the sheets of my eyelashes that from the murky waters of my eyes a cyclone was stirred up in the sea.

The group of men and animals that had departed from Hormuz in the other ship were unaccounted for, but perhaps later

Their tale will be told by the tongue of the pen.

*

A MENTION OF THE TIME SPENT INVOLUNTARILY ON THE DARYABAR COAST AND WHAT HAPPENED IN QURAYYAT AND QALHAT

While I was stranded on Qurayyat on the Daryabar coast, the new moon of Muharram 846 [May 12, 1442] appeared. Although it was springtime and the time of equal days and nights, the sun shone so hot that rubies would have burned in mines and marrow in the bone, and swords would have melted in their scabbards like wax.

The sun grew so hot from the air that a heart of stone would have burned in commiseration with the sun.
The horizons grew so hot from the sun that a heart of stone would have been softened like wax.
The bodies of fish in ponds burned like silk in fire.
Water and air were so hot that the fish took refuge in fire.
Hunting became easy in the desert, for the wilderness was filled with roasted gazelle.

[776] The heat told of deepest hell and the hot leaping flames of Hamim. The gates of the flames of Jahim were opened to the world, and since the air of that region is by nature opposed to the constitution of the men of our realm, our elder brother and learned master, Mawlana Afifuddin Abdul-Wahhab, our other companions and myself took to the bed of infirmity due to the severity of the heat and turned over the reins of will to the hand of divine favor.

Since the reins of will are not in our hands, we have left it to His kindness to do as He wills.

All our constitutions deviated from the path of equilibrium, and our indisposition and suffering increased. Agonizing fevers and grief increased daily, and the fire of fever raged within. For four months without cease we suffered this debilitating illness.

I became so weak that at any moment the zephyr could have carried me like the scent of a rose to every land.
I was convulsed as the revolution of the celestial sphere turned me over like a bucket on a waterwheel.
No one ever saw pain separated from my body, so closely linked were disease and diseased.

[777] At this juncture I heard that in the Qalhat region there was a place known as Sur, which had a favorable climate. Despite my weak constitution, I boarded a ship for Qalhat. When I arrived there my illness got worse: by day I burned with fever and by night the lamp of tribulation was lit by the sparks of outcries. The abundance of infection cast this earthly form into trembling, like the body of the earth convulsed by the domination of smoky vapors; and the hand of control of fever brought down with the wind of calamity the tent of bodily health, which was held aloft by the four stakes of the elements. Wracked by the pain of exile and wounded with the pain of separation, I closed my lips to speech by day like a bloodied rosebud with heart constricted by cruel, faithless fate. By night my eyes, opened like newly blossomed flowers, told the tale of my grief to the waters of the green garden of heaven. The bird of my soul determined to separate itself from the nest of the body; and my body, weakened by the twin catastrophes of affliction and exile, submitted to bid farewell to the soul. The soul [778] lost hope of life and readied itself for death. The reins of submission were given over to the grasp of divine favor. My brother and master Mawlana Afifuddin Abdul-Wahhab—"blessed be they, and a happy resurrection"[6]—departed this life in accordance with the Koranic verse, "No soul knoweth in what land it shall die."[7] In accordance with the verse, "Whereso-ever ye be, death will overtake you,"[8] he entrusted his soul to the seizer of spirits and was buried near a shrine of some of the great companions of the prophet. In the city of exile the poison of separation had such an effect that it cannot be described.

Alas, were the ascendant of beauty and youth life everlasting, it would be necessary to break with kith and kin, for thus is the heavenly command:
Eventually everyone is abandoned by his brother, by the life of your father, except the Farqadan.[9]

I too gave up all hope of life and determined to set forth in any ship bound for Hindustan. Several strong men lifted me [779] and put me in a ship, saying, " 'Embark thereon, in the name of God; while it moveth forward, and while it standeth still.' "[10]

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[6]Koran 13:29.

[7]Koran 31:34.

[8]Koran 4:78.

[9]Identified by the editor as by the Arab poet 'Amr b. Ma'dikarb. The Farqadan are two stars in Ursa Minor.

[10]Koran 11:41.

In this bloodthirsty sea of fate make a ship of contentment. Board that ship saying, "Embark thereon, in the name of God."

And if my lords do not object, there is some resemblance between my situation and the story of Moses. When he was cast into the water in a chest, it was outwardly annihilation; but inwardly it meant his salvation. There is also a resemblance to the story of Moses and Khizr, when Khizr damaged the boat: outwardly it meant drowning the men but inwardly it meant escape from the expropriator.[11] Anyway, the sea air became favorable and gave hope of recovery. The dawn of health began to break on the horizon of desire, the wounds of agonizing arrows of illness healed, and the murky vessel of life once again became bright and clear. A favorable wind blew, and the ship skimmed across the surface of the water like a breeze.

Made by the wisdom of the experienced, a house moving around the world. A rarity of God's command, a moving house whose inhabitants stay put.

A bird that flies without feather or wing, a traveler who races on the course of an arrow without the help of feet. A charger that prances in water up to its chest, a fish that **[780]** crawls on its belly like a snake across the back of a wave, a crescent moon that never in a thousand years becomes full, an ingatherer of various souls that never becomes pregnant ..., a woman carrying many children but who is ever barren, itself in chains but a deliverer of others from the storm of calamity, itself chained yet having placed chains of ripples on the sea as does the wind, like those who have lost their hearts neither on land nor in the sky, traveling on the surface of the water like a worm, a mountain in majesty before resurrection in motion, a magnificent cloud like waterfowl in flight, straight of mast but bowed like the ever-moving, spinning sphere, an arrow as stable as the pole.

Always stable in the midst of instability itself.

A bow facing the road like a traveler, with an arrow of a mast held firm and fixed. In height it rises as high as Sagitta, and in speed no arrow can match it. In rising and falling it leaves the wind two stations behind, and it can outrun the arrow of the mightiest bowman.

On windy days it goes before the wind, and it flies farther than an arrow fired.

For several days our companions took delight in the meaning of the words, "[Ships,] which sail with them, with a favourable wind."[12] And the words, "Dost thou not see that the ships run in the sea through the favour of God?"[13] opened the gates of enjoyment to the minds of our friends. After eighteen **[781]** days anchor was dropped in the port of Calicut, by the grace of God. A description of the wonders of that region and my travels there now follows.

ARRIVAL IN HINDUSTAN AND A DESCRIPTION OF ITS WONDERS AND MARVELS

Calicut is a safe port, equal to Hormuz in its mercantile population from every land and region and the availability of rarities of all sorts from Daryabar, especially the realm of Zirbad, Abyssinia and Zanzibar. From time to time ships come from God's House and other towns of the Hejaz and stop for a while in this port. It is a city of infidels and therefore is in the *dar al-harb*. However, there is a Muslim population resident, with two congregational mosques, and on Fridays they pray with peace of mind. They have

[11]See Koran 18:71 and 79.

[12]Koran 10:22.

[13]Koran 31:31.

a religiously observant cadi, and most of them are Shafi'i by sect. In that city security and justice are such that wealthy merchants who sail the seas bring many goods there from Daryabar. They unload them from the ships and store them in lanes and the bazaar as long as they wish without having to worry about guarding them. The divan watchmen keep guard and patrol them day and night. If they make a sale, one-fortieth is taken in alms; otherwise no duties are imposed on them. It is the custom of other ports to seize as a windfall and plunder [782] any ship headed for one port but driven by God's destiny to take refuge in another. However, in Calicut, no matter where a ship is from and where it is headed, if it docks there they treat it like any other ship and subject it to no more or no less duty.

In short, His Majesty the Felicitous *Khaqan* had sent for the *wali* of Calicut a horse, a pelisse, a gold-embroidered *dägälä* and a Jätä *nawrozi* hat. The reason for this was as follows.

A group of His Majesty's emissaries returning from the Bengal had been stranded in Calicut with emissaries from the Bengal, and they had described the wealth, prosperity and power of His Majesty's realm to the ruler. He had also heard from reliable people that the rulers of the inhabited quarter of the globe, east and west, land and sea, had sent emissaries and messages to [Shahrukh's] court, which they considered the solution to their every need and refuge of their every hope. Soon thereafter the king of the Bengal complained of aggression from Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur and sought assistance from the court at which sultans take refuge. His Majesty issued a decree and sent it via His Excellency Shaykh al-Islam Khwaja Karimuddin Abu'l-Makarim Jami to the *wali* of Jaunpur with a message not to encroach upon the realm of the Bengal. [783] Otherwise, whatever happened would be on his own head. When the king of Jaunpur was apprised of the contents of this order, he ceased his aggression against the Bengal.

Now, the *wali* of Calicut, having heard of this, gathered all sorts of gifts and tribute and sent a messenger to say that in his port in the Friday prayer and the holiday prayer the *khutba* of Islam was recited, and if His Majesty would allow it, they would recite the *khutba* in his royal name.

The world was so delighted by the sound of his *khutba* that the infidels were inclined to it.

The emissaries and attendants coming from the Bengal arrived at the royal court, and the amirs presented the petition and tribute to the royal presence. The messenger was a Muslim who spoke [Persian]. During his speech he represented that if His Majesty favored [the *wali* of Calicut] by sending him a special emissary to invite him to accept Islam in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Invite men unto the way of thy Lord, by wisdom, and mild exhortation,"[14] the lock of darkness and error would be loosed from his dark heart and the brightness of the light of faith would enter through the window of his mind. This would certainly be the correct thing to do and would carry great heavenly reward. His Majesty granted his plea and ordered the amirs to outfit an emissary, and the lot fell to me. Some plotted against me, thinking that I might not return from this voyage, but after three years I did return safe and sound from this dangerous trip [to find] that those intriguers had taken the road to extinction. [784]

In short, when I disembarked in Calicut, I saw a people the likes of whom I had never imagined.

A strange nation, neither men nor demons, at meeting whom the mind would go mad.
Had I seen the likes of them in a dream, my heart would have been upset for years.

[14]Koran 16:125.

I am comfortable with those whose faces are like the moon, not with every ill-proportioned black thing.

Naked blacks with loin cloths tied from their navels to their knees, in one hand an Indian *kattara* [glistening] like a drop of water, and in the other a leather shield as large as a cloud. Both king and beggar look like this, but the Muslims wear fine clothing in the Arab fashion and indulge in ceremony of all sorts.

Having met with a group of Muslims and a horde of infidels, I was assigned suitable quarters. After three days I was taken to see the king, whom I found to be as naked as other Hindus. There they call the king *samuri*. When he dies his sister's son takes his place, and [the kingship] is not given to son, brother or other relative. No one becomes king by force. The infidels are of many sorts, Brahmins, yogins, and others. Although they all share the same polytheism and idolatry, every tribe has a different system. There is one tribe whose women have multiple husbands, each of whom has a specific task to perform. **[785]** They divide the day and night, and each one goes to the [wife's] quarters at a specified time. So long as [one husband] is there, no other can go in. The *samuri* is of this tribe.

When I met the *samuri*, his assembly was adorned with two or three thousand Hindus. The chief of the Muslims was also present at that assembly. I was seated, His Majesty's document was read and the horse, pelisse, gold-embroidered *dägälä* and *nawrozi* hat were presented. The *samuri* did not pay full respect, and I returned to my quarters from the assembly.

The other group the king of Hormuz had put on the second ship with several horses had been seized at sea by pirates of Sangisar. All their possession were taken, but they escaped with their lives. We rejoined each other in Calicut and were happy to see our dear friends.

Thank God we did not die but saw our friends again and reached our destination.

From the end of Jumada II [November 1442] until the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 1, 1443] we were afflicted by having to stay in that infelicitous place. During this time one night that was as black as the condition of lovers and so long that it would undo the twisted locks of beauties, the victorious sultan of sleep ordered the deposition of the agents of the senses, **[786]** and the two gates to men's senses were as tightly closed as a rosebud's mouth, in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Have we not appointed your sleep for rest?"[15] I went to sleep on the couch of rest after various tribulations and saw His Majesty the Felicitous *Khaqan* walking in his kingly guise. He reached me and patted me with his blessed hand, saying, "Be not distressed." The next morning, after the dawn prayer, I remembered this dream and was happy. Although dreams are usually nothing but jumbles, and rarely do they come true in the light of day, occasionally something shown in a dream occurs during wakefulness, and these the great of the age have considered as inspirations. Joseph's dream and the dream of the ruler of Egypt are not unknown to the learned. I thought thus to myself, "Perhaps the dawn of happiness will break on the horizon of favor, and the night of sorrow and tribulation will come to an end." I told my dream to my companions and was asking for an interpretation when suddenly a person came bringing news that the king of Vijayanagar, who held a vast kingdom and magnificent realm, had sent a messenger to the *samuri* to say that His Majesty the Felicitous *Khaqan*'s emissary should be dispatched thither that very day. Although the *samuri* was not under his jurisdiction he was still in great awe of him, since they said that the king of Vijayanagar possessed three hundred

[15]Koran 78:9.

ports, each as large as Calicut, and that it took [787] two or three months to traverse his realm by land.

From Calicut and the several ports adjacent to it as far as Qayil, located opposite Serendip, which is also called Ceylon, is all called Malibar. Ships from Calicut go to Mecca, mostly carrying pepper. The people of Calicut are brave seafarers and are known as *chinibachchas*.[16] Pirates do not bother ships from Calicut. Everything is to be found in the port, and the only crime is to kill cows and eat beef. If anyone kills a cow and it is found out, that person is immediately put to death. They venerate cows to such an extent that they rub the ashes of its dung on their foreheads (God's curses upon them).

I was permitted to depart and left Calicut. Passing by ship through the port of Panderani, which is in Malibar, I reached the port of [788] Mangalore, the border of the realm of Vijayanagar. After stopping there for two or three days, I set out by land. Within three leagues of Mangalore I saw an idol temple the likes of which is not to be found in all the world. It was a square, approximately ten yards *(gaz)* a side, five yards in height, all [covered] with cast bronze, with four porticos. In the entrance portico was a statue in the likeness of a human being, full stature, made of gold. It had two red rubies for eyes, so cunningly made that you would say it could see. What craft and artisanship!

As we proceeded, we passed by flourishing towns and villages every day until we came to a mountain whose slopes would cast a shadow over the sun and whose towering peak could be a scabbard hung around Mars' neck. Its slopes were studded with bezels of shooting stars from Gemini, and its head shone with the constellation Corona as a crown.

> The celestial sphere so rubbed against its slopes that its body was all as black and blue as a violet petal.

The foot of the mountain was so crowded with dense foliage and thorny shrubs that its blackness had never been lit by the rays of the world-illuminating candle or its dust touched by the nourishing hand of a cloud.

Passing by this mountain and jungle, we reached the village of Pednur, the buildings and beauties of which were like unto the houris and palaces of paradise. There is an idol temple in Pednur so tall that it can be seen from several leagues away. Without exaggeration it can be said that no description of that building could do it justice. [789] In summary, in the middle of the village is an open space of nearly ten *jarib*s. It is as pleasant as the Garden of Iram. Within the open space were flowers, as innumerable as the leaves on the trees; cypresses on the bank of a stream appearing as erect as the reflection of the beloved's stature in the water of a weeping lover's eyes; plane trees, their hands constantly held aloft in supplication so long as they enjoyed the branch of youth; and the old sphere, its whole body having turned to eyes in order to watch this spectacle, turning around the heads of the fresh-cheeked ones of the meadow: so perplexed was it by regarding the leaves of the herbs that its head was spinning; the entire earth of green and verdant, around it arches of dressed stone most elaborate.

In the midst of the space was a platform as tall as a man, made of beautifully dressed stone, the blocks so expertly and delicately set one on another that one might think it was of a single block—or a piece of the blue firmament having appeared upon the carpet of the inhabited quarter of the globe. In the middle of the platform was a building whose head was

[16] Literally "China kids," if the reading is correct. Elliot speculates that it may be "a compliment to Chinese navigation" (Elliot, *History of India*, IV, 103, note 1).

raised to Capella, a conical dome of dark blue stone with various designs carved on three tiers of stone.

What can I say of that dome? In delicacy it was a copy of paradise sublime for the world. The curve of its high arc like a new moon, so tall it rubbed its side against the celestial sphere.

There were so many designs and so much depiction made with sharp stylus in that granite [790] that it was beyond description. From top to bottom of that structure there was not the space of a hand free of *firangi* and *khatai* designs. In shape the structure was a *chaharsuffa* hall, approximately thirty yards in length, twenty in width and fifty in height.

As it raised its head beyond the apex of heaven, the stoneless dome took stones from it.
Its stones rubbed against the sun so much that the gold of the sun appeared to be borrowed from it.
If the glass-blowing celestial sphere is not in his dotage, why is he juggling glass on that stone?

Aside from this structure, there were others, large and small, all decorated and full of pictures of extreme delicacy. In that place morning and evening, after their unacceptable worship, they play instruments and dance. All the men of the village have duties to perform there, and votive offerings are brought there from distant cities. In the belief of these infidels it is the Ka'ba of the guebres.

We stayed there for two or three days and then traversed the stages [791] until we reached the city of Vijayanagar at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 30, 1443]. The king sent a group out to meet us, and they escorted us to good quarters.

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THE END OF THE JOURNEY TO HINDUSTAN AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR AND ITS SEVEN CONCENTRIC FORTIFICATION WALLS

From past narratives readers will have learned that the travelogue reached the point at which the writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq b. Ishaq, arrived in Vijayanagar. I saw that it was a city of enormous magnitude and population with a king of perfect rule and hegemony whose kingdom stretched from the borders of Serendip to the province of Gulbarga and from the borders of the Bengal to the region of Malibar, more than a thousand leagues. Most of his regions were flourishing, and he possessed around three hundred ports. He had more than a thousand elephants with bodies like mountains [797] and miens like demons, and eleven lacs of soldiers; and in all of Hindustan there was no *ray* (raja) more autocratic than he. The kings of those areas are called *ray*. In his presence the Brahmins have great status. The stories of the book *Kalila u Dimna*, than which no more eloquently expressed book has come into the Persian language, and which narrates of a *ray* and a Brahmin, are results of the wisdom of that kingdom's learned men.[17]

The city of Vijayanagar, whose inhabitants have no equals in the world, is situated such that the seven fortification walls and the city wall are concentric. All around the first wall, fifty yards in breadth, are stones the size of a man, half in the earth and half out, placed tightly next to one another so that neither rider nor footsoldier can easily approach the wall.

[17] *Kalila u Dimna*, the Panchatantra tales, were translated from Ibn al-Muqaffa''s Arabic version into Persian by Abu'l-Ma'ali Nasrullah *ca.* A.D. 1140. Dedicated to the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah and known as *Kalila u Dimna-i Bahramshahi*, Nasrullah's translation remained the standard Persian version until it was revamped by Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi as *Anwar-i Suhayli* at the end of the fifteenth century.

If anyone wants to imagine the shape of the seven walls and city wall in comparison to the city of Herat, let him picture it thus: the first wall would stretch from Mount Mukhtar and Dara-i Du Bara[da]ran to the bank of the river and the Malan Bridge, [798] with the village of Ghizan the eastern side and the village of Saynan the western side. It is a circular fortification on top of a mountain and made of stone and mortar. It has strong gates, and the guards stand watch with the eye of caution for the slightest thing.

The second wall would reach from the Juy-i Naw Bridge [in Herat] to the Darqarah Bridge, [and] from the Rikina Bridge and Chakan Bridge in the east to the Bagh-i Zubayda and the village of Hasân in the west.

The third wall would reach from the shrine of Imam Fakhruddin Razi to the dome of Muhammad Sultanshah. The fourth would extent from the Injil Bridge to the Kard Bridge; the fifth from the gate of the Bagh-i Zaghan to the Ab-i Chakan Bridge; the sixth from the Malik Gate to the Firozabad Gate; and the seventh, the innermost, is ten times the size of the *charsu* in Herat, and that is the king's court. [799] From the gate to the first wall on the northern side to the first gate on the southern side is two statute leagues, and the same from east to west. Between the first, second and third walls are orchards, gardens and buildings. From the third through the seventh is very crowded, with shops and bazaars.

At the king's gate is [a structure] shaped like four bazaars situated opposite one another. The one on the northern side is the king's portico, that is, the *ray*'s palace. Atop each bazaar a tall, lofty arch has been raised, but the king's portico is the tallest of all.

The bazaars are extremely broad and long. Flower sellers have tall platforms in front of the stalls, and on both sides they sell flowers. In that city there are aromatic flowers continually in bloom, and as necessary as they deem food to be, they cannot bear [to be] without flowers. The practitioners of every craft have stalls adjacent to one another. The jewelers sell pearls, diamonds, rubies and emeralds openly in the bazaar....

[801] In that pleasant open space and royal court is much flowing water and nice streams made of evenly dressed stone.

To the right of the sultan's portico has been built a huge *diwankhana* (ministry) shaped like a *chihil sutun*; in front of it they have made a tall plinth, higher than a man, thirty yards long and six yards wide. The halls of records and scribes are there.

They have two types of writing, one on coconut fronds two yards long and two fingers wide on which they write with an iron stylus, without color (ink). This type of writing is impermanent. In the second type they dye white stock black. They have a soft stone they carve into a stylus with which they write. From this stone a white color comes off onto the black stock. It lasts a long time, and this type of record is of importance.

In the middle of the *chihil sutun* a eunuch called the *dhannâyak* sits on a platform in independent judgment. At the foot of the platform staffholders stand in rows. Anyone who has business comes among the staffholders, humbly presents a gift, places his head on the ground, stands up again and pleads his case. The *dhannâyak* makes a judgment according to the rules that pass for justice in that kingdom. No one else has an opportunity to speak. When the *dhannâyak* rises from the divan [802] they carry multicolored parasols before him and cry out, while on both sides eulogists utter benedictions. Before reaching the king there are gatekeepers stationed in seven places. As the *dhannâyak* processes one of the parasol-bearers stops at each gate, so the *dhannâyak* enters the seventh gate by himself and transacts his business. After a time he

comes out. The *dhannâyak* has quarters behind the king's court, to the right.

To the left of the king's court is the mint. They have three types of gold alloy. One is called *varaha*, nearly a *mithqal*, or ten Kepeki dinars. The second is called *partab*, half of the former. The third is called *fanam*, a tenth of the [*varaha*]. The coin most current is the *fanam*. They make a sixth of a *fanam* from pure silver and call it a *tar*. It too is much in currency. There is a third of a *tar* made of brass; it is called a *chital*. It is the custom in that realm for all the provinces to bring gold to the mint at an established time, and anyone who has a [voucher] for gold from the divan redeems it at the mint. The soldiers receive their salaries every four months, and no one writes them [drafts] against the provinces. As a consequence the kingdom is so flourishing that any description would take too long. **[803]** The king's treasury consists of chambers like ponds full of gold melted into a single block. All nobles and commoners of the region, even the craftsmen of the bazaar, wear pearls and jewels in their ears, around their necks and on their arms, wrists and fingers.

Opposite the mint is the elephantorium. Although the king has many elephants throughout the kingdom, they keep his great elephants at court. Within the first and second walls, on the northwestern side, the elephants breed and produce their young. The king has a huge, white elephant, with albino spots the size of lentils all over its body. This elephant is taken every morning into the *ray*'s presence, for the *ray* considers the sight of it a favorable omen. They give the court elephants kedgeree. As the kedgeree is cooked and dished out of the cauldron for the elephants, they pour on salt, sprinkle on white sugar, mix it up and dip hunks of it, two maunds each, in oil and put it in the elephant's mouth. If any of the [ingredients] is left out, the elephant will attack its keeper and the king will be angry. They feed the elephants this sort of food twice a day. Every elephant has a separate stall. **[804]** The walls are very strong and high and covered with strong timbers. The chains that are fastened around an elephant's neck and back are firmly attached to the roof. If they were attached anywhere else, an elephant could easily break them. They also put chains around its legs.

Elephants are captured in the following manner. They dig a pit along a path leading to water, and the pit is lightly covered. When an elephant falls in, no one approaches it for two or three days. Thereafter someone comes and beats it several times with a stick. Suddenly another person comes and pushes the beater away, seizes the stick and throws it away. He throws some fodder to the elephant and goes away. For several days this is repeated: the first person beats the elephant and the second stops him so that the elephant forms a bond with the second person. Slowly he approaches the elephant, offers some fruit elephants like and scratches and rubs the elephant. By this regimen it is tamed and submits to captivity.

It is said that once an elephant broke its bonds and ran away into the wilderness and forest. The elephant keepers went after it and dug a pit in its path.

> The elephant's heart fears those tricks like a gazelle escaped from a hunter's snare.

With the branch of a tree held in its trunk like a staff it proceeded cautiously and entered the water. The elephant keepers were unable to capture it, but the king was desirous of having it caught. An elephant keeper hid in a tree beneath which the elephant was **[805]** going to pass, and as it passed the keeper jumped down from the tree onto the elephant's back. The rope around the elephant's back and chest was still there. The keeper grabbed it tightly, and no matter how the elephant shook and flayed its trunk, it was to no

avail. It rolled on its side, but no matter which side it rolled on, the keeper leapt to the other side. In the meantime he got several grapples on the elephant's head so that the poor elephant had to give in and return to captivity. They took the elephant before the *ray*, who rewarded the keeper.

The kings of Hindustan hunt elephants, spending a month or more in the wilderness and jungles, and they boast of the elephants they have captured. Sometimes they cast criminals beneath an elephant's feet so they they can be crushed by the elephant's legs, trunk and tusks. Elephant merchants take elephants from Ceylon to other regions. They measure them yard by yard and sell them.

Opposite the mint is the police station. They say twelve thousand patrolmen are stationed there. Their daily wage is twelve thousand *fanams*, which they receive from the revenue on brothels.

Any description of the elaborateness of their brothels or of the beauty, blandishments and attraction of their courtisans is beyond my ability to express. In short, "brevity will take the place of long-windedness." Behind the mint is a place shaped like a bazaar. Its length is more than three hundred yards, and its width more than twenty yards. Along both sides are chambers **[806]** and *suffas*. In front of the chambers, in place of plinths, are raised stone platforms, beautiful but small. Along both sides of the road are pictures of lions, leopards, tigers and other animals depicted with such movement and verisimilitude that one would think they were alive. In the evening chairs and seats are placed at the doors of the chambers, which are as clean as can be, and there the prostitutes sit. Each is arrayed with costly pearls and jewels and fine clothing, they are quite young and extremely beautiful, and with each stand one or two serving girls. Ready for pleasure, revelry and enjoyment, they are willing to dally with anyone who enters and anyone they wish. The brothel keepers guard their customers' belongings, and if anything is lost they make it good. There are many similar brothels in these seven walls, and from the taxation on all the brothels, twelve thousand *fanams*, the wages of the patrolmen are paid.

It is the job of the patrolmen to look after affairs within these seven walls. If anything is lost or stolen, they find it. If they do not, they pay a compensation. Several slaves that my companions had bought ran away. When it was reported to the chief of police, he ordered the patrolmen of the quarter where the poor lived to find them or else to pay compensation. When the patrolmen ascertained the price, they paid compensation. **[807]**

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR AND ITS KING

The writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq, arrived in the city of Vijayanagar at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 1443] and took up residence as assigned in extremely fine quarters, the equivalent of which in Herat would be located over the Malik Gate, the main thoroughfare. I rested for several days from the weariness of the journey. The new moon of Muharram appeared in that magnificent city, abode of error.

One day messengers from the king's court came, and the next day I went to court, taking five fine horses and two *toquz*es of damask silk and satin. The king was seated in a splendid *chihil sutun*. To his right and left he was surrounded by a throng. He wore a tunic of Zaytuni silk and a necklace of lustrous pearls, the worth of which the jeweler of the mind could scarcely appraise. He was dark of complexion, slender, on the tall side and quite young. **[808]** He had traces of down on his cheek but no beard. His face was pleasant. They brought me before him. I bowed. He turned his attention to me, seated me beside himself, took my imperial letter of credentials and turned it over [to another]. To the interpreter he

said, "We are pleased that the great padishah has sent us an emissary." Since I was perspiring profusely from the heat and all the clothes I was wearing, the king graciously gave me the Chinese fan he was holding. A platter was brought with a bunch of betel-leaf, a package of five hundred *fanams* and twenty *mithqals* of camphor balls. Having received permission to withdraw, I returned to my quarters. My daily allotment consisted of two sheep, four pairs of fowl, five maunds of rice, one maund of oil, one maund of sugar, and two gold *varahas*. These were brought to me every day. Twice a week at the end of the day [the king] summoned [me] and asked about His Majesty [Shahrukh]. Each time they brought a package of *fanams*, a bunch of betel-leaf and several *mithqals* of camphor. He would say to the interpreter, "Your kings invite emissaries to banquets, [but] since you and I do not eat the same food, let this package of gold be the emissary's banquet."

Betel is a leaf like orange leaf but longer. In Hindustan, most of the Arab countries and the kingdom of Hormuz this leaf is highly valued, **[809]** and in fact it is worthy of this esteem. It is taken in the following manner. A bit of betel-nut, which they also call *supari*, is crushed and placed in the mouth, and quick-lime about the size of a grain of millet is wet and smeared on a betel-leaf, which is wrapped up and put in the mouth. They do this with up to four leaves and put them in their mouths and chew them. Sometimes camphor is added, and from time to time they spit the reddened saliva from the mouth. The cheeks grow red, and a pleasant sensation, like that of wine, is produced. It assuages hunger and makes one who is already satiated desirous of food. It eliminates unpleasant odor of the mouth and makes the teeth strong. There is no need to describe its ability to strengthen and stimulate health. The following lines confirm some of its mysteries:

A chew of betel-leaf bound into a hundred
leaves came to hand like a hundred-petaled
flower.
Rare leaf, like a flower in a garden, the most
beautiful blessing of Hindustan.
Sharp like the ear of a swift-rearing stallion;
sharp in both shape and taste.
Its sharpness an instrument for cutting roots:
the Prophet's words have gone...
Full of veins, and in the veins no trace of
blood, but from the veins its blood races out.
Wondrous plant, when placed in the mouth,
its blood comes out of its body like a living
thing.
To chew it reduces the odor of the mouth and
strengthens weakness of teeth. **[810]**
Redness of face comes from its two servants:
quick-lime and betel-nut produce the color.
As marvelous as it is with these two
comrades, status and name belong to it alone.
Although it becomes pale from water, its
honor is from its paleness.
See this amazing leaf that, broken from its
fruit, after six months becomes fresher.
What greater honor could there be than that it
is honored by both beggar and king.
Take it in the mouth and experience good
health so that you may see its amazing work,
and good-bye.

By relying upon this leaf and the strength this plant gives, the king has many wives. It is said that he has seven hundred ladies and concubines. There is not a single male child older than ten who is intimate with his wives, and no two women share living quarters. He keeps strict control over the affairs of each one. Throughout his realm wherever there is a beautiful girl, he persuades the girl's mother and father and has her brought with much celebration to his harem. Thereafter no one sees her, but she is kept in great honor and veneration. **[811]**

AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON THE KING OF VIJAYANAGAR

The writer was still in Calicut when a strange and remarkable thing happened in Vijayanagar, as follows.

The king's brother built new quarters and invited the king and his ministers. It is customary among the infidels not to eat in each other's presence. The guests were seated in a large divan, and [the brother] himself continually came in or sent someone else to announce to such-and-such a grandee to go partake of the banquet. While this was going on, all the drums, tympani and trumpets that had been gathered in the city were being beaten for all they were worth. As each guest arrived and entered the chamber assigned him, two treacherous murderers emerged from hiding behind them, stabbed them with *kattaras* and ripped them to shreds. As the limbs of one were taken away, another was summoned. Nothing more was heard of any who entered this place of massacre as travelers along the path to the next world, and the tongue of fate cried out to the murdered men, saying,

There is no return for you. When you have gone, you have gone.

Because of the racket made by the drums and the commotion, only a very few knew of this affair. Finally, all who held any position of authority **[812]** had been eliminated, so [the king's brother] left the assembly heated as it was and proceeded to the king's court. The guards stationed at the gates he charmed and invited to partake of the feast, dispatching them like the others, thus emptying the court of guards. Entering into the king's presence with a plate of betel-leaf in his hand and a *kattara* gleaming like lightning concealed beneath, he said to the king, "The assembly is ready and waiting for the royal advent." In accordance with the dictum, "Lords of state are inspired," the king said, "I am not feeling well. You go enjoy yourself. I'm not coming."

The hawk said to the duck, "The desert is pleasant." [The duck] said, "And a pleasant night to you. I like it where I am."

When the treacherous brother despaired of the king's coming, he drew the *kattara* and struck, making several deep wounds. As the king fell behind the throne, the traitor thought he was dead. Sending one of his henchmen to sever the king's head, he left and went onto the balcony of the portico and cried out, "I have killed the king, his brothers, the general, the minister and all the officers. Now I am king." When his henchman approached the throne to cut off the king's head, the king, who had fallen behind the throne, pushed the throne against the man's chest and knocked him off his feet. Then, with the help of a guard he found cowering in a corner, he put the miserable traitor to death and came out through the harem. **[813]** The brother was still in the portico exhorting the people to accept him as king, but the king cried out, "I am alive and well. Seize this bastard!" The subjects gathered, immediately pulled him down and put him to death. Then [the king] summoned his other brothers and all the officers, but they had all been killed—save the *dhannâyak*, the vizier who had gone to Ceylon before this happened. The king sent a messenger to summon him and acquaint him with the disaster. All suspected of having a hand in the affair were brought down. Many were killed, their skins stripped, their bodies burned, and their families reduced to desperation. Even the person who had brought the sour milk as invitation for the banquet was executed.[18] The *dhannâyak* returned and was astonished to learn of the affair. Prostrating himself before the throne, he offered thanks for the king's health and well-being and gave more significance than ever to the rituals of the *mahanavami* festival. **[814]**

A MENTION OF THE MAHANAVAMI FESTIVAL, WHICH IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE INFIDELS

[18] Apparently someone had been sent around with sour milk as an invitation to the banquet.

The infidels of those areas and regions, in their pride and puissance, celebrate once a year an imperial festival, a princely feast they call *mahanavami*. It was celebrated as follows.

The king of Vijayanagar ordered that from all his realms, which would take three or four months to cross, the leaders and chieftains should come to court. They brought a thousand elephants roaring and raging like mountains and thunderclouds, adorned with weaponry and embellished with howdahs, with acrobats and pyrotechnists, and on the elephants' heads, trunks and ears amazing pictures and strange designs painted in cinnabar and other [colors].

Elephant like a mountain without pillars
(besutun), four pillars beneath a Mount
Besutun.
Its golden covering in splendor cast a shadow
over the mountains.
The earth was trod flat under those awesome
feet.
Its cinnabar-stained head rubbed against the
heavens: from it sunset derives its vermilion
hue.
The twisting of its lasso-like trunk is a dragon
fallen from a high mountain.
A serpent's place is in the heart of a cave, but
with [the elephant] a cave is located in the
heart of the serpent. [815]
A ship of ivory in motion, you would say: its
ears sails on either side.
When the ear plays with the eye, it is a fan
before a lamp.
When it charges in vengeance, the earth
becomes pregnant with men.
It tosses them nimbly over its malevolent head
with its tusks.
When its bell cries out in motion, the
spinning dome [of heaven] echoes.
Its loud trumpet sounds with the thunder of
the drum; high clouds kiss its feet.
If it cries out in a loud voice, it deafens
heaven's ears.

When the commanders of the army, the heroes of every land, the wise Brahmins and demonic elephants were thronged at the appointed time, for three days continually during the full moon of Rajab [November 1443] the gate of the ruler of the earth was as crowded with people and elephants as the throng of resurrection.

The elephants' bodies bent the earth and
engendered earthquakes throughout the world.
With all that monstrous ivory the face of the
earth was like a chess board.
So many retainers and elephants that bodily
resurrection and moving mountains were
certain.

In that pleasant space there were raised pavilions *(chahartaq)* of three, four and five stories, completely covered from top to bottom with pictures, every picture that could be imagined, of humans, beasts, birds and all other animals, even flies and mosquitoes—all executed with precision and mastery. Some of the pavilions were made so that they revolved and every so often showed a different side, every moment a different beauty revealing her face from the belvederes and chambers. In the foreground of the field was a *chihil sutun* with nine arches decorated with perfect subtlety, and the king's throne was placed in the fifth arch. My place was in the seventh arch. [817] Aside from my companions, everyone else was expelled from the arch.

Between the *chihil sutun* and the *chahartaq*s singers and reciters were performing. Most of the singers were girls. A group of girls with cheeks like the moon and pages more beautiful than early spring, with beautiful garments and enchanting countenances like fresh roses, came behind a thin curtain up to the king. Suddenly they pulled aside the curtain, which they were holding on either end, and the girls began to dance in an astonishingly enchanting manner.

A hundred female singers, a crowd filled with
moons and Jupiters.
When they removed the veil from the sun,
with one wink they destroyed the world.
With countenances shining like the sun, they
scorched people's souls with their fire.
When the veil was dropped from their faces,
the moon went veiled into a pit.
When they danced, their statures were musky

locks sweeping the ground.
When they struck the ground with their dancing feet, they kicked Venus from the competition.
The audience were all astonished by their motion and movement.

The entertainers perform marvelous tricks. They place three boxes next to each other, [818] each one a yard in length, half a yard in width, three quarters [of a yard] high, and then they place two more boxes, about the same size, on top of the first two boxes. Then they place a somewhat smaller box on top of the second row, which is on top of the first, so that the first and second rows form steps up to the third, which is the highest of all. They have trained a huge elephant to go up the first and second boxes and stand on the third, the area on top of which is just slightly larger than the bottom of one of the elephant's feet. When the elephant has balanced itself on top of the box, they remove the other boxes and the elephant is left [perched] like a goat on top of the three boxes. Every rhythm the musicians play the elephant imitates with its trunk, raising and lowering its trunk in time

Another trick is as follows. They erect a pole about ten yards tall. Another long wooden piece like the balance rod on a scale is set through a hole in the first pole. To one end of the cross piece is attached a stone as heavy as an elephant, and on the other end is a platform about a yard wide. The platform end is pulled down with a rope, and an elephant goes onto it. The trainer slowly releases the rope [819] until both sides are ten yards in the air, like a balance rod, and the two sides, one with the elephant and the other with the stone, describe semicircles before the king. The elephant in that position,

So high that no sound can reach it,

moves rhythmically with the entertainers.

Every group that sings or performs before the king is rewarded with gold and garments during the assembly. For three days straight, from the time the peacock of the sun stands in the midst of heaven until the raven of evening spreads its wings, the regal celebration is conducted. It would take too long to describe all the acrobatics, fireworks and different types of entertainment.

On the third day when the king arose, they took me to the throne. It was immense, of gold studded with precious gems, and minutely embellished with artifice. There is no place on the face of the earth where they do gem-studding better than there. In front of the throne was a pillow of Zaytuni silk with three rows of lustrous pearls sewed around the border. For three days the king had sat on the throne reclining on this pillow. [820]

When the *mahanavami* festival was concluded, the king summoned me after the evening prayer. When I reached the court I was taken into a *chaharsuffa* about ten yards square. The ceiling and walls were entirely studded with sheets of gold, each sheet as thick as the broad side of a sword, and fastened with golden nails. In the facing recess was set the king's magnificent golden throne, on which the king sat in all splendor. He asked about His Majesty the Felicitous *Khaqan,* the amirs, the army, the number of horses, and a description of the cities of the realm like Samarqand, Herat and Shiraz. He was extremely affable and said, "I am sending several elephants, two *toquz*es of eunuchs and other gifts in the company of a wise emissary."

During the assembly one of his intimates inquired through the interpreter concerning the delicacy of the gem-studded *chaharsuffa,* as if to say that in my country there could not be such a thing. I replied, "Perhaps in that country too such a thing could be made, but it is not our custom." The king applauded my answer and rewarded me with several sacks of *fanam*s, betel-leaf and special fruit.

A group of Hormuzis who were in that country were greatly upset when they heard of the king's kindness and his intention to send an emissary to His Majesty's court. They plotted to undermine this plan and, in all vileness and wickedness, fabricated a rumor that I was not His Majesty's emissary. They caused this rumor to reach the hearing of amir and vizier—

What of amir and vizier? It reached the king!

[821] This will be dealt with later.

During these days the *dhannâyak*, the vizier who paid kind attention to me, decided to go to Gulbarga. The reason for this trip was as follows. The king of Gulbarga, Sultan Ala'uddin Ahmadshah, received news of the assassination attempt on Dev Ray and the murder of his ministers of state. He was delighted by the news and sent a messenger to say, "Pay seven lacs of *varahas* or I will send a conquering army to your country to eradicate your infidel rule."

The king of Vijayanagar, Dev Ray, flared up in anger and said, "So long as I am alive, what does it matter that a few servants have been killed?"

If a thousand servants die, what does it matter to me?

In a day or two one can make a hundred of them.

When the sun is shining, there is no end to dust motes.

And if he imagines that there is any weakness or despondency, it is not so.

Ascendant is strong, the lucky stars are in conjunction and fate is smiling.

Whatever he can take of my kingdom he will consider booty [822] and give to his sayyids and ulema, just as I will give whatever I can seize of his kingdom to the high castes and Brahmins."

The armies of the two sides were dispatched and wrought much havoc in each other's realms. The king left his country in the care of the *dhannâyak*'s deputy, a high-caste Hindu named Hamba Nurir,[19] who considered himself equal to a vizier. But he was a short-statured, evil man, a vile, penny-pinching wretch possessing all bad qualities and devoid of any redeeming features. When this wretch polluted the chair of the divan, he unjustifiably stopped my daily allotment. The Hormuzis, realizing the opportunity for vileness, showed the mischief that was ingrained in their nature, connived with Hamba Nurir and said that I was not the Felicitous *Khaqan*'s emissary but a merchant who had gotten hold of His Majesty's document and told lies to the infidels and wormed my way into the king's confidence. For some time I was reduced to misery in that abode of infidels. During my misery the king came across me several times on the street and drew his reins to inquire after my condition. Truly he was of exceptionally good character.

If he is all justice, it is enough.

The *dhannâyak* raided the borders of Gulbarga and returned with a few old women taken captive. [823] He chided Hamba Nurir for neglecting me and ordered a draft for seven thousand *fanams* written against the mint, and it was honored that very day.

Khwaja Mas'ud and Khwaja Muhammad, who were both of Khurasan and happened to be in that country, were appointed and sent as emissaries with a few gifts and goods. Fath Khan, a descendant of Sultan Firozshah the king of Delhi, sent a messenger, Khwaja Jamaluddin, with a petition and gifts.

[19]Reading the name from Elliot, *History of India*, IV, 122. The name is garbled in the text of *Matla'-i sa'dayn*.

On the day I was given leave to depart, the king said to me, "They say you were not sent by His Majesty Shahrukh. If we have not favored you overly much, when you come again to this realm and we know that you have really been sent by His Majesty, perhaps that which is appropriate to our sovereign dignity may be manifested." Appropriately he quoted:

I will go into exile no more in company of a king: from the wilderness of loving you I come home.

In the letter he wrote to His Majesty he included the vileness of the Hormuzis, saying, "It was [our] desire to forward to the caliphal court regal presents and gifts. However, some have claimed that Abdul-Razzaq is not among His Majesty's attendants. **[824]** It has been written to describe His Majesty the Felicitous *Khaqan* that kingly traits and imperial characteristics are mixed with the purity of the prophets and the character of saints."

A Noah as intimate with God as Abraham; a Khizr in station like Moses; an Ahmad as awesome as the divine throne; a Jesus in spiritual demeanor.
The inhabited quarter of the globe places a third [of its wealth] at your gate, and then you bring into your realm from this side of the equator.

Since that realm is claimed to be an equatorial land, the mention of the equator in the letter was appropriate.

I gathered my belongings, and we set out toward the coast.

MY RETURN FROM HINDUSTAN AND ADVENTURES IN THE STORMY SEA

The sun of favorability rose on the horizon of felicity, and the luminescence of good fortune rose in the orient of hopes, and through the dark night the lights of joy appeared, in accordance with the Koranic verse, "God is the patron of those who believe; he shall lead them out of darkness into light."[20] The nights of tribulation and discomfort in that terrible place of infidelity and error approached the dawn of happiness and the splendor of the sun of fortune. The evening of grief was exchanged for the day of happiness and success. **[825]**

The length of night was greater than day, but that has changed: an increase has been added to the latter and a decrease to the former.[21]

If it were not enough that it was a city in the farthest reaches of Hindustan, and the entire realm an abode of infidels, the travel gear I possessed had been trampled by untoward events. "How can I describe a situation that cannot be spoken of?" Nonetheless, despite my miserable situation,

No hope from anywhere of provisions for the road save the words, "Despair not of the mercy of God."[22]

With strong heart and high hopes I set forth by God's grace and mercy. I began my journey on the 12th of Sha'ban [December 5, 1443] in the company of the emissaries from Vijayanagar. For eighteen days we traveled until we reached the seashore and the port of Bacanor on the first of Ramadan [December 23]. There I was honored to meet Amir Sayyid Ala'uddin Mashhadi. The sayyid was more than a hundred and twenty years old and had spent many years revered by the Muslim people and the infidels of that region. His words in that region **[826]** were as weighty as holy writ, and no one deviated from his command. One of the emissaries of Vijayanagar, Khwaja Mas'ud by name, poor thing, died there.

Who knows where in this spiteful monastery we shall lay down our heads?

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[20]Koran 2:257.

[21]Line by Anwari, *Diwan*, p. 9, line 7.

[22]Koran 39:53.

We fasted [the month of Ramadan] in Bacanor. For the last leg of the journey a ship came to the port of Honavar, and I arranged for provisions for twenty persons for forty days. During those days, when I was expecting to travel by ship, one day I opened the [book of] presages by Imam Ja'far Sâdiq, which is comprised of Koranic verses, and received good news. This verse came up: "Fear not; thou hast escaped from unjust people."[23] I was astonished how well the presage fitted my situation, and the fear and dread I had of the sea was completely dispelled. Suddenly I had every expectation of deliverance and redemption.

On the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [March 15, 1444] I boarded ship and set forth. I saw plainly manifestation of great power in the verse, "His also are the ships, carrying their sails aloft in the sea, like mountains."[24] From time to time I listened to strange tales and marvelous stories from those with me, [827] and these gave rest to my spirit.

The eye of untoward events and evils is asleep.
Fate nods and all is well.

The ship, with thousands of shivers, reached the midst of the sea.

From the surface of the sea suddenly a wind arose. From every direction arose cries and shouts.
Night, a ship, wind and churning sea: all the elements ripe for calamity.

All of a sudden from adverse winds, like those who quaff the boat of wine, a change took place in the ship, and the planks, which had been joined together like the letters in *musalsal* script, flew apart like cut-out letters. The purpose of the words, "[the deep sea,] covered by waves riding on waves, above which are clouds,"[25] became clear. The ship's helmsman, who knew how to travel through water like a fish, wanted to sink to the bottom of the sea like an anchor, and the captain, who had mastered the knowledge of traveling to the "confluence of the two seas," washed clean the ledger of his knowledge with the turbulent water of his eyes. The sail ripped like the collar of a lover impassioned by his beloved, and the mast bent under the impact of the wind like the bow of a beauty's eyebrow.

The winds blow with what ships desire not.

[828] The passengers who were resident in that moving house cast away much of their belongings into the sea and disencumbered themselves of possessions like Sufis. What worth have goods and property when one's precious life is in danger? I myself, seeing the state the sea was in, washed my hands of my life with the tears of my eyes and stood, dry of lip and wet of lash, transfixed in awe at the sea. I inscribed the words, "We submit to God's destiny," on the tablet of my mind. Sometimes the ship became like a waterwheel from the crashing mountain-like waves, and sometimes from the clashing of the violent winds it sank to the bottom of the water like a diver.

Sometimes lifted up so high that the horseshoe of the new moon rubs against the mounts' legs.
Sometimes sunk so low that the riches of Corah rise above the steeds' stirrups.

The briny sea was so convulsed that the body melted like salt in water. The violence of the storm reduced to naught assisting patience and firm-footed intellect like ice under the heat of the mid-summer sun.

I have become distressed, my heart like a fish out of limpid water.

From the torrent of annihilation be the foundations of the sphere destroyed, for the water of catastrophe has been poured in waves over my head. [829]

[23]Koran 28:25.
[24]Koran 55:24.
[25]Koran 24:40.

I am no longer myself since the sphere has cast into the water the precious essence of patience, which was my adornment.

Time and again I said to myself, repeating this line of poetry:

Dark night, fear of waves, and whirlpool so frightening: how can those on the shore whose burdens are light know of our condition?[26]

The clear water of pleasure was sullied by the murkiness of the sea, and the bright mirror turned rusty from the wetness of the water and the turbidity of the air. Every moment the pupil of my eye gazed into that salty water, there appeared from extreme fright a glistening sword; and in fear of the violent sea winds, the arrow of the cry that came from my soul was a soul-piercing shaft. Since there was nothing I could do, and I saw the gate of hope closed in every direction, with eye full of tears and heart filled with fire I turned in prayer to the divine presence and recited the verse, "O Lord, do not make us to bear what we have not strength to bear."[27] From him who bestows without obligation I requested that he make green and verdant the sapling of my existence from the shoreless sea of his beneficence and that he wash clean with the water of favor the dust of unpleasantness from the face of my condition. During this I wondered what sort of ill luck this was that had happened to me from the revolution of the blue sphere and what sort of embarrassment this was that had dishonored me through the adversity of treacherous fate and mean destiny. Neither was I to escape with my life from the waves of destruction nor was I to emerge from the water with the pearl of my endeavors to bring to completion the small state business [830] on which I was engaged, for not for a second I would spare my life to repay my benefactor, and to execute the affairs of my patron I counted my life as negligible. If I, a devotee of the padishah, were cast into the fire of untoward events, I should emerge like a ruby, not one iota of my nature changed but rather more purified than the purest gold.

I was immersed in these thoughts and exhibiting traces of fright and terror when suddenly—"who heareth the afflicted, when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil which distresses him?"[28]—"despair not of the mercy of God"[29]—the zephyr of infinite divine grace began to blow, and the morning of joy broke over the horizon of happiness, the bearer of glad tidings of auspicious luck whispered into my ear, "We divided the sea for you and delivered you."[30] The cold, adverse wind changed into a favorable breeze, and the tyranny of the storm ended. The sea turned as calm as the heart could have wished.

The people on the ship celebrated the Feast of the Sacrifice on board, and when Mount Qalhat was spotted at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, they reached the mercy of dry land through the trial of the sea. During those days the new moon of Muharram [84]8 [April 20, 1444] appeared over the sea like a phantom of the beloved's eyebrow.

When the golden barque sank in the whirlpool of the indigo sea, they saw a ripple from it on the surface of the sea.

CONTINUATION OF THE STORY OF MY SEA VOYAGE AND MY ARRIVAL AT HORMUZ THROUGH DIVINE FAVOR

The story of my adventures at sea had reached the point at which the new moon of Muharram showed itself across [843] the water, and the ship continued on the water for several days more. Having arrived in Muscat we dropped anchor and

[26]Hafiz, *Diwan*, p. 3, line 5.

[27]Koran 2:286.

[28]Koran 27:62.

[29]Koran 12:87.

[30]Koran 2:50.

repaired the ship, which had suffered damage during the storm. Boarding the ship again, we set forth.

Bound with long, wavy chains, the flowing sea became a chain-maker by it.
It flies away without budging; there is in it nothing to make it fly.
A bird that flies on wooden wing—an unusual wing, yet it does not fly so much.
Like a crane, head held aloft in the air, with pelican's wings spread on both sides.

From Muscat we sailed to the port of Khurfughan, where we remained for a day or two. During that time it turned so hot one night that at dawn you would think the sky had kindled fire in the world. The air was so hot that birds flying swiftly in the sky and fish at the bottom of the sea burned. It was so hot that the morning itself gasped for breath, and fire caught in the world from the sparks of the sun. From the heat of the sun the world **[844]** could only dream of the cool of the evening, and the morning in fear of the heat of the day was searching for night with a lamp. Whatever birds were nested in the trees, doves, ravens, sparrows, etc., fell dead at the base of the trees, and in this there is no exaggeration.

From the fire of the heat, from which fruit became luscious, the nightingale and sparrow's brains were fried.
From the heat birds on every branch were cooked like soft halva.

So many lifeless birds fell around the trees that accountants were unable to number them.

From Khurfughan the ship set sail, and midmorning on the 12th of Safar [May 31, 1444] we reached Hormuz. From the port of Honavar to Hormuz it had taken seventy-five days.

On this very day a most amazing thing happened in Herat. At midmorning on that very Friday His Excellency ... Baha'uddin Shaykh Umar set out from the village of Jaghara, where he lived, for the city to perform the congregational prayer. Along the way he chanced upon my brother Mawlana Sharifuddin Abdul-Qahhar and asked him **[845]** what news there was of the writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq. My brother stated that he had had no news of me for three years. His Excellency the shaykh said, "Apparently he has reached Hormuz."

My brother wrote this down, and I had kept a record of the day on which I passed through every city. When I met my brother, we found that the two dates coincided exactly.

By the truth of the prophet's religion, by the majesty of God, I believe everything told of the saints.

The various aids and assistances that I received from that guiding [saint] during my dangerous voyage are beyond description, and the details might possibly increase the incredulity of the incredulous. "Anyone who has not experienced this labor will remain incredulous."

In Hormuz news was received of His Majesty's indisposition, and all around the realms of Iraq, Fars and the Daryabar coast there was trembling in fear of this catastrophe. The merchants from the climes of the world who were great ones in that port necessarily ceased their activity, and consequently I was stuck involuntarily in the agonizing heat of Hormuz for seventy days until the news of the royal person's recovery was verified through the rulers of the province of Lar. I departed through the port of Awghan and reached the fortress of Tarzak with much difficulty because I was ill. **[846]** There I stayed until the messengers who had been dispatched to the capital returned bringing edicts, as requested, to say that the governors and taxcollectors of the provinces should disburse from the tax revenues against my signature fodder for the emissaries and the hire of ten pack animals and hand over fourteen post horses, ten for my own personal retinue and four for the emissaries.

From Tarzak I traveled through Mimand and Farghan in a litter because of my indisposition. Reaching the province of Sirjan, I was honored to visit [the grave of] His Excellency Shah Shuja' Kirmani, one of the great shaykhs of yore. I also toured the fortress at Sirjan, which has no equal in all the world. In the village of Mashiz I was honored to join the retinue of the great shaykh Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Isfakhi, who had been in the Shaykh al-Islam Baha'-uddin Shaykh Umar's caravan to the Hejaz and gone from Mecca to Egypt and made a visitation to the prophets and come via the sea to Hormuz. In his company I reached Herat. **[847]**

In short, I came to Kerman. The *darugha* there, Amir Hajji Muhammad, was ill-disposed toward me because when I set out for Hindustan I had sent a complaint of the conditions in Kerman and the amir's conduct, and [my complaint] had been influential upon His Majesty's royal mind. He had summoned the amir to Herat and subjected him to humiliation and disgrace.

When I met him in Kerman, he asked one day in the divan, "Mawlana, how much has been spent on your and the emissaries' going and coming?"

"About fifty thousand dinars," I answered.

"How much is what you are carrying worth?" he asked.

"Ten thousand dinars," I said.

"A nice business," he said. "He gives fifty thousand dinars, and you get ten thousand dinars."

"His Majesty is not a merchant," I said, "to reckon thus. Sometimes they bring a hawk, and His Majesty gives in return more than fifty thousand dinars. I am bringing coinage and *khutba* [in his name], and gifts and emissaries from the farthest reaches of Serendip, and this is more valuable in His Majesty's opinion than to have fifty thousand dinars in the treasury."

In short I returned to Qohistan through the Lut Desert, as I had gone. The middle of Ramadan [January 1445] I reached Herat and pronounced the words, "Praise be unto God, who hath taken away sorrow from us! verily our Lord is ready to forgive the sinners, and to reward the obedient, who hath caused us to take up our rest in a dwelling of stability through his bounty."[31] I make no complaint of separation from my friends and loved ones. **[848]**

It is better not to complain of the night of separation. Be thankful to him who takes away the veil on the day of union.

The next day I was honored to kiss the hand of the emperor at court. Although I stood with bent back in the presence of that majesty, I was asked to sit and told him of the rulers of those realms and my adventures on the sea and in the ship. The emissaries, Khwaja Muhammad and Khwaja Jamaluddin were escorted to the foot of the throne by the great amirs, and they attained the felicity of kissing the hand, an honor desired by the rulers of the face of the earth. They presented the gifts they had brought, three ruby rings and ten loads of Indian aromatics. This greatly pleased the royal mind, for within the last two or three hundred years it was not recorded that any emissaries had come from that country to this. The emissaries were summoned to court twice a week and were allowed to sit in the royal assembly. His Majesty praised me several times, both in my presence and in my absence, and during times that he was not occupied with weighty matters of state he asked me about those countries and the the novelties of the infidels' realm. I narrated in conformity with actuality.

The emissaries stayed in Herat until the end of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 1445], **[849]** when they were graciously given permission to return. Each one was

[31]Koran 35:34–35.

given a horse, a pelisse, a *nawrozi dägälä* and three thousand Kepeki dinars. Their ten servants were each given a cloak and four hundred dinars, and fodder and post horses were arranged as far as the port of Hormuz.

Fath Khan, the grandson of Sultan Firozshah of Delhi, who had dispatched Khwaja Jamaluddin, also sent a petition with the following contents: "When the victorious train of His Highness the Sahib-Qiran came to the land of Hindustan, there was none among our renowned sultans then alive to make obeisance and render fealty to him. In their ignorance Mallu and Sarang[32] created a disturbance and effaced the foundation of the dynasty. This humble one has suffered much misfortune in exile for a long time now but hopes that the servants of the royal threshold will summon me to court so that perhaps through His Majesty's good fortune I may be restored to my native land."

The exile's wandering heart is with his native country.

His Majesty then wrote to the king of Vijayanagar, saying, "It has reached our hearing that Fath Khan, one of the sons of Sultan Firozshah, has taken refuge at your court. **[850]** Now, if you can, restore him to the land of his fathers; otherwise, send him to our court that we may equip him with soldiers of the world and, God's destiny willing, return him to the land of his fathers and forefathers and seat him on the throne of the sultanate."

Shahrukh is such a prince that his slave is kingly in the world.

Mawlana Nasrullah Junabidhi was appointed as emissary, and he was outfitted with the necessary money, orders, fodder and post horses, as well as gifts and presents for the king of Vijayanagar. The mawlana set out as ordered.

Once His Majesty asked me about my stay in the province of Hormuz. I complained of the governors, and His Majesty was angered by the Hormuzis' vileness and ordered that the vizier of Hormuz, Khwaja Muhammad Baghdadi, be brought to court and that an investigation be made into the cause for the delay I experienced there. My messenger, Hajji Yusuf, went to Hormuz and read the edict to them. In the Hormuz divan he seized Khwaja Muhammad Baghdadi by the belt and said, "It is His Majesty's command that I bring you to court so that you may be questioned in the Supreme Divan **[851]** about your shortcomings and causing delay." The padishah and his amirs intervened and made a request, saying finally, "Be gracious enough to allow us to petition the throne. We will submit to whatever is commanded." To gain my good will they sent five Abyssinian slaves, seven bolts of *murabba'* and *sitta'ashar* wool and a hundred bolts of *gulshan* [cotton]. They gave the slaves, cloth and everything else to Hajji Yusuf and his comrades, and they brought them under seal to Herat. When Hajji Yusuf returned from Hormuz, I took him to His Majesty, and it was resolved to the royal satisfaction.

It is hoped that my noble readers will not regard the story of my voyage to Hindustan, long and tedious though it may be, with an overly critical eye and that they will give weight to the dictum, "He is excused who is carrying out orders," for the detail of my narrations and lengthy expressions.

It is not I who speak even if it is I who speak.

[32]Mallu Khan and Sarang Khan were amirs of Sultan Firozshah Tughluq.

Arzadasht

The document translated below, pasted inconspicuously in an album at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul (H.2153, folio 98a), is a unique example of a report from a Timurid atelier *(kutubkhana)*. Although neither author nor recipient is named, internal evidence strongly suggests that it is a progress report to Baysunghur Mirza from Ja'far Tabrizi, the head of Baysunghur's artistic establishment. Most of the scribes, artists and artisans are identifiable, as are the individual works upon which they are engaged.

❁

PETITION from the most humble servants of the royal library, whose eyes are as expectant of the dust from the hoofs of the regal steed as the ears of those who fast are for the cry of *Allahu akbar,*[1] and whose joyful and gleeful shout of "Praise be unto God who hath taken away sorrow from us! verily our Lord is ready to forgive and to reward"[2] reaches the apex of the celestial sphere.

Amir Khalil[3] has finished the waves in two sea scenes of the *Gulistan*[4] and will begin to apply color.

On the day this petition is being written Mawlana Ali[5] is designing a *debacha* for the *Shahnama*. His eyes were sore for a few days.

Khwaja Ghiyathuddin[6] has progressed in two scenes of the *Rasayil* to the point of the faces, and another scene is nearly there. At present he is busy repairing a scene that was spoiled in the *Gulistan.*[7]

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[1]The first words of the call to prayer, here specifically the call to evening prayer that signals the end of the Ramadan fast, which is eagerly awaited by those observing the fast.

[2]Koran 35:34.

[3]Mir Khalil was the supervisor of painting in Baysunghur's establishment. He is described at length in Dost-Muḥammad's introduction to the Bahram Mirza Album, Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, fol. 15a. Dawlatshāh (*Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, p. 379) calls him a "second Mānī," one of the four "craftsmen at the Shahrukhid capital who had no equal in their time in the inhabited quarter [of the world]."

[4]This may be the *Gulistān* in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 119, copied by Ja'far Tabrīzi in 830, although, if the other works mentioned are those dated *circa* 833, the Beatty *Gulistān* is a bit early. However, it is by no means unheard of for illustrations to be worked on after the text has been finished, particularly in the case of this *Gulistān*, which is mentioned later and appears to have suffered some damage.

[5]Perhaps Khwāja 'Alī Muṣawwir, who was brought to Herat from Tabriz by Baysunghur. See Dost-Muḥammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 15a.

[6]It would be tempting to consider this Ghiyāthuddīn as Ghiyāthuddīn Pīr Aḥmad Zarkūb, a painter brought from Tabriz to Herat by Ala'uddawla Mirza to complete the *jung* left unfinished at Baysunghur's death (Dost-Muḥammad Harawī, Introduction to the Bahrām Mirza Album, TSM H.2154, fol. 15b); however, since Baysunghur died in A.H. 837, and everything datable in this report indicates a date of *circa* 833, Pīr Aḥmad should not yet have come to Herat. Another Ghiyāthuddīn, Khwāja Ghiyāthuddīn Naqqāsh, is given in *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* (VI, 669) and *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (IV, 634) as accompanying the Chinese delegation that returned to Samarqand at the beginning of 824.

[7]The syntax of this sentence is problematic; apparently it should be read as *ḥālī ba-yak*

Mawlana Shihab has applied gold to the *debacha*, four *lawhs* and the *shuraf*[8] of the *debacha* [in preparation] for painting,[9] and he has outlined eight rosettes within the *debacha* and at present is busy with another scene in the repair of the *Gulistan*.[10]

Mawlana Qiwamuddin[11] has finished the arabesque (*islimi*) margins for the binding of the *Shahnama* and has taken up the brush for the pleasure scene (? *'aysh-i tamāshā*) of the body of the binding. The groundwork (*būm*) is nearly two thirds done; the "back and head and neck" [back and flap ?] have been attached and the *ṭarīq* (groove?) has been drawn.

Mawlana Shams lacks one section of making a facsimile of the treatises in the late Khwaja's hand.[12]

Mahmud[13] has completed the groundwork for seven out of ten *lawhs* for the *Diwan* of Khwaju [Kirmani] and is busy with the rest.

Hajji Mahmud has done the body of the front and outlining (*taḥrīr*) for the binding of the facsimile of the treatises[14] and is busy with the drawing outlines (*guzār*).

Khwaja Mahmud has finished the front and back of the binding for the Khwaja's calligraphic treatises and is busy with the head and neck (flap ?).

Khwaja Atâ the ruling maker (*jadwal-kash*) has finished Mawlana Sa'duddin's *Tarikh*[15] and the *Diwan* of Khwaju and is working on the *Shahnama*.

Mawlana Qutb[16] has copied ten sections of the *Tarikh-i Ṭabari*.

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mawḍi' 'imārat ki az gulistān bāṭil karda-and mashghūl ast, where *'imārat* must be taken together with *bāṭil* to mean "repair, fix, render correct."

[8]This word may refer to the finials, usually in blue, that radiate from a rosette and rise from an illuminated frontispiece. The word occurs again in the third section below on tents.

[9]The use of the word *ṣūratgarī* for painting here is puzzling. Normally it refers to figural painting, whereas *debāchas* are generally entirely geometrical and floral. Perhaps a conjunction is missing: "...has applied gold to the *debācha*, four *lawḥs*, the *shuraf* of the *debācha* [and] the figural painting."

[10]The entire paragraph is problematic. The last phrase contains the obscure *'imārat-i gulistān*.

[11]Qiwāmuddīn Mujallid Tabrīzī, another artisan brought from Tabriz to Herat (Dost-Muḥammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 15a).

[12]Shamsuddīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusām Harawī, known as Shams al-Baysunghurī and Shamsuddīn al-Sulṭānī. This MS must be similar to the collection of *rasāyil* by various authors, completed at Herat in Shawwal 830 (July 1427) and now in the Berenson Collection at I Tatti in Florence (see Angelo M. Piemontese, "I manoscritti persiani della collezione Berenson," *Studi in onore di Francesco Gabrieli*, II, 632). In 831 Shams copied Khwājū Kirmānī's *Humāy u Humāyūn* (now in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. NF 382). *Juzw*, here translated "section," most probably refers to a gathering or a signature. Shams is not "copying" (for which the word *kitābat* is normally used) these treatises but making a facsimile *(naql)*; the "Khwāja" may be 'Abdullāh Ṣayrafī, whose calligraphy was particularly admired in Herat, although Arghūn Kāmilī and Mubārakshāh Zarīnqalam were also known as Khwāja.

[13]If he is the scribe, perhaps he is Maḥmūd Astarābādī, a calligrapher known to have worked in the Baysunghurid establishment and who may have copied the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī now in Leningrad, Hermitage, VP 1000, dated 835, for Shahrukh's library. Since he is working on the *lawḥs*, he is probably an illuminator.

[14]Apparently the same treatises mentioned above.

[15]This must be the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* by Juwaynī copied by Sa'duddīn al-Mashhadī in 834, now in Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNS 233. There is also a *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* copied in 835 and containing a dedication to Baysunghur in the Keir Collection (formerly in the Fleishhacker Collection, San Francisco; see San Francisco, M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum, *Exhibition of Islamic Art*, 1937, No. 1).

[16]This is surely Quṭbuddīn b. Ḥasanshāh Kirmānī, and the work referred to is a copy of the *Tārīkh-i Bal'amī* (the Persian translation of *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*) finished in 833 and now in Leningrad (Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNS 49). He also copied in 829 at Herat Ṣadruddīn Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī's *Tāj al-ma'āthir*, now at Leningrad University, Biblioteka Vostochnogo Fakul'teta, N 578.

Khwaja Atâ has finished the sections of the *Gulistan* and the *sarlawh* for the history that Mawlana Sa'duddin has copied.[17] He has done the groundwork on the two *lawh*s and is busy finishing them.

Mawlana Muhammad [b.] Mutahhar has finished writing 25,000 verses of the *Shahnama*.[18]

Khwaja Abdul-Rahim is busy making designs for the binders, illuminators, tentmakers and tilemakers.

Mawlana Sa'duddin has finished the lid of the Begim's little chest, and one side of it is ready for the final touches. The door panel (? *ṭabaqa-i dar*) that remains will be completed in fifteen days.

Mawlana Shams has finished one *kashti*[19] and has done the groundwork on one *lawh* for the *Diwan* of Khwaju.

Hajji and Khata'i have gotten two other *kashti*s to the point of gilding.

Another *kashti* has almost been finished by Abdul-Salam.

All the painters (*naqqāshān*) are working on painting (*rang-āmez*) and tinting (*shustamān*) seventy-five tent timbers.[20]

Ustad Sayfuddin is well again after his illness.

There was a design by Mir Dawlatyar[21] for a saddle. Khwaja Mir Hasan copied it, and Mir Shamsuddin, Khwaja Mir Hasan's son, and Ustad Dawlat-Khwaja are busy executing it in mother-of-pearl.

Your must humble servant, the most miserable speck of dust[22] has finished writing three and a half sections of the *Shahnama*[23] and has begun to write the *Nuzhat al-arwah*.[24]

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[17]The history Sa'duddin is copying must be the same as "Sa'duddin's *Tārikh*" referred to above, i.e., the *Tārikh-i Jahāngushāy*.

[18]Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-Naysābūrī. This is quite likely the copy of the *Shāhnāma* now housed in the Malik Library, Tehran and dated 833.

[19]A puzzling term. *Kashti* means "ship," and, though not attested elsewhere, it may be used here, like *jung*, as equivalent to the Arabic term *safīna*, an oblong book, usually a miscellany, bound on the short side. It is unlikely that these craftsmen are making ships, whatever they are doing.

[20]Reading *chūb-i khargāh* for the clearly written but probably misdotted *khūb* of the text.

[21]A painter trained by Aḥmad Mūsā and contemporary of the Ilkhanid Sultan Abū-Sa'īd who was known especially for his pen and ink work *(qalamsiyāhī)*. See Dost-Muḥammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 14b.

[22]It is assumed that the writer is the chief of the *kutubkhana*, Farīduddīn Ja'far b. 'Alī Tabrīzī, who often signed himself "Bāysunghurī."

[23]If the *Shāhnāma* being copied by Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar is the 833 copy, then the one referred to here should be the Baysunghurid *Shāhnāma* of 833 now in the Kitābkhāna-i Salṭanatī, Tehran (4752).

[24]*Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, a standard work on sufism written in 711/1311 by Mīr Fakhrussādāt Ruknuddīn Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. See Rieu, *Catalogue*, I, 40a. According to Huart (*Les calligraphes*, p. 97) and Mirza Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī (*Khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān* [Constantinople: Abū'l-Ḍiyā, 1305], p. 20) a copy of the *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* made for Baysunghur existed in the Yeni Cami, Istanbul, at the end of the nineteenth century, but it appears to have been lost since then; see Lentz, "Painting at Herat," p. 142.

To date the following manuscripts bearing an identifiable attribution or dedication to Baysunghur have been discovered: (1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussische Kulturbesitz, Petermann I, 386, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of 814; (2) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Islamische Kunstabteilung, J.4628, anthology of 823; (3) Leningrad State University, Biblioteka Vostochnogo Fakul'teta, N 578, Ṣadruddīn Muḥammad al-Nishāpūrī's *Tāj al-ma'āthir* of 829; (4) Florence, I Tatti, Berenson Collection, anthology of 830; (5) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 119, Sa'dī's *Gulistān* of 830; (6) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. N. F. 382, Khwājū Kirmānī's *Humāy u Humāyūn* of 831; (7) Tehran, Gulistān Museum, 4752, *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī of 833; (8) Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNS 49, Bal'amī's *Tarjuma-i Tārikh-i Ṭabarī* of 833; (9) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, R.1022, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣrullāh's *Kalila u Dimna* of

Buildings and Grounds

The court (*dargāh*): the stonecutting work has been completed, but the tile cutting for the inscriptions and crenellations remains and is being worked on. The paving of the passageway is done, and the crenelated doorway[25] of the picture gallery (*ṣūratkhāna*) has been put in place and the projecting balcony installed.

The old palace: the dome and parterre (*bādāman*) up to under the stalactites have been painted. The columns of the eastern wing have been replaced.

The atelier begun for the painters has been finished, and the painters and scribes have taken up occupancy.

The stonecutters are working on the pool.

The new garden: of the wall which was ordered to be six courses, [in] some [places] four courses and [in] others three courses have been completed; and [the workmen] are at work. The foundations for the portico (*aywān*) and vestibule (*dālān*) have been laid. The great bridge (*shāh-pul*) in front of the *aywan* has been cut and will [soon] be laid in.[26]

The courtyard garden: of the *qibla* wall, three courses have been made, and as soon as the tilemakers finish the stone court they will get to work on the dado (*izāra*) of the aforementioned garden.

The mud roof, plaster floor and whitewash for the crane house (*kulangkhāna*) have been finished.

Tents

Fourteen pieces of the top cover and seven pieces of the side cover:[27] of these

833; (10) Tehran, Malik Library, Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* of 833; (11) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 362, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣrullāh's *Kalila u Dimna* of 834; (12) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Elliot 210, *Kulliyyāt* of 'Imād Faqih of 834; (13) Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNS 233, Juwaynī's *Tārikh-i jahāngushāy* of 834; (14) London, British Library, Or. 2773; *Tārikh-i Iṣfahān* by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī of 834; (15) Istanbul, Türk ve ıslam Eserleri Müzesi, 1954, Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī's *Chahār maqāla* of 835; (16) London, Keir Collection (Robinson VII.62), Juwaynī's *Tārikh-i jahāngushāy* of 835; (17) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez A, folio 74, fragment of Amīr Khusraw's *qaṣīdas*, undated; (18) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 120, illuminated calligraphic pages, undated; (19) Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 268, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, undated. See B. W. Robinson, "Prince Bāysonghor's Niẓāmī," 384–85; O. Akimushkin, "Iz istorii kul'tury Irana," 83; Thomas W. Lentz, "Painting at Herat," pp. 303–558.

[25]*Dar-i dandān*, literally "tooth door." Bernard O'Kane (*Khurasan*, p. 40) translates it as "entrance doorway."

[26]It has been suggested that *bāgh-i naw* here be read as a proper name, The New Garden, of which two are known as toponyms in Herat: the Bāgh-i Naw-i Jūkī and the Bāgh-i Naw-i Shāhrukh Mirza (see Allen, *Toponyms*, p. 203). Of course, "new garden" need not necessarily be a proper name.

[27]"Top cover," reading with Andrews ("The Tents of Timur," p. 167) *tāpā turluq*, which he admits is problematic in that *turluq* normally means the side covering of a tent. According to Özergin ("Temürlü Sanatına Ait Eski Bir Belge," p. 514) *tur* is the felt covering placed over the trellis, though in modern Kirgiz usage it designates only the lower portion (Radloff, *VWTD*, III, 1460). Furthermore, the construction *tāpā turluq* is not Turkic. The reading *tāpā* ("head, top") is also problematic in that the textual orthography of this word, which has two dots above and none below, is not entirely consistent with the way *TPH* would be written, but is more likely *TQH* or *YQH*, which could yield *yaqa* (collar). Read Persian fashion, it could be *yaqa-i turluq* (collar for the cover), perhaps referring to the skirt around the top cover.

"Side cover": reading highly uncertain. It is clearly written *WBWZH* with two *fatḥas* above, an extremely odd phenomenon in a text that has not a single other vowel mark. It is odder still to mark the vowel of the conjunction *wa-*. It may have something to do with *böz*, a word meaning cotton cloth (Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, ed. & trs. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, Sources of Oriental Language and Literatures 7 [Cambridge: Harvard University Publisher, 1985], III, 79; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, IV, 1706). Another possibility, ignoring the dot of the *z*, is to read *bora*, a Chaghatay word meaning "mat" (Radloff, *VWTD*, IV, 1662), which certainly fits the context and

twenty-one pieces, six have been finished. The velvet ornaments *(na'lhā-yi qiṭ'a)* have all been sewn, and of the twenty-one medallions for the middle of the calligraphy pieces, which have figural designs, six have been finished. Of the *shuraf* (spires), embroidered cover *(maḥbas)* and borders, nearly a quarter have been sewn. The work on the outside of the tent (*khargāh*), the basis of which is linen (*mithqālī*) and the design of which is silken weave (*ṣandalbāf*) and the outlining of which is gold embroidery, approximately a quarter of the work has been sewn, and [the workers] are busy completing [the job].[28]

may justify Andrews' translation given in the following note.

[28]"The top cover of fourteen pieces, and the (?) wall cover of seven pieces, in all twenty-one pieces, of these six pieces have been finished; the sewing of the velvet ornaments has been completed, and of the medallions in the middle of the pieces with writing, which are of figured work, numbering twenty-one in all, six have been completed. Of the top, and the embroidered cover, and the borders, about one quarter of the work has been sewn. The work on the outside of the trellis tent, which is basically of linen, and its decoration in silken material, and its inscription in gold embroidery, is about one quarter sewn, and they are busy completing it." Translation by P. A. Andrews, "The Tents of Timur," p. 167.

Miscellaneous Documents

The following short documents are preserved in the Ya'qub Beg Album (the so-called Fâtih Album, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2153) and in an album in the Istanbul University Library (F.1423). Undoubtedly these documents were preserved for their calligraphic excellence, but they also represent an otherwise undocumented aspect of royal patronage and show for what and how protégés petitioned the court for their needs.

Also included are a letter to Sultan-Ali Mashhadi from his royal patron, Sultan-Husayn Mirza, and an amusing colophon added to one of the most splendid books produced during the Timurid period.

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Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 98b

This petition is probably from Sultan-Ali Qayini and addressed to Sultan Ya'qub or Rustam, the Aqqoyunlu sultans for whom he worked.

Petition from the most insignificant servant Sultan-Ali to His Exalted Highness.

Aside from your threshold I have no refuge in the world, and without kissing the ground of the celestial threshold of the Shadow of God I have no hope. Now, the house in which I used to live is being sold for a pittance, and it would be ideal for me.

It is hoped that His Majesty will deign to grant in alms the seven thousand dinars remaining of my back wages, for it will not be lost in God's reckoning.

❁

Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 119b

The most likely person to have written this petition is Shaykh-Muhammad al-Imami al-Harawi, who also worked for Sultan Ya'qub and Rustam Aqqoyunlu.

Petition from Shaykh-Muhammad, the least of His Majesty's servants.

I had a china inkpot with which I used to write. Two days ago it was broken, and for this reason I am much upset.

It is besought that [His Majesty] grant in alms an inkpot with which I may write and be engaged in constant prayer for [His Majesty's] good fortune.

❁

Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 137a

It is assumed that the writer of this document is Kamaluddin Shaykh-Mahmud Harawi, writing to Pir-Budaq or Sultan Ya'qub Aqqoyunlu.

May his kingdom and power last forever. The most insignificant of those raised from the dust, Shaykh-Mahmud, kissing the exalted threshold with the lip of etiquette, petitions:

The royal command [has been received] concerning the scribal activity of this humble slave of the court and his apprentices [in which it is asked] how much each is able to write in a day. The fact is that copying cannot be compared to other arts, for sometimes it happens that, without willing it to be so, one can accomplish many times what one expects, while other times, no matter how much one presses oneself, not a fraction of what one has accomplished in the past is possible. Apprentices are as yet beginners: if they make haste in writing it impedes their progress. Now, since an order to be obeyed by all the world has been issued, of *mathnawi*s eighty *bayt*s, while of *ghazal*s fifty *bayt*s can be written well in a day.

This one raised from the dust is devoted to writing and endeavors to the best of his ability. Still a touch of illness lingers on. When there is a bit of ...[1] in the air, he will copy so much that it will be pleasing to [His Majesty's] transmuting view. It is audaciously hoped that the royal shadow remain forever over the heads of his subjects, through the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be prayers and salutations.

❁

Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 141b

The following is a decree to agents in Yazd to supply certain precious minerals. It was probably issued by Jahanshah Qaraqoyunlu, who retained control of the Yazd area after the Turcomans withdrew from their invasion of Herat in 1458.

Let the prefect, agents and superintendents of Dar al-'Ibada Yazd know that it has been reported to His Majesty that in that area lapis lazuli, Chinese *sīlūy* (?) and jasper are found. In obedience to the royal command, it is incumbent that the aforementioned things be taken and turned over to a trustworthy agent to be brought to the court of world refuge. Knowing their responsibility, let them not fail.

Written on the 19th of Ramadan in the year 864 [July 8, 1460].

❁

Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi F.1423, fol. 35b

This piece appears to be the beginning of a petition for employment in which the writer, Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Hijazi, traces his career from Shiraz in 825 [1422] to Edirne in 845 [1441–2]. Like many another stereotypical "personal recollection," he describes how he wearied of the school curriculum and took to the "youthful madness" of wine and song. Finally he landed unemployed in Ottoman Edirne. The document is damaged and lacks the end.

Praise be to God, who forgetteth not those who remember him and who disappointeth not those who call upon him. In describing his attributes and various blessings tongues are mute. Prayers and salutations upon the noblest of creation, Muhammad, the elect, the guide whom [God] chose to make his friend and send to the white and black nations—saved is he who takes him as his friend—and also upon his pure descendants.

It is not hidden from the illuminated minds of the enlightened that the goal of creation of all beings, the purpose of bringing existing things into existence, was the noble [creature], the Father of Humanity Adam and his offspring—"and now have we honoured the children of Adam, and we have given them conveniences of carriage by land and by sea."[2] The creator—exalted and awesome is his magnificence—bestowed upon the children of Adam rational speech and form in

[1] Indecipherable word, perhaps *tartīb-i*: "when the weather clears up."

[2] Koran 17:70.

order that they be distinguished from other animals, and he said, "We created man of a most excellent fabric,"[3] and then said, "Read, in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by the most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen, who teacheth man that which he knoweth not."[4] The learned have said that if anything were nobler than speech[5] it would have come down from heaven to the prophets. They have also said: "In the opinion of connoisseurs, speech is great, for speech came from heaven, hence it is not vile." It is speech that causes a name to last forever in the world, for of the kings and wise men of the past we find no trace other than speech, and the wiser a man is, the more mature are his words, as the Prince of the Faithful Ali—may God ennoble his countenance—says, "A man's words represent his intelligence." Again he says, "A man is hidden beneath his tongue." Imam Ja'far Sâdiq says, "A man's words are the proof of his excellence and the interpretor of his mind."

The point of these introductory remarks, the reason for these words, is that Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Hijazi,[6] covering with kisses of veneration the dust of the court of world refuge, at which the people of religion and state place their foreheads in prostration, and the merest dust of which is the pearly collyrium of felicity, dares to petition his great lord, saying that in the year 825 [1422] in the region of Shiraz—may God protect her from calamity—I was occupied with my studies and was very diligent, in accordance with the dictum, "To seek knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim man and woman." I also practiced spiritual exercise ... because the fruits of the human soul are nobility of mind, perfection of learning, clemency, modesty, wisdom, knowledge of things, religion, religiosity, piety, truth, purity, morals, humility, justice, equity and generosity; and the comprehension of speech is to [acquire] virtue. The wise have said, "Learning is life for the rational soul and an outlet for the heart from the darkness of nature, which covers living souls and distracts them from the world of living things by the gaudy things of nature, which are debasing beyond imagination."

However, from time to time the passion and impulsiveness of youth—"youth is a branch of madness"—began to surge, and the chain of love began to rattle, rolling up the pages of study and turning my unproductive mind to more attractive things.

> Ask for a volume of poetry and take the road to the wilderness. [Quit] school and your boring deliberations of the *Kashf* and *Kashshaf*.[7]
> My heart is fed up with school dialectic. Let me revel with my beloved and wine for a while.
> Neither the *hafiz* has an inclination to study in solitude nor the scholar certain knowledge.

Then [I began to spend] all my time acting upon the dictum, "Poetry is necessary"—

> Precedence and subsequence are not attributes of magnitude, for poets came later and prophets came earlier—

and [learning] the calligraphic forms of letters, for "calligraphy is half of learning." The Prince of the Faithful Ali says, "Learn good writing, O educated man, for writing is nothing if not an embellishment

[3]Koran 95:4.

[4]Koran 96:1–2.

[5]*Sukhan*, speech in general and poetry specifically.

[6]The writer is Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥijāzī, by whom was copied a *Kulliyyāt* of Jamālī in 867 (Istanbul, IÜK, FY516) and a Koran dated 872 (Konya, Mevlâna Müzesi [Bayānī, *AAK*, 1023]).

[7]*Kashf* and *Kashshāf* are stock titles for books of Koranic interpretation and jurisprudence, such as *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl* by al-Zamakhsharī, used in the school curriculum.

for the educated person. If you have wealth, your writing is an ornament. If you are needy, it is the best livelihood." The sultans of the age too, like Ibrahim-Sultan, Baysunghur, Ulughbeg and their father Shahrukh Mirza, have taken notice of this art, for "people follow their kings' religion." In the *kutubkhana* of each of these there was a group of learned people without equal in the world—copyist, illuminator, illustrator, binder. I too laid some small claim [to proficiency] in these arts by virtue of my aspiration and ardour, and through service and apprenticeship I acquired from every harvest a gleaning, and from every gleaning a seed, until, during a voyage, I arrived in the year 845 in Edirne—may God preserve her from catastrophe—and chose, like the phœnix, to withdraw into a corner of unemployment.

Flee from people and be like the phœnix, for the repute of hermits stretches from horizon to horizon.

I did this because I found that the market for my wares was sluggish and buyers were scarce. Consequently I chose, like an idiot, to converse with children and to avoid adults until the sun of fortune...

❁

Letter from Sultan-Husayn Mirza to the Calligrapher Sultan-Ali Mashhadi[8]

In this letter Sultan-Husayn chides Sultan-Ali for making too many mistakes in his copying, and particularly for committing the copyist's sin of scratching out errors and rewriting. Since Sultan-Husayn states that he knows that Sultan-Ali is perfectly capable of copying correctly a text of Turkish poetry, he may well be referring to his own Turkish divan calligraphed by Sultan-Ali, several copies of which still exist.[9]

May the best of scribes, Master Nizamuddin Sultan-Ali,[10] realize that the favor and patronage of the patron's all-solving mind that have attached to him are more apparent than the sun, and the royal good opinion of his art is more obvious than yesterday. We have written the page of his hopes with the pen of affection, drawn the pen of abrogation through the calligraphy of former masters, and consider him above all others in that art. However, in the royal divans that have been scriven by his miraculous pen, many mistakes and errors are to be seen, and scratching and corrections in such enchanting calligraphy are unforgivable, as has been said:

Clothing half of brocade and half of sackcloth is worthless.

In view of the fact that he has acquired a perfect expertise in the copying of Turkish poetry and has a great mastery of the manner of poetry and prose, this is abundantly strange. It is well known that in the meaning and layout of the words of a line of poetry—not to mention a hemistich—the composer must make great effort, and to perfect a conceit he must make a great exertion of will power. When error creeps into the rules and regulations through scribal intervention or a slip of the pen, it causes displeasure, and the defect lies heavy on the mind of the poet.

[8]Persian text in Bayani, *AAK*, i, 246f., quoted from *Majmū'a-i munsha'āt-i Abū'l-Qāsim Evoghli*.

[9]Copies of Sultan-Husayn's divan calligraphed by Sultan-Ali Mashhadi exist in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Supplement Turc 993) dated 890/1485, in Tehran (Mahdavi Collection) dated 895/1490, Tehran (Mazda Collection) dated 899/1493–94, and in New York (Metropolitan 1982.120.1) dated 905/1499–1500.

[10]It is Bayani's opinion that the "Nizamuddin" appearing in this letter was not Sultan-Ali's name but merely an honorific.

The story is well known that while out for a stroll a great poet passed by a brickmaker reciting the poet's poetry—but it was being recited erroneously and uncadenced. When the master poet saw that the arrangement of his words was being poured badly into the mold of meaning, he immediately stepped onto the bricks the man had made and crushed them into the dust. The brickmaker said in anger, "Why have you wasted my efforts and indulged in such cruelty?"

"Oh," he replied, "you crush with the stone of cruelty a pearl that cost me so much effort to string onto a line of poetry, and you think nothing of it? Yet you turn the few bricks you have fashioned into an excuse to be rude and impolite."

One can spout nonsense from the mouth like pearls: it is a brick that can break a wing.

The point of these preliminaries is that since there is a natural connection between the poet's mind and the product of his poetic nature and contemplation, scribes and copyists must take great pains to be correct and free of error, and henceforth you will pay attention and strive that what is written by your miraculous pen be protected from the calamity of error and mistake, and the pages free of any necessity to scratch out and make corrections. You must strive appropriately in all that you write in order to receive as before. Peace.

❁

Istanbul, TSM H.762, fol. 316b–317a

This brilliantly illustrated copy of Nizami's Khamsa, *now preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, took nearly a century to complete. As explained in the colophon, each successive patron into whose hands the incomplete book fell died before it was finished. The illustrations thus range in style from the mid-fifteenth century to the early sixteenth.*

...and the reason for our relating this narrative is as follows. Before now the late padishah Babur Mirza intended to complete this eloquent book, which is attributed to the "Treasure of Ganja," scatterer of riches from the treasure house of the *Khamsa*, Sultan of Poets Nizami, and commanded Azhar,[11] who was one of the rarities of his age in calligraphy, to copy it. Not yet had [Babur Mirza] plucked the rose of desire from the garden of completion when the barren wind of the autumn of fate left not a leaf on the tree of his life.[12]

Thereafter, Pir-Budaq Mirza was seized by the same desire [to have the work completed].[13] Still unsuccessful, he withdrew the foot of his life into the skirt of death, and he too, not having quaffed of this goblet, carried the baggage of existence to the waystation of nothingness.[14]

Thereafter, Sultan Khalil, son of Sultan Hasan, desired to have it completed.[15] He had it copied by Anisi,[16] who had snatched the ball of precedence from his peers; **[fol. 317a]** and for the painting he commissioned Master Shaykhi and Master Darwesh-Muhammad, who were second only to Mani. Scarcely had one of the "Five Treasures" been completed when the patrol of misfortune shackled the hand

[11] Azhar Tabrizi, well-known calligrapher, fl. 833–77/1430–72.

[12] Abu'l-Qasim Babur Mirza died in 861/1457.

[13] In 862/1458 the Turcoman Jahanshah Qaraqoyunlu invaded Herat, where he was joined by his son Pir-Budaq. The incomplete manuscript must have come into Pir-Budaq's possession at that time.

[14] Pir-Budaq was killed in 871/1467.

[15] Khalil, son of Uzun Hasan Aqqoyunlu, ruled 883–84/1478–79.

[16] Anisi, Abdul-Rahim Khwarazmi, calligrapher at the Aqqoyunlu court, fl. 844–99/1440–93.

of his prosperity, and he too stopped in the lane of annihilation, turning over his workshop to his brother Ya'qub. He too strove to have it finished and exerted much effort, but suddenly the victor death seized him by the collar, and he too stepped into the wilderness of non-existence.[17]

In accordance with the saying, "Many a wish has turned to dust," none of them was able to achieve his goal or drink in fulfillment from the goblet of completion. Although all wished it, it was but in their keeping during their days. [However,] in the felicitous time of the Leader of Mankind, His Exalted Highness, Shadow of God, Refuge of the World, who was prefigured in the Koranic verse, "and mention in the book Ishmael,"[18] ... bestower of crowns and seizer of thrones ... in accordance with God's word "the earth shall be inherited by my pious servants," it was completed as wished through the care and concern of His August Majesty... .

[17]Ya'qub Beg son of Uzun Hasan Aqqoyunlu, ruled 884–96/1478–90.

[18]The reference is to the Safavid Shah Isma'il I, ruled 907–30/1501–24.

Dost-Muhammad

Preface to the Bahram Mirza Album

Dost-Muhammad (fl. 938–72/1531–64) of Gawashwan, a village near Herat, prepared in 951/1544 for Bahram Mirza (1517–1549), brother of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) and patron of the arts, an album of calligraphic specimens and paintings that is now in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (H.2154). In the florid preface he wrote for the album he traces the history of calligraphy, master-pupil relationships in the calligraphic art, the history of painting and painters, and inventories the scribes and artists who were employed in Shah Tahmasp's studio.

Dost-Muhammad's "Preface," Qazi Ahmad's *Gulistan-i hunar* (Garden of art) and Mustafa Ali's *Manaqib-i hunarwaran* (Virtues of artists) are the main sixteenth-century sources for the history of the arts of the book.[1]

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The noblest rescript with which the scribes of the workshop of prayer adorn the album of composition and novelty, and the most subtle picture with which the depictors of the gallery of intrinsic meaning decorate the assemblies of creativity and invention, is praise of the Creator, by whose pen are scriven sublime letters and exalted forms. In accordance with the dictum, "The pen dried up with what would be until Doomsday,"[2] the coalesced forms and dispersed shapes of the archetypes were hidden in the recesses of the unseen in accordance with the dictum, "I was a hidden treasure." Then, in accordance with the words, "I wanted to be known, so I created creation in order to be known,"[3] he snatched with the fingers of destiny the veil of non-existence from the countenance of being, and with the hand of mercy and the pen, which was "the first thing God created,"[4] he painted [them] masterfully on the canvas of being. **[9a]** [Praise to] the Maker who made the totality of human form, which includes the forms and intrinsic

[1]Qazi Ahmad's *Gulistan-i hunar* has been translated into English by Minorsky as *Calligraphers and Painters*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers (Washington: Smithsonian, 1959); an edition of the Persian text, more recent than the translation, is by Ahmad Suhayli-Khwansari (Tehran: Zar, 1352); Mustafa Ali, *Manaqib-i hunarwaran*, ed. in Ottoman Turkish by Ibnül-Emin Mahmud Kemal. Türk Tarih Encümeni Külliyatı, 9 (Istanbul: Matba'a-i Amira, 1926).

[2]For the *ḥadīth*, *"Jaffa 'l-qalam...."* see Badi'uzzamān Furūzānfarr, *Aḥādīth al-mathnawi* (Tehran: Dānishgāh, 1334), p. 38 (97).

[3]The well-known *ḥadīth qudsi*, *"Kuntu kanzan makhfiyan..."*

[4]A famous "primordial" *ḥadīth*, *"Awwalu mā khalaqa..."*

meanings of the next world, in the workshop called "he created Adam in his form" on the page of creation in the most beautiful way, and cleansed from the tablet of his being the dust of nonexistence with the polish of favor; and in the heights indicated by the words, "Assume the characteristics of God," he made the mirror of creation a locus of manifestation for names and traces. [Praise to] the Omnipotent who adorned the layers of the heavenly seven, which in inimitability in the manner of seven copies—nay, in organization and systematization they are exemplars of Koranic pages—with verses of beautiful stars and the tenth and fifth of the sun and moon, and made rulings with lines of rays, and with the white ink of dawn and the vermilion of sunset placed a prototype of the four tablets on the azure page of the celest. Sometimes **[9b]** he makes black pens from the eyelashes of the houris and draws the tresses of beauties on the face of day from the inkpot of night, and sometimes he makes a pen of sunrays and moonbeams and draws the shapes of beauties with the blood of lovers on the canvas of loveliness. Praise God! What am I saying? Where the perfect swiftness of creation and destiny is, what room is there for the depiction of the pen or the pen of depiction? Where the workshop of creating bodies and forms according to the words, "and our order is but one, like the twinkling of an eye,"[5] is too narrow for the laborers of the upper and lower worlds, how can there be room for the design or mixing of water and color? Jesus the Abstract, without the aid or help of the pen, was singled out by the words, "That is Jesus, son of Mary,"[6] and in the shell of being, by the limpidity of the breeze of the words "I breathed into him of my breath,"[7] drank the water of life. And the pearl of existence, Adam the Pure, without [nurturing] shell, by aid of the words "I am going to place on the earth a vicegerent,"[8] emerged from the ocean of nonexistence: "For God Jesus is like unto Adam: He created him from dust and said to him, 'Be!,' and he was."

Hail to the Creator who, without assistance,
clothed being with existence by the
command "Be!"
Neither is his destining in need of
machination nor is his depiction dependent
upon the pen.
He quickened thousands of charming forms:
neither did he use a magic incantation nor
did he mix colors.
He clothed each one in a color, a color of
God's tincture, without hesitation.
He adorned one beautifully with mole and
down: a whole worldful [of people] fell into
error on account of its beauty.
To another he gave a seditious eye that
would shed blood with blood-dripping
dagger [eyelashes]
Around the lips of another he drew a novel
design, by means of which animating down
souls were pawned.
For yet another he innovated a fascinating
stature, casting calamity into the heart from
the world above....
If a form is not worthy of astonishment, it
is not worth a touch of the brush.
Why are you perplexed by this master
painting when you know that it is necessary
to amend your conduct?
If conduct is not pure and charming in
essence, what is the use of a beautiful form?
[If] in life the form of right conduct has been
lost, what use is there for humankind to
have been given a beautiful form?
When a man is ignorant in his being, he
cannot be called human simply because of
his form.
O God, I am that handful of dust that
previously was void of my form and
conduct.
Since you gave me human form first, make
me share intrinsically in humanity.
Especially he who is the final goal of the
world: the final goal of the creative fiat is
he.
In form he perfected Joseph's beauty; in
conduct he quickens Gabriel's soul.

[5]Koran 54:50.

[6]Koran 19:34.

[7]Koran 15:29, 38:72.

[8]Koran 2:30.

That perfect human, the outline of whose noble-fruited tree was the first form to appear from the pure light of existence on **[10a]** the page of being, and whose sapling was watered by mercy and beauty, from each twig of which a thousand flowers of saintliness and guidance blossom, the beautiful one, in witnessing whose beauty admirers of Joseph's countenance cry out alas and alack in astonishment and perplexity.

By Joseph was much agony created, but this beauty has stirred up a different tumult.

The chain of his musk-scented locks has placed shackles of the Night of Power around the sun, and his God-seeing eye has opened the gates of paradise to his community through intercession :

The eternal painter who drew that black line,
O Lord, what marvelous shapes are in his pen!

The unlettered one who has drawn, without aid of the pen, a line of abrogation through a thousand books—the unread one who, without the assistance of pen and ink, has changed the laws and rules of the past through his legislation of firm root and exalted branch.

Through knowledge he changed the precepts of religions; through his own action he made the law.
He had no script apparent, but he was favored by instruction from the Preserved Tablet.
However, on his finger he had a [fingernail] like a pen, sharpened to abrogate religions.
Yea, his tall stature was the reed that was the first stroke of the pen of fate.
In the garden of majesty, by God's favor, no sapling ever grew more swiftly than he.
The world was gladdened by the fruit of his beneficence while yet his palm was far from the garden of existence.
Had he not been given a prophetic robe of honor, Adam would have had no share of prophecy.
If the peace of the spirit had not issued from him, Noah would have remained forever in the sea of wailing.
If Abraham was the honor of the community, he wore the crown of divine friendship because of him.
If the building of the Ka'ba was completed by [Abraham], [Muhammad] bound the pilgrim's garb before it was built.

Seal [of prophets] whose ring of power is decorated with the legend, "I was a prophet while Adam was between water and clay." From the beginning the words "we have given you Kawthar," which breathe an aroma of his angelic offspring, proclaimed the good news of his end. Divine legislation was completed for the inhabitants of the earth by his holy children, love for whom is incumbent upon all who have faith and certainty in the way of guidance, through the words, "Say I do not ask you a fee for it except affection in kinship," **[10b]** and in accordance with the true saying, "I leave among you the people God's book and my family."

After paying respects to the Word of the omniscient necessarily existent [One], it is an obligation upon each individual in Islam to take an immaculate handhold onto the strong rope of following this group, respect for whom is necessary, especially the prides of humanity, by whom I mean the Twelve Imams, for were the hand of destiny to reopen the gate of prophecy, it would be opened to none other than their prophet-like beauty.

Praise God for such a unique group, who were signs of God's Apostle,
Each one a sun at the zenith of justice, each one a chapter and section of the book of prophetic inspiration.
O God, so long as the world exists, so long as the earth is stable and the celest in motion,
May the world not flourish without their grace, may it never be void of their offspring.

Especially the latest of his pure sons and most glorious of his splendid offspring, by whom I mean His Majesty of Saturnian exaltedness, who is attended by the

celestial spheres, the Sultan son of the Sultan son of the Sultan, the Khaqan son of the Khaqan son of the Khaqan, Glory of the Sultanate and Caliphate and Right-guidance and this world, Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp the Safavid the Musavid the Husaynid (may God eternalize his reign and beneficence) and His Majesty's felicitous brothers and noble children—and most especially the pearl of the oyster of the caliphate and justice, the gem of the casket of magnificence and rule, bouquet of the garden of power and good fortune, blossom of the meadow of nobility and splendor,

> A Faridun in majesty, a Jamshid in rank, an Alexander in splendor, a Dara in reign,

the glory of the sultanate, Abu'l-Fath Bahram Mirza (may God cause the days of his power and glory over the heads of the mighty to last until the Day of Resurrection), who, after perfecting the affairs of rule and perusing histories and tales, used to spend his time contemplating the masters' beautiful calligraphic specimens and rare and precious essays, and his gaze of favor and kindness was ever upon this group until his exalted opinion inclined to this, that the scattered folios of past and present masters should be brought out of the region of dispersal into the realm of collectedness. In this regard the exalted command and sublime order was issued to this poor slave, miserable speck of dust, distracted sinner, Dost-Muhammad the Scribe, that, in endeavoring to organize and decorate [the collection], he should cinch the waist of his soul with the belt of servitude. Therefore, in accordance with this exalted command, **[11a]**

> He bound the waist of his soul with the belt of servitude: he girded himself with his soul as a belt

in order to arrange an album for His Exalted Majesty's library. Inasmuch as it is necessary to mention in this album the origin of calligraphy and the masters of the science of calligraphy who are so outstanding in the school "taught by the pen, taught mankind what he knew not,"[9] prefatory remarks shall follow in which all that shall be introduced, God granting assistance and success.

Know that in the opinion of historians and biographers of happy output and specialists in the sayings of the Best of Mankind—upon whom be peace—the first person to write, the founder of this magnificent affair and noble occupation, was Adam, who fashioned a pen and wrote on a tanned hide. After him was Enoch. However, the form of their writing, in what manner they wrote, is not known, even though it is well known that they spoke in the Syriac Hebrew expression. All other prophets and sages also established writing systems, but the manner of reading the same and the purport of their words are not apparent and would take too long to describe.

Thereafter, Ya'rub ibn Qahtan[10] produced the Kufic style from the Ma'qili,[11] and he was the inventor of the Kufic script; nonetheless, it reached perfection at the glorious hand of the Prince of the Faithful and Imam of the Pious, the Conquering Lion of God, Ali ibn Abi-Talib. The reed-riding fingers of no creature have ever passed through the field of writing like the miraculous, cavalier fingers of that majesty. The distinguishing characteristic of that majesty's script, after its clarity and loveliness, is that at the head of the *alif* as written by him is a split

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[9]Koran 96:4–5.

[10]Ya'rub ibn Qaḥṭān, one of the progenitors of the Arabs.

[11]The Kufic style of writing is named for the city of Kūfa in Iraq. It is a "blanket" term applied to the nonrounded styles of Arabic. Ma'qili, named after Nahr al-Ma'qil at Basra in southern Iraq, is the term sometimes used for the highly geometrically stylized script used in brick work.

in the value of half a dot, and wherever letters are parallel to each other on the front and back of a page, black is on black and white on white.

There was Kufan script until the time of al-Muqtadir-bi'llah,[12] at which time Ali ibn Muqla, who is known as Ibn Muqla, saw the Prince of the Faithful Ali in a vision, during which he instructed him in the *thuluth*, *muhaqqaq* and *naskh* script, which script was named the "Arabic script".... Ibn Muqla, being al-Muqtadir's vizier, was accused of treason, and al-Muqtadir ordered two fingers of his right hand cut off with a penknife. **[11b]** Thus that tree was deprived of drawing the water of life that rested in the darkest recesses of the inkpot. Thereafter he instructed his offspring, who was a very talented girl, with his left hand. Master Ali ibn Hilal, known as Ibn Bawwab, was his student.[13]

Shaykh Jamaluddin Yaqut[14] was instructed by Ibn Bawwab in the time of al-Mustansir-bi'llah,[15] the last Abbasid caliph, and through his guidance laid down the rules for this script and brought down the cryptic regulations of this science from heaven to earth. Without the least taint of extravagance it may be said that he caused his musk-scented pen to skim through the current of scripts in such a way that the pen's tongue and the two-tongued pen are incapable of describing it.

The Shaykh had six students known collectively as the SIX MASTERS. To each of them he gave license to produce their own calligraphy in his name. The perfection of beauty in the script of these six is so established that the calligraphy of [other] experts in this craft has been ruled out, and [their art] is so far beyond description that it is impossible even to begin [to describe it].

> If an intelligent man does not describe the sun, the grace of its light is description enough.
> And if one does not speak in praise of musk, its own scent is a sufficiently eloquent eulogizer.

Their noble names are: (1) Mawlana Nasrullah Tabib,[16] (2) Shaykhzada Suhrawardi,[17] (3) Khwaja Arghun Kamili,[18] (4) Khwaja Mubarakshah Zarin-Qalam,[19] (5) the excellent Sayyid-Haydar,[20] and (6) Mawlana Yusuf Mashhadi.[21]

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[12]'Abbasid caliph, ruled 295–320/908–32.

[13]"Student" is used in the loosest possible sense and may include a gap of several generations. Ibn Muqla died in 940, and Ibn al-Bawwāb in 1032.

[14]Known as Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī. Bayānī (*AAK*, iv, 1227), in agreement with Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, places his death in 698/1298–99. The specimen of his calligraphy bearing the latest date (695) appears to be an album page in Istanbul, TSM, H.2160, fol. 82a.

[15]Ruled 623–40/1226–42.

[16]Among the surviving works by Naṣrullāh Ṭabīb are two specimens dated (1) 729/1328–29, Istanbul, TSM, H.2161, fol. 24a and (2) 735/1334–35, Istanbul, TSM, B.411, fol. 106b. He is said to have died ca. 740/1339 (Bayānī, *AAK*, iv, 1222).

[17]Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawardī of Baghdad, known as Shaykhzāda. The earliest surviving specimen of his work is in Istanbul, TSM, H.2310, fol. 55b dated 702 (1302–3); the latest, dated 728 (1327–28), is a detached page from a *Nahj al-balāgha* in the Taqwā Collection, Tehran (Bayānī, *AAK*, iv, 1025).

[18]The earliest surviving specimen is an album page (Istanbul, TSM, H.2156, fol 92a) by "Arghūn b. 'Abdullāh" dated 700 (1300–1); the latest is in the same album (fol. 33b) and is dated 753 (1352).

[19]Mubārakshāh b. Quṭb is said to have executed the epigraphic calligraphy in the shrine of 'Ali b. Abī-Ṭālib in Najaf commissioned by Sulṭān-Uways Jalāyir. A single dated specimen by him survives in Istanbul, TSM, H.2310, fol. 25b, dated 732 (1331–32).

[20]Sayyid-Ḥaydar, known as Gunda-niwīs ("the majuscule writer"), was the teacher of 'Abdullāh Ṣayrafī (Mīr Sayyid-Aḥmad in Istanbul, TSM, H.2161, fol. 8a). There are no works by the name Ḥaydar; however, he may be the same as Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī, specimens of whose work are found in Istanbul, TSM, H. 2160, fol. 29b (dated 717 [1317]), H. 2310, fol.

Mawlana Abdullah Sayrafi,[22] whose name shines throughout all realms, was the student of Sayyid-Haydar, and the line of tutelage among the calligraphers of Khurasan goes back to Khwaja Abdullah Sayrafi. The line of tutelage among the calligraphers of Iraq goes back to Master Pir-Yahya Sufi,[23] a student of Khwaja Mubarakshah, who, although he did not have the honor to be his direct pupil during his lifetime, did practice calligraphy during his time.

Such is the working of fate: to whom will [the lot] now fall?

Khwaja Abdullah Sayrafi instructed his nephew Shaykh Muhammad Bandgir, [12a] who instructed Mawlana Sa'duddin Tabrizi, [who instructed] Mawlana Shamsuddin Qattabi,[24] who inscribed himself as Shams Sufi. He [instructed] the Unique Master of the Age, Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far Tabrizi,[25] who, in the time of his late majesty Baysunghur Mirza,[26] the son of the late emperor Shahrukh Bahadur,[27] was held in the greatest of respect and, because of his calligraphy, acquired indescribable fame. He is, however, even more famous for his *nasta'liq* script.

His Highness Baysunghur Mirza, who was greatly inclined to calligraphy and patronized calligraphers, himself raised the banner of the pen amidst the fray of calligraphy.

Moreover, Mawlana Abdullah Tabbakh[28] studied under Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far and, in truth, the tongue of the pen falls short of doing justice to him. Despite the aforementioned Mawlana's perfect expertise, some were jealous of him and pitted themselves against him, such as Mawlana Muhammad [b.] Husam,[29] who is known as Shams Baysun-

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97b (dated 717), and B.411, fol. 103b (dated 718 [1318]).

[21]Of Yūsuf Mashhadī's work there are no examples in the Istanbul albums, but he is mentioned by Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (*Manāqib-i hunarwarān*, p. 23), who calls him Mullā Yūsuf Khurāsānī, and Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Gulistān-i hunar*, 22), who says that after serving Yāqūt he left Iraq for Tabrīz and that 'Abdullāh Ṣayrafī studied with him. The "Seven Masters Album" (made for Bāysunghur Mīrzā and now in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2310) lists the "seven" as (1) Yāqūt, (2) Mubārakshāh, (3) Arghūn, (4) Aḥmad b. Suhrawardī, (5) 'Abdullāh Ṣayrafī, (6) Pīr-Yaḥyā Ṣūfī, and (7) Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī. Many examples by Yāqūt and his students are also contained in Istanbul, TSM, B.411.

[22]An active epigraphic and architectural calligrapher, particularly during the reign of Öljeitü (1304–17), 'Abdullāh b. Maḥmūd al-Ṣayrafī ornamented many buildings in and around Tabriz. Examples of his work range from an album page dated 710 (1310–11) in Istanbul, TSM, B.411, fol. 70b to a Koran in Istanbul, TIEM, dated 744 (1343–44).

[23]Yaḥyā b. Jamāl al-Ṣūfī was a pupil of Aḥmad al-Rūmī and also studied with Mubārakshāh Zarīn-Qalam. His extant works range from 731 [1330–31] (Bayānī, *AAK*, iv, p. 1233) to 746 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, F.1422, fol. 53a, executed in Shiraz).

[24]Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Gulistān-i hunar*, 25) gives his name as Shamsuddīn Mashriqī Qaṭṭābī and makes him a pupil of Mu'īnuddīn, a pupil of Ḥājjī Muḥammad Banddūz, who was Ṣayrafī's student and also teacher of Shaykh Muḥammad Bandgir.

[25]Farīduddīn Ja'far b. 'Alī Tabrīzī was the supervisor of the library at Herat under Shāhrukh and Bāysunghur. His earliest dated work is a *Dīwān* of Ḥasan Dihlawī dated 820 (Tehran, Majlis); the latest work bearing his signature is a *Kalīla u Dimna* dated 835 (Istanbul, TSM, H.362).

[26]Bāysunghur Mīrzā, 799–837/1397–1434.

[27]Shāhrukh (779–850/1377–1447), son of Amīr Tīmūr, ruled in Khurāsān 807–50/1404–47.

[28]Shihābuddīn 'Abdullāh Harawī, known as Ṭabbākh and Āshpaz (cook), whose known works range in date from 833 (Tehran, Sulṭan al-Qurrā'ī Collection, album page) to 866 (*Ḥifẓ al-āyāt*, Tehran, Bayānī Collection). He also made the inscriptions at Gāzargāh in Herat and in the Āghācha Mosque in Mashhad.

[29]His extant dated works range from 821 (*Humāy u Humāyūn* by Khwājū Kirmānī,

ghuri and is well known as a student of Mawlana Ma'ruf.[30]

Mawlana Ma'ruf was a contemporary of Mawlana Ja'far and, together with Mawlana Abdullah, was the tutor of the aforementioned Mawlana Shams, whose writing never reached the heights of Mawlana Abdullah's. Mawlana Ma'ruf was a student of Mawlana Sa'duddin Iraqi, who was a student of Pir-Yahya Sufi.

The learned and erudite Khwaja Shihabuddin Abdullah Bayani learned the basic scripts from Mawlana Abdullah Tabbakh and practiced the *ta'liq* character from Khwaja Tajuddin Salmani. The pen's tongue is incapable of describing their excellence.

[Abdullah Bayani's] eldest son, the most learned and erudite Khwaja Nuruddin Muhammad-Mu'min,[31] who in the basic scripts is today the first of the age and the second of two after that unique one, has been ennobled by the supervision and directorship of the glorious library of his royal majesty.

Khwaja Tajuddin Salmani, who was the founder of the *ta'liq* script and who codified its rules, is admired for his skill in composition. After him Mawlana Abdul-Hayy Munshi, who perfected this craft and was held in great honor and respect as the felicitous emperor Sultan Abu-Sa'id's secretary, reached the pinnacle of perfection.[32]

Mawlana Mu'in Isfizari was one of Mawlana Abdul-Hayy's best students, and his calligraphy and composition **[12b]** are not unadmired by the great of the age. Mawlana Darwesh Abdullah Munshi[33] was his student, and in *ta'liq* he surpassed not only his own teacher but also most practitioners of this script.

An Exposition of the Masters of Nasta'liq

The inventor of *nasta'liq* script was the master "Qiblat al-Kuttab" Khwaja Zahiruddin Mir-Ali Tabrizi, and the line of discipleship can go no further back than to him.[34]

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. NF 382) to 833 (*Kalila u Dimna*, Istanbul, TSM, R.1022).

[30]Mawlānā Ma'rūf, a calligrapher formerly in the employ of Iskandar-Sulṭān in Shīrāz, brought to Herat by Shāhrukh. See Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabib al-siyar*, III, 616. A rare specimen of his calligraphy, undated, exists in Tehran; see Badri Atabay, *Fihrist-i dīwānhā-yi khaṭṭī-i kitābkhāna-i salṭanatī*, 440.

[31]Extant dated works range from 924 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi F.1422, fol. 56a) to 947 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2151, fol. 8a).

[32]Sulṭān Abū-Sa'īd Kürägän, ruled in Samarqand 855–73/1451–69 and in Herat 863–73/1459–69.

[33]A specimen dated 917 is found in Istanbul, TSM, H.2161, fol. 182b.

[34]Despite his universal fame as the "originator of nasta'līq," no uncontestable example of Mīr-'Alī Tabrīzī's work has been discovered. The nearest thing is a collection of *mathnawīs* by Khwājū Kirmānī (London, BL, Add. 18113) written by one 'Alī b. Ilyās al-Tabrīzī al-Bāwurchī in Baghdad in 798/1395–96, which would be approximately the correct time for him, although "the" Mīr-'Alī Tabrīzī is usually called 'Alī b. Ḥasan. Other attributions to Mīr-'Alī Tabrīzī, which are legion, are patent forgeries. It is clear from books produced in western Iran and Baghdad around the turn of the 14th century that copyists' manuscript hands were undergoing a significant change from the horizontally based *naskh* to a diagonally biased proto-nasta'līq. It is most unlikely that a Mīr-'Alī, or anybody else, "invented" *nasta'līq*, which should be seen as a natural development of scribes and calligraphers at that time. It was also quite natural for later generations to seek out an individual to whom the invention *(waḍ')* could be attributed: an identical tendency to eponymize was manifested in practically every field of human endeavor.

His son Khwaja Abdullah[35] was his pupil; and his calligraphy is of such a degree that the cognoscenti of the age cannot distinguish between his writing and that of his father. Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far was his student in this script.

Then, Mawlana Kamaluddin Shaykh Mahmud Zarin-Qalam[36] was a student of Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far. Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar[37] was also Mawlana Ja'far's student, but he was a calligrapher of such a rank that the masters of this art consider his writing better than his master's.

Mawlana Ja'far Khalifa, who was Mawlana Ja'far's eldest son, and Mawlana Miraki, a son of Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar, both became calligraphers and were patronized by sultans.

The pious Hafiz Hajji Muhammad, the teacher of Mawlana Sultan-Ali, was a pupil of Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar, but he also had the honor to be a student of Mawlana Ja'far.

Mawlana Sultan-Ali,[38] along with his erudition, excellent qualities in poetry and the skills of the age and good character, has taken *nasta'liq* to such an extremity that no one, from beginning to end, can ever surpass or even vie with him, and his glorious name shall endure forever in the annals of the world.

Next, Mawlana Nizamuddin Abdul-Rahim Khwarazmi,[39] known as Mawlana Anisi, wrote a very graceful, clear and pleasing character in which no one could challenge him. He was a contemporary of Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadi.

The excellent Mawlana Sultan-Ali Qayini[40] was in the service of the late Sultan Ya'qub,[41] from whom he received much patronage.

The learned and pious Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad [b.] Nur[42] was a pupil of Mawlana Mu'inuddin Wa'iz and was one of the outstanding of the age in *nasta'liq* script, particularly in writing in colors, for generally color **[13a]** has not flowed so nicely from anyone else's pen, and few have equaled him for accomplishment and purity in the profession of scribe. From his youth until his sixty-third year, which were the years of his life, he was always devoted and pious.

The excellent, beloved Sultan-Muhammad Khandan[43] was very modest and af-

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[35]Elsewhere called 'Ubaydullāh (see Mīr Sayyid-Aḥmad's introduction to the Amīr Ghayb Bēg Album, Istanbul TSM H.2161, fol. 8b). There exists a *Dīwān* of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāyir dated 809 (Istanbul, TSM H.909) and twice signed by 'Ubaydullāh b. 'Alī al-Kātib al-Sulṭānī.

[36]Extant dated works range from 846 (Tehran, Imperial Library, Koran) to 871 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2153, fol. 75a, at Sawa).

[37]Extant dated works range from 824/1421 (Manchester, Rylands Library, Pers. 6, *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī) to 877/1472–73 (Lahore, Punjab Univ., *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, at Isfahan).

[38]There are dated works signed by Sulṭān-'Alī ranging from 857/1453 to 926/1520. Though it is not totally without the realm of possibility for a calligrapher to have worked for 69 years, it is extremely unlikely. Many of the later dates either are "licensed signatures" by his students or belong to other Sulṭān-'Alīs, such as the elusive 'Alī Sabz Mashhadī, or are outright forgeries.

[39]Extant dated works range from 864/1459–60 (Tehran, Bayānī Collection, *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ) to 899/1493–94 (Tehran, Bayānī Collection, *Dīwān* of Anīsī).

[40]Extant dated works range from 884/1479–80 (Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 252, *Zubdat al-ḥaqāyiq* of 'Ayn al-Qaḍāt al-Hamadānī) to 898/1492–93 (Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Salṭanatī, Atabay 80, *Dīwān* of Jāmī).

[41]Sulṭān Ya'qūb, Aqqoyunlu sultan, ruled at Tabrīz 884–96/1479–91.

[42]Extant dated works range from 912/1506–7 (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mxt. 131, fol. 17a, specimen) to 957/1550 (London, British Library, Or.4124, *Ṣifāt al-'āshiqīn* of Hilālī). There is also a *Dīwān* of Ṭūsī in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, No. 1553, with a questionable date of 896.

[43]Extant dated works range from 910/1504–5 (Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 418, *ghazaliyyāt* of Amīr Shāhī; possibly also London, BL, Or. 8760 dated 888) to 935/1528–29 (Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka, *Dīwān* of Nawā'ī).

fable. He wrote solidly and with gusto and was a student of Mawlana Sultan-Ali.

The late Mawlana Muhammad Abrishami,[44] a pupil of Mawlana Sultan-Ali, became an acknowledged master.

The rarity of the age, Mawlana Kamaluddin Mir Jan, known as Ali al-Husayni,[45] cannot be described by the pen's tongue or by the two-tongued pen, so no attempt will be made.

Mawlana Muhammad-Qasim [b. Shadishah][46] wrote very gracefully, cleanly and pleasingly. He was a pupil of Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad Nur and also received instruction from Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad Khandan.

The eloquent Khwaja Ibrahim[47] is a student of Mawlana Muhammad Nur, by whom he is highly and excellently regarded. He writes a very nice, clean line.

The lineage of the masters of calligraphy being beyond ennumeration, the prancing steed of the pen will be checked from crossing that valley. Inasmuch as [specimens of] their writing will be included in this tome, a description of the calligraphy and appreciation of the subtlety of the pen of those who are most famous in this regard will be held up to the gaze of connoisseurs and cognoscenti, and hence they need not be discussed here.

[44]Extant dated works range from 910/1504–5 (Tashkent, Akademia, 6149/5293, *Haft awrang* of Jāmī) to 923/1517 (Istanbul, TIEM, 2011, *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* of 'Aṭṭār).

[45]Extant dated works range from 919/1513–14 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi FY 477, *Būstān* of Sa'dī) to 950/1543–34 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 1958, *Gulistān* of Sa'dī) and possibly a *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* of Jāmī in Dublin, Beatty Library 215 with a questionable date of 955.

[46]Extant dated works range from 924/1518 (Istanbul, Nuru Osmaniye 3825, *Qirān al-sa'dayn* of Amīr Khusraw) to 959/1552 (Washington, Sackler Gallery S86.0339, calligraphic specimen).

[47]A single dated work is found in Istanbul, TSM H.2154, fol 144a, dated 933/1527.

Our works point to us: gaze after us at our works.

And praise be to God first and last, inwardly and outwardly.

An Introduction to the Painters and Limners of the Past

It is etched on the minds of the masters of the arcane that the garden of painting and illumination is an orchard of perfect adornment; and the arrangement and embellishment of Korans, which bespeak the glorification of the Word of the Necessarily Exalted, are connected to the pen and bound to the design and drawing of the masters of this noble craft.

It has been recorded that the first person to adorn with painting and illumination the writing of the Word that is necessarily welcomed was the Prince of the Faithful and Leader of the Pious, the Conquering Lion of God...Ali ibn Abi-Talib, and the gates of this commodity were opened to this group by the key of that majesty's pen. A few leaves *(barg)*, known in the parlance of painters as *islami*,[48] were invented by him.

If, by the externality of the religious law,[49] the masters of depictation hang their head in shame, nonetheless what is gained from the writings of the great is that this craft originated with the prophet Daniel.

It has been related that after the Prophet [Muhammad]'s death, some of his companions went to Byzantium with the purpose of presenting Islam. In that realm they met an emperor named Hercule. After many strange and wonderful things happened, [the emperor] inquired after the Prophet and asked of his deeds and acts. Thereupon he had brought a chest, which he opened. In it there appeared to those present a marvellous portrait that astonished the group. Since the onlookers were so gratified and pleased

[48]*Islāmī* = *islimi*, q.v. in Glossary.

[49]In reference to the disapproval of Islamic law for depiction of animate form.

by seeing the portrait, the Companions were asked, "Do you recognize this person?"

"No," said the Companions, "never have our eyes feasted upon such beauty, and never has the gate of illumination from the origin of this likeness opened to us."

"This," said Hercule, "is a portrait of Adam, the Father of Humanity." And thus he continued to show portraits until he produced one with a miraculous visage as luminous as the sun, whose regal being took Adam from the dust of nonexistence and garbed him with a cloak of purity. The admiration that the former portrait had elicited from the onlookers was nullified by the sight of this blessed face, and the perplexity with which they had been struck by the first portrait's beauty ceased with the contemplation of the sun-like beauty of the latter.

You are better than any beautiful form:
God fashioned you after his own image.

When the Companions saw that portrait, teardrops streamed like stars from their eyes, and a longing for the Prophet was reborn in their hearts. Seeing their sadness, agitation and tears, Hercule sought the reason from them.

"This," they said, "is a portrait of our blessed Prophet. Where are these portraits from, for we know that they conform to the actual countenances of the prophets?"

"Adam besought the Divine Court to see the prophets among his offspring," said Hercule. "Therefore [14a] the Creator of All Things sent a chest containing several thousand compartments, in each of which was a piece of silk on which was a portrait of one of the prophets. Inasmuch as that chest came as a witness, it was called the Chest of Testimony *(sanduq al-shahada)*. After attaining his desire Adam placed the chest in his treasure house, which was near the setting place of the sun. Dhu'l-Qarnayn[50] carried it away and gave it to the prophet Daniel, who copied [the portraits] with his miraculous brush."

From that time forward the continuity of portraiture has continued beneath the azure dome of the sky, and the likeness that was painted by Daniel was meticulously preserved by the ruler of Byzantium in his treasury until the time of the death of the Best of Mankind [Muhammad]. Therefore, portraiture is not without justification, and the portraitist's conscience need not be pricked by the thorn of despair.

When the sun of the celest of prophecy, the fourth of the determinator apostles, Jesus son of Mary, became a neighbor of the great luminary [the sun[51]], Mani began to pretend to prophesy and made this claim acceptable in the eyes of the people by cloaking it in portraiture. Since the people expected a miracle of him, he took a span of silk, went into a cave and ordered the entrance closed. When one year had passed from the time of his withdrawal, he emerged and showed the silk. On it he had painted and portrayed the likenesses of humans, animals, trees, birds and various shapes that occur only in the mirror of the mind through the eye of imagination and that sit on the page of possibility in the visible world only with fantastic shapes. The short-sighted ones whose turbid hearts could not reflect the light of Islam, duped by his game, took his painted silk, which was known as the Artangi[52] Tablet, as their copybook for disbelief and refractoriness and, strangest of all, held that silk up as an equal to the Picture Gallery of China, which is known to contain images of all existing things, as the poet Shaykh Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz has said of the two at the beginning of the *Gulistan:*

There is hope that one not frown in boredom, for a garden is not a place of solitude:
If adorned by lordly attention, it is a Chinese Gallery and an Artangi Tablet.[53]

Mostly these things were done by Mani in the regions of Iraq, [14b] but thereafter

[50]Dhū'l-Qarnayn, the Koranic prophet often identified as Alexander of Macedonia. In the legend of Dhū'l-Qarnayn in the Koran he is said to have reached the "setting place of the sun" (*maghrib al-shams*, Kor. 18:86).

[51]Jesus is said to have been assumed to the fourth heaven, which is the sphere of the Sun.

[52]Or, the more common form, Arzhangi.

[53]Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Sa'dī*, ed. Muḥammad-'Alī Furūghī (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1363), p. 33.

he set out for Cathay and did amazing things there too.

Another of the ancients was Shapur, who painted the countenance of Chosroës with his magic brush and every day arrayed his lovely pleasure-palace in a different color, like a damask rose on the stem of acceptability. As there is no further room in this work to expound upon these two matchless ones, and the details are mentioned in the *Khamsa*s of several great [poets],[54] anyone who desires further details may read and discover them in verse.

Then, the custom of portraiture flourished so in the lands of Cathay and the Franks until sharp-penned Mercury scrivened the rescript of rule in the name of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Khudaybanda.[55] Master Ahmad Musa, who was his father's pupil, lifted the veil from the face of depiction, and the [style of] depiction that is now current was invented by him. Among the scenes by him that lighted on the page of the world in the time of the aforementioned emperor, an *Abusa'id-nama*, a *Kalila u Dimna*,[56] a *Mi'rajnama* calligraphed by Mawlana Abdullah Sayrafi, and a *Tarikh-i Chingizi* in beautiful script by an unknown hand were in the library of the late emperor Sultan-Husayn Mirza.[57]

Amir Dawlatyar, a slave *(ghulam)* of Sultan Abu-Sa'id, was ennobled by being a pupil of Master Ahmad Musa and was outstanding in this regard, especially in *qalamsiyahi*, such that, although Mawlana Waliullah was without equal in the world, when he saw Amir Dawlatyar's work he justly confessed his inability [to match it].

One of his students was Master Shamsuddin, who was trained in the time of Sultan Uways[58] and made scenes in a square-format *Shahnama (qat'-i murabba')* that was written by Khwaja Amir-Ali. When Sultan Uways went to his eternal reward, Master Shamsuddin chose not to enter anyone else's service; and his student, Khwaja Abdul-Hayy, undertook [to provide] him with the necessities of life, and the aforementioned master lived in [Abdul-Hayy's] house, constantly enjoying leisure, and devoted himself to training Khwaja Abdul-Hayy so that the Khwaja, in the time of the emperor Sultan-Ahmad of Baghdad,[59] whose countenance shone in patronizing the masters of learning and perfection, took up the pen of uniqueness and instructed Sultan Ahmad in depiction so that the sultan himself produced a scene in the *Abusa'idnama* in *qalamsiyahi*.

When the realm-conquering banners of Timur Kürägän **[15a]** cast the ray of the caliphate in subjugating the realm of Baghdad, and he made that Abode of Peace the residence of the caliphal throne for a few days, Khwaja Abdul-Hayy was taken along with the celestial army to the Abode of the Sultanate Samarqand, where he died. After the Khwaja's death all masters imitated his works.

Another of Shamsuddin's students was Master Junayd of Baghdad.

One of Khwaja Abdul-Hayy's outstanding students was Pir Ahmad Baghshimali, who was unique in his own time, and no one could surpass him in this style. He was fifty years old when he bade farewell to life.

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[54]Among whom, Niẓāmī of Ganja in his *Khusraw u Shīrīn* and Amīr Khusraw of Delhi in his *Shīrīn u Khusraw*.

[55]Abū-Sa'īd, Il-Khanid sultan, reigned 717–36/1317–35.

[56]This may be the *Kalīla u Dimna* now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Manuscrits, Sup. Pers. 913 = Blochet Cat. #2032) completed in 794/1392 and copied by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm; it was once in the library of Shāh Walād, Aḥmad Jalāyir's son. See Gray, "Arts," p. 333, No. 543.

[57]Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Timurid ruler at Herat, 875–912/1470–1506.

[58]Shaykh-Uways I, Jalayirid sultan, ruled at Baghdad 757–76/1356–74.

[59]Sulṭān Aḥmad, Jalayirid sultan, ruled at Baghdad, d. 813/1410.

His Highness Baysunghur Mirza had Master Sidi Ahmad the painter, Khwaja Ali the portraitist and Master Qiwamuddin the bookbinder brought from Tabriz and ordered that after the pleasing manner of Sultan Ahmad of Baghdad's miscellany *(jung)*, they should produce a book in exactly the same format and size *(qat' u mastar)* and with the same scenes depicted. The copying of it was given into the charge of Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far. The binding was commissioned of the aforementioned Master Qiwamuddin, by whom inlay *(munabbatkari)* in bindings was invented; and Mir Khalil was put in charge of decoration and depiction of scenes.

Amir Khalil was at that time without equal or peer in his own line, and the aforementioned prince had showered him with great patronage and day by day so increased his favor towards him that he became an object of jealousy on the part of the high and mighty. One of the strange things that happened to this amir is the following:

> One night, in the company of His Highness [Baysunghur, Amir Khalil] began to joke, but the affair went so far that the heel of his boot unintentionally hit the prince on the forehead. His Highness's forehead was cut, and blood poured from his august head. When the attendants, servants and others present at that marvelous gathering witnessed this event, the fabric of their patience was ripped and they gathered around the prince. In the meantime Amir Khalil, wailing and lamenting, took flight to the chamber in the Chihil Sutun [Palace] where Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far wrote, and locked himself in. Having fled from the valley of boon companionship, he sat down in penitence.
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> When the merciful prince saw that the honor of the sultanate had been spilled onto the ground and the ashes of misfortune had been smeared across the forehead of fortune, he commanded that all entrances and exits to the garden be locked **[15b]** "lest the slightest news reach the hearing of my mother." Then he strove to exonerate Amir Khalil and ordered that he be brought to him lest the fellow's mind be vexed and he be worried over his disgrace. Torches and lanterns were lit, and all parts of the garden were searched until he was found in the aforementioned chamber, the door to which he had fastened tight from the inside. Since the servants realized how compassionate the prince was toward him, they did not break down the door but reported the situation to the prince, who, with all clemency and favor, came to the door of the chamber. Amir Khalil opened the door and fell at the feet of His Highness. The prince kissed him, took him back into the palace into the assembly and, showering him with favor and compassion, bestowed upon him all the silver and china vessels that were in use at the assembly, along with robes of honor of which Chosroës and Jamshid would have been proud. By showing him such generosity, [the prince] delivered him of his shame....

Before the Baysunghurid miscellany was completed, the prince cast off the ship of life from the shore of living into the sea of death, and his eldest son, Ala-'uddawla Mirza, ascended the throne of patronage and called for the miscellany to be finished. Gathering that group together in the library, he gave them generous support. At about this time someone was sent to Tabriz to bring Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Zarkub. When, in obedience to the command, he honored the library with his presence, he ennobled the leaves of painting in Herat with the subtlety of his brush and touched up *(qalamgiri)* some places in the scenes of the miscellany and painted with captivating colors and finished it off with blood, sweat and tears. **[16a]** Amir Khalil passed over those paradise-like gardens with the eye of equity and, in giving him his due, declared that he [Amir Khalil] would henceforth abandon depiction and consider himself exempt from concern with it.

> From an old man of wisdom the truth is best: a rational person entertains no doubt whether boastfulness be best.
> When the desired form is manifested from the invisible world, like a mirror, the surface of a pure heart is best.

Thereafter, His Conquering Highness Ulughbeg Kürägän invaded Khurasan on the steed of agility from Samarqand and, in accordance with the destiny of the

Omnipotent ("thou givest rule to whom thou willest"), overturned Ala'uddawla Mirza's banner of fortune and, raising the Ulughbegid victory banner to the summit of the heavens in accordance with the [verse], "We have given you a clear victory," circumscribed Khurasan with his subjugation.[60] He took Mawlana Shihabuddin Abdullah, Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar and all the others of the library under the shadow of Kürägänid bounty and carried them to Samarqand, where he showed them great favor, made them his attendants and, having commissioned them to copy the history of his excellent time, showed them kindness increasing from day to day—nay, from hour to hour. The pen is incapable of describing the extent of that emperor's patronage and encouragement.

Then there is Amir Ruhullah, known as Mirak Naqqash, originally from Herat and one of the bowmaker sayyids. At first he was engaged in memorizing the Koran and practicing writing, but after his father's death he was inclined to be a copyist. Since he was of the bowmaking sayyids, he also practiced that trade. Later he entered the service of Mawlana Waliullah and took up outlining *(tahrir)* and illumination *(tadhhib)*, but he gave that up too and took a fancy to depiction, in which craft he became without equal or peer. In the time of the late Sultan-Husayn Mirza[61] he was shown favor and, among other things, was given the post of royal librarian.

The pupil and son of the aforementioned sayyid, the most excellent of the moderns in depiction, pride of the ancients in illumination and outlining, the rarity of the age, Master Kamaluddin Bihzad, is beyond all description. In this album [his work] is much in evidence, and he had the honor of being attached to the royal library of His Majesty [16b] the Sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp the Safavid the Musavid the Husaynid Bahadur Khan, by whom he was shown great favor and at whose court he bade farewell to life and was buried next to the grave of the great poet Shaykh Kamal in Tabriz. The chronogram for his death is "Cast a glance at THE DUST OF BIHZAD'S GRAVE,"[62] which was composed by Amir Dost Hashimi.

A Mention of the Scribes of the Royal Library Who Are Renowned for Their Calligraphy

First, Mawlana Shah-Mahmud,[63] who with his graceful script *(khatt)* and beautiful writing has stolen the down *(khatt)* from adolescents' cheeks, and whose gift for verse is accepted worldwide, is originally from Nishapur. His calligraphic style was learned from his maternal uncle, the eloquent Mawlana Abdi Nishapuri,[64] and his good qualities and pleasing characteristics are beyond description.

Then there is the writer of majuscule and minuscule script, Mawlana Kamaluddin Rustam-Ali,[65] who is foremost among modern calligraphers in writing in colored ink and in proficiency.

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[60]Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän (796–853/1394–1449) occupied Herat in 852/1448.

[61]Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Mirzā (842–911/1438–1506), ruled in Herat 872–911/1468–1506.

[62]*Khāk-i qabr-i Bihzād* = 942.

[63]Shāh-Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī's many known dated works range from 922/1516 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2156, fol. 63b) to 979/1571–72 (Istanbul, TSM, H.750, *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī).

[64]His few dated works range from 928/1522 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, fol. 86b) to 940/1533–34 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, fol. 92a); undated works abound.

[65]Albums contain a few specimens of his calligraphy, but only one dated specimen has been located, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi F.1422, fol. 69b, dated 945/1538 .

Then there is Mawlana Nizamuddin Shaykh-Muhammad,[66] who in speed and power of pen is unequaled in the world.

Next is Mawlana Nuruddin Abdullah,[67] a scribe from Shiraz who in beauty of writing and speed of copying is not to be excelled.

Then there is this humble one, Dost-Muhammad,[68] who like a pen has spent his life placing the head of devotion on the line of obedience and who has given the writ of servitude over to those who dwell in this angel-protected court. He has flecked the page of the ground of service with the gold of his cheek and added to the leaves of eulogy a patch of unhypocritical praise.

My pen, which has scriven the words of your praise, is renowned in all regions for eulogizing you.
Like the pen, I am all tongue in praising you. My head is ever on the line of your command, like the pen.

Since the writers have been mentioned in every chapter of this introduction, if I be so bold as to make mention of the artists, it may not be out of place. [17a]

The Portraitists and Painters of the Royal Library

First is the rarity of the age, Master Nizamuddin Sultan-Muhammad, who has developed depiction to such a degree that, although it has a thousand eyes, the celestial sphere has not seen his like. Among his creations depicted in His Majesty's *Shahnama* is a scene of people wearing leopard skins:[69] it is such that the lion-hearted of the jungle of depiction and the leopards and crocodiles of the workshop of ornamentation quail at the fangs of his pen and bend their necks before the awesomeness of his pictures.

With the pen of his fingertips, on the tablet of vision, he has drawn a different version at each and every instant.

Next is the sayyid, unique of the age, intimate of the royal personnage, Aqa Jalaluddin Mirak al-Husayni al-Isfahani, the likes of whose pictures the brush of ornamentation has never painted in the studio of depiction....

Next is the sayyid of immaculate brush, the unique among the nations, Mir Musawwir....

These two matchless sayyids in [the service of] the royal library have mixed such colors and painted such faces—especially in the royal *Shahnama* and the *Khamsa* of Nizami[70]—that if I begin to speak of them not only would it take too long but the pen would also be incapable of describing them. Among [the things they did] for the ornamentation of a *jamkhana* for the sun of the royal celest, the bouquet of the kingly garden, not even a whiff of which could be adequate-

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[66]Extant dated works range from 970/1562–63 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2137, fol. 18b) to 976/1568–69 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2151, fol. 39a).

[67]May be identified with 'Abdullāh b. Shaykh-Murshid al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī, by whom was copied a *Kulliyyāt* of Sa'dī in 960/1553 (Istanbul, TSM H.739).

[68]Extant dated works range from 938/1531–32 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2156, fol. 31b, at Herat) to 972/1564–65 (Tehran, Sipahsālār, *Majālis al-'ushshāq*).

[69]The painting referred to is "The Court of Gayumars" in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's *Shāhnāma*, fol. 20b., reproduced by Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University: 1979), p. 17. All illustrations from the Ṭahmāsp *Shāhnāma* have been reproduced in Martin B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum, 1981).

[70]The *Khamsa* is housed in the British Library, Or. 2265. The MS is dated from Jumada II 946 (1539) to Dhu'l-Hijja 949 (1543) at Tabriz. It was calligraphed by Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī and contains miniatures signed by Mīrzā 'Alī, Sulṭān-Muḥammad, Mir Sayyid-'Alī, Āqā Mirak and Muẓaffar-'Alī. When the MS passed into the possession of the Mughals miniatures were added by Muḥammad-Zamān in 1086/1675–76.

ly described, they made two *sipars*[71] arched like the infatuating bowed eyebrows of beauties and unrivaled in the gallery of the world. Oh, what a *jam-khana!* Were I to call it a world-revealing mirror, it would not be out of place. Its mirrors have broken the splendor of the azure celest, and the master who made it has shackled the hands of the craftsmen of the world. It is a heaven adorned with stars, a place decorated with the likenesses of people. It is a paradise without shortcoming, an Eden resplendent with serving-boys and houris. Its carpets would dazzle the eyes of the great; its threshold is kissed by the mighty. Like the hearts of the enlightened it gazes with the eye of its heart in every direction, and people of insight are **[17b]** amazed and astounded by it....

Then there is the portraitist and poet Mawlana Muhammad known as Qadimi, who, knowing that content is more important than form, has painted and spoken things as they ought to be.

Next is the incomparable line-artist *(tarrah)* Master Kamaluddin Husayn the perfection of whose every *band-i rumi* and *ktrma*[72] is unfathomable to even the most discerning eye and has never been equaled by the painters of China. He has great prowess in painting.

Then there is Master Kamaluddin Abdul-Ghaffar, whose essence is beyond comparison.

Then there is Master Hasan-Ali, who is also second to none.

[71]The MS has *sipar* (shield); clearly *sipihr* (celestial vault) is intended.

[72]Clearly written in the MS as *KTRMH*. No known technical term of painting or illumination approaches this spelling. The configuration of consonants suggests the Turkish *gätirmä* (bringing forth, even product), which would not be out of place, but it is unattested elsewhere in such a context.

The Limners of the Sublime Library

First is the illuminator of the pages of intrinsic meaning, the mine of human perfection, Mirak al-Mudhahhib, who has so adorned the chain stitching *(zanjira)* of the line of inimitability and the title panel *(lawha)* of expertise that all discerning people who have seen his work have loosed their tongues in praise.

His peerless son, Qiwamuddin Mas'ud, has made from the rays of shooting stars vined ruling and has created abodes of burnished gold in his sunbursts.

Master Kamaluddin Abdul-Wahhab is a worthy artisan known as Khwaja Kaka. His work is unexcelled among bookbinders,[73] and he is second to none as an intimate companion.

Then there is widely imitated inventor Mawlana Muhsin the leatherworker, who has stripped the skin off craftsmen and bound the sun and moon together with chains of kettle stitching. Although he torments the scribes, their hearts are patient with him and their minds are given joy by the binding of his love.

Since a mention of those who labor in the royal library was deemed necessary in this introduction, I have dared to mention each of them.

So long as the names of Venus and the moon are in the celest,
So long as Mars (Bahram) remains at the apex of the heavens,
So long as the celest is patchworked by the moon and sun,
May there be this book of Prince Bahram.

When this album was completed, a crier came forth from the host of angels to give congratulations on this calligraphy, depiction and illumination.
For the library of the prince, the moon of the zodiac of power, the flower of happiness and joy, the celestial sphere of perfection, Bahram Mirza, unrivalled by anyone anywhere.

[73]Reading *shirāza'īān* for the text's *shirāzīān*.

When the date of completion was sought, I
said, "Abu'l-Fath Bahram the Just."[74]

[74]The chronogram *(Abū'l-Fatḥ Bahrām-i 'ādil-nihādī)* yields 951 (A.D. 1544).

Mâlik Daylami

Preface to the Amir Husayn Beg Album

The preface to this splendid album of calligraphy and painting (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2151[1]) begins with lengthy prefatory remarks, which include an encomium of Amir Husayn Beg, son of Amir Hasan Beg the Yüzbashï (Centurion), and Shah Tahmasp's treasurer under whose auspices the album was put together by Mâlik Daylami in 958/1560–61.

❁

...**[98a]** Likewise the incomparable of the age Master Muzaffar-Ali, who is both a direct student and relative of the renowned Master Bihzad and who, even more so than him in garnering the crafts of mastery, with his delightfully painted pages and drawings of combat (*arqam-i girift u gir*), has adorned the script and calligraphy of past [masters] by decoupage and outlining (*qat' u tahrir*) and has been constantly encouraged by that kind and beneficent lord [Amir Husayn Beg] so that in a short span of time by the efforts of these two expert artists the Hafiz of the Glorious Word, Mulla Masihullah the illuminator (*mudhahhib*), and Jalal Beg the goldflecker *(afshangar)*, the leaves **[98b]** of this album have been organized better than could be imagined, and the margins of these folios have been decorated and illuminated in gilt by the aforementioned Master Muzaffar-Ali.

The chief of the masters by whose calligraphy this album is adorned is the unparalleled Yaqut of the age, Mawlana Sultan-Ali al-Mashhadi, every dot of whose sweetly moving pen speaks in his praise; how then could the scratchy pen of the likes of us describe him? ...His line of tutelage goes back to Mawlana Azhar of Herat, and though he did not actually study with him, **[33a]** he practiced from his writings and specimens.

Mawlana Azhar was a student of Ja'far Tabrizi, who was a student of Khwaja Amir-Ali Tabrizi, who was the founder of this [*nasta'liq*] script but after whom by degrees the purity and clarity *(tezi)* of the pen was increased until Sultan-Ali perfected it, [though] his command and creativity were such that he wrote in various styles. Every student [thereafter] merely took gleanings from his harvest and crumbs from his table. Among his

[1]Abbreviated text in Bayani, *AAK*, 601–607. The folios of this introduction have been bound at random throughout the album, and one folio is now in another album altogether (H.2161). The order in which the folios of the introduction should be read is: 1b, 2, 74, 25, 23 [there appears to be a missing folio here], 98, 33 [after which there is a lacuna of one or more missing folios], H.2161 folio 2a (the end of the introduction).

students, those who are more famous [and] have representative works in this album are Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, Sultan-Muhammad Nur, Ala'uddin Muhammad Harawi, Zaynuddin Mahmūd Damad, the teacher of the unsurpassable Mir-Ali, Abdi Nishapūri, the teacher and maternal uncle of Shah-Mahmūd Nishapuri, Ghiyathuddin Mudhahhib, Muhammad Abrishami, Muhammad-Qasim [b.] Shadishah, Shamsuddin Muhammad Kirmani, Pir-Ali Jami, and the superb Rustam-Ali. [33b] He is the intermediary through whom Hafiz Baba Jan Udi, the present writer [Malik Daylami], and Master Muzaffar-Ali all derive their discipline from Sultan-Ali.

The two most famous students of Mir-Ali are Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi and Khwaja Mahmud b. Ishaq Shihabi.

Then there is the poet and calligrapher Ayshi Harawi, a student of Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, and Yari Harawi, a student of Muhammad-Qasim Shadishah.

Among the masters of other styles, some of whom were contemporary with Sultan-Ali Mashhadi and others of whom were prior to him, the best of them is Abdul-Rahim Khwarazmi, known as Anisi, who was a student of Azhar but improved [his style] with complexity. His brother Abdul-Karim Khwarazmi was his student. Sultan-Ali Qayini and Sultan-Ali Sabz Mashhadi were Azhar's students.

Shaykh-Muhammad Imami and his brother Ghaybullah Imami, who were born at Herat but lived in Gilan, were students of Azhar. Shaykh Mahmūd Zarin-Qalam, who wrote a *Khamsa* in the *ghubar* script, was a contemporary of Azhar and a student of Ja'far Tabrizi...

[H.2161 2a] In truth an album has been completed which would be suitable for the critics of the treasurehouses of calligraphy and pictures always to gaze intently into... [chronogram gives date of completion as 968/1560-61[2]].

[2]As currently bound, H.2151 contains many calligraphies dated after 968. The latest dated piece is on folio 45a and is dated 992. Mâlik supposedly died in 969/1561–62.

Mir Sayyid-Ahmad

Preface to the Amir Ghayb Beg Album

Mir Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi compiled the Amir Ghayb Beg Album (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi H.2161) in 972/1564–65. Like Dost-Muhammad and Mâlik Daylami before him, he includes in his preface an apologia and short history of calligraphy and painting.

❁

Art is known as the key to wisdom. What is
the key to art? The nib of the pen.
The pen is a designer of patterns, an
"unveiler of faces" *(chihragushay)*. Two
types of pen were created by God:
One comes from vegetal matter: the reed
turns agreeable for the writer.
The other type is animal: it scatters pearls
from the Fountain of Life.[1]
By the painter of a picture that would fool
Mani is the workshop of art adorned.

The type that is vegetal sweetens the palate of the noble scribes who are representatives of the recording angels and those who write certain knowledge. According to the dictum of the chosen one of the register of existence, select of God's court, the Arabian prophet Muhammad al-Abtahi—upon whom be the best of prayers and most perfect of salutations—"He who writes 'in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful' in a beautiful script will enter paradise without question." [7b] By the teaching of him to whom honor is incumbent, the tutor of the garden of nobility, sweet-tongued preacher in the realm of the imamate, the *sarlawh* of the *debacha* of *wisayat*, guided by the inscription of the register of the city of knowledge, of which Ali is the gate, the Moses of the Sinai of "ask me before you lose me," majesty of the station of Aaron,[2]

Lion of God, king of sainthood Ali, effacer
of polytheism open and hidden

everyone is commanded to strive to attain this noble occupation and honorable craft when he said, "Have beautiful writing, for it is among the keys to sustenance."

Before the scripts now current were employed and the workshop of knowledge was adorned like this album with gems of calligraphy and marvellous designs, [8a] the script that illuminated the eyes of the enlightened with the divine inspiration of the Prophet's commands and prohibitions was the Kufic script, and there are still extant miraculous specimens of the handwriting of the majesty of sainthood [Ali b. Abi-Talib] that give light to the soul's eye and clarity to the tablet of the mind.

[1] The pun involving *ḥayawānī* ('animal') and *āb-i ḥayāt* ('water of life') is not reproduceable in English.

[2] 'Alī is said to have occupied the relationship to Muhammad that Aaron had to Moses.

In the year 310 [A.D. 922] Ibn Muqla derived from the Kufic the six scripts known as the Six Pens, viz. *thuluth*, *naskh*, *muhaqqaq*, *rayhan*, *tawqi'* and *riqa'*. After him, Ali b. Hilal, who is known as Ibn Bawwab, was the master of [these] scripts. After him were Yaqut Musta'simi and his six students, viz. Shaykhzada Suhrawardi, Arghun Kamili, Nasrullah Tabib, Mubarakshah Zarin-Qalam, Yusuf Mashhadi, and Sayyid-Haydar "Gundaniwis" (majuscule writer). After them were Pir Yahya Sufi, student of Zarin-Qalam, and Khwaja Abdullah Sayrafi, student of Sayyid-Haydar. Sayrafi was the teacher [8b] of Hajji Muhammad Bandgir, who was the teacher of Shamsuddin Qattabi. After him, his sons, Abdul-Hayy and Abdul-Rahim Khalwati, and his student Ja'far Tabrizi were the masters of the realm of calligraphy. Ja'far was the teacher of Abdullah Tabbakh and all the other calligraphers of Khurasan. Abdul-Rahim Khalwati was the teacher of Ni'matullah Bawwab, who was the teacher of Shamsuddin Thani Tabrizi. Other calligraphers in Iraq, Khurasan, Fars and Kerman who have acquired repute are mere gleaners of these [aforementioned] masters. So much for the family tree of the six scripts.

The story of *naskh-ta'liq* is as follows. The founder was Mir-Ali Tabrizi, whose son Ubaydullah became the master of his age in this script. [9a] Ja'far was a student of Ubaydullah and the teacher of Azhar, who taught Sultan-Ali Mashhadi, whose calligraphy outshines that of the other masters as the sun outshines the stars. After him, calligraphy reached a high level with his students Muhammad Abrishami, Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, Sultan-Muhammad Nur, and Zaynuddin Mahmud, who was the teacher of Sayyid Mir-Ali, who is known as Mir Ali and whose calligraphy is at present considered on a par with that of Sultan-Ali.

Other famous calligraphers who write in the style of Sultan-Ali Mashhadi are: [Sultan-] Ali Qayini, Sultan-Ali Sabz Mashhadi, Shah-Mahmud [9b] Nishapuri, Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi, Mir Ali's student, and Malik Daylami, Mir Jan's student who has taken first place among his peers. Now this splendid album is adorned by some of these.

Abdul-Rahman Khwarazmi introduced a change in this group['s style]; and his two sons, Abdul-Rahim known as Anisi and Abdul-Karim known as Padishah, were masters of his method. Anisi's style is well known, and the scribes of Shiraz mostly follow him.

The *ta'liq* script is taken from the *riqa'*. Khwaja Taj[uddin] Salmani was the master of this script, and next to him was Abdul-Hayy Astarabadi Munshi. The line of *ta'liq* writers descends from these two. From Khwaja Abdul-Hayy [10a] there are two styles current. One is extremely flowing and fluid, the rescripts of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän were written in this style; and the *munshis* of Khurasan such as Darwesh, Amir Mansur and Khwaja Jan Jibra'il wrote in it. The other is perfectly solid, mature and tasteful, and the edicts of Hasan Beg, Ya'qub Beg and the Aqqoyunlu sultans were written in it. The *munshis* of Azerbaidjan and Iraq, especially Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi, Darwish and others, follow this style, which is pleasing to the cognoscenti of Iraq.

*

Now, the pen that mimics life *(hayawani)* is the hair brush *(qalam-i mu)* by the aid of which Manichæan[3] magicians and sorcerers of Cathay and Europe have become enthroned over the realm of art *(hunar)* and designers in the workshop of fate and destiny. Inasmuch as the unveilers of the beauty of this creative craft *(fann)* postulate a true connection of this

[3] *Mānī-farhang*, meaning that they paint as beautifully as Mani: no religious connotation is intended.

art with the miraculous pen/brush **[10b]** of the Sun of the Five Members of the Folk of the Cloak, i.e., Ali [b. Abi-Talib] the Elect, and hold fast to [the belief that] among the specimens of his writing decorated with their illumination they have seen with their own eyes the subscription "written by Ali b. Abi-Talib." In this connection there is the following versified tale:

I have heard that the painters *(suratgar)* of Cathay, when first they began to paint *(suratgushay)*,
mixed colors of their heart's blood and produced images of the roses and tulips.
Their brushes of hair became as thin as a strand of hair from their desire for minuteness.
They adorned a page with flowers as beautifully and gracefully as they desired.
They called it Cathaian because the Khata'i pen succeeded [in producing it].
When the cycle of prophecy came to the Ahmad, the pen cancelled out all other religions. **[11a]**
The sinners of the Chinese race designed the first image *(sawad)*.
In competition they adorned a page and challenged the king of apostles to produce its like.
Not a page adorned with designs but a tray filled with tulips and roses.
They took it from the essence of infidel-heartedness in competition before the King of Men Ali.
When the king of sainthood saw that drawing, he seized the pen from them in inimitability.
He drew a charming *islami* that astonished the people of Cathay.
When that prototype fell into their hands, all other designs were lesser in their view.

It is no secret that the amazing images and wonderful motifs of the practitioners of this craft are well known in every region and are the object of contemplation for those possessed of insight. The imaginative power and elegance of nature that this group has, no one of the other arts possesses. The beauty that unveils her face in the tablet of the painter's mind **[11b]** is not reflected in everyone's imagination.

They say there was a king, with a countenance like the moon, a sun in station.
He had an unopened narcissus in the garden, as splendid as the tulip—
A companion who held the coin of art in his sleeve.
He could draw like Mani, and when he made depictions his drawing resembled the design of fate.
When he drew water on a stone, all who saw it broke their jugs.
If he were to draw a line around the moon, the moon would not see the darkness of the end of the month.
From the essence of wetness/limpidity he had in his brush he imparted traces of life to his drawings.
His drawing was of the style of China; his depiction was calamitous to religion.
From the realm of the soul he had a hundred bravos; his pen possessed life itself. **[12a]**
However, this king as mighty as the sun could be as wrathful as the celestial sphere, and he looked upon his Mani with one eye.[4]
He had another companion who could draw like Mani, and this one had hatred hidden in his heart for [the first painter].
He wanted to make a trick, to beat him with deception.
He made a plan that the world emperor should request a portrait of himself.
That painter as able as Mani imagined to himself the picture of the king.
He took a page and drew on it with successful nature the king with an arrow in his hand, angrily removing a bend from it with the corner of his eye.
To remove crookedness from an arrow one must close one eye.
By this novel image that artist removed the knot from the thread of craft.
When the king discovered his magical thought, he was rewarded with two kingdoms for his pains. **[12b]**
From the one the reward of his art, and from the other the reward of his imagination.
By these means he crushed his rival, who sat without hope in a corner of agony.

Just as in calligraphy the Six Pens are basic, in this craft there are seven [funda-

[4]To see someone with one eye, or to be one-eyed in Persian means to see superficially.

mental techniques]: *islami* ('Islamic'),[5] *khata'i* ('Chinese'), *farangi* ('European'), *fisali* ('disjointed'), *abr* ('cloud'), [*waq*], and *girih* ('knot').

What marvelous wielders of pens of sorcery
who bestow life with magic-making pens!
Latched onto every created thing, they
reproduce the likeness of every thing.
They follow the God's craft from the
compass of the spheres to the surface of the
earth.
With their gazes fixed on creation, they take
an image from every prototype.
Their craft leads them to the design of the
world, the pen/brush in prostration, upside
down before them.
I do not know what craft they impart to their
pictures that one would think they speak to
people. [13a]
It is not so much a bird whose head has
been struck off by the pen as a moth
fluttering about a candle.

The masters of Fars and Iraq, such as Master Darwish, Khalifa Muhammad-Hayat, Mir Musawwir and his son Mir Sayyid-Ali, Khwaja Abdul-Razzaq, Khwaja Abdul-Wahhab and his son Khwaja Abdul-Aziz, and Sayyid Mirak are all unequaled in the various techniques of this unparalleled craft.... **[13b]**

Since there are more masters of this craft than can be reckoned or enumerated, we shall content ourselves with only the latter-day masters.

The masters of Khurasan, such as Khwaja Mirak, Hajji Muhammad, Master Qasim-Ali Chihra-gushay and Master Bihzad, are unrivalled. Among them, [I] chanced to meet Master Bihzad, and truly this master was superior to his peers and contemporaries in the power of his hand and strength of his brush, and what he paints is worthy of a hundred thousand praises.

From the labor of his nimble charcoal, a
paradise of penmanship like Mani.
If Mani had known of him he would have
taken his designs and motifs.
His picture of a bird is so charming that,
like Jesus's bird it comes to life. [14a]
The brush attains such heights because it
takes its place between his two fingers.
When the pen/brush boldly begins *tash'ir*,
the hair is raised on the lion's back.

In short, after these preliminary matters, during the felicitous reign of...Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp Bahadur Khan ..., it was deemed necessary by the humble suppliant of the king Amir Ghayb Beg—since in His Majesty's paradisiacal assemblies and celestial gatherings calligraphy and depiction were discussed—to review and inspect the aforementioned tomes and specimens [of calligraphy] *(qita'at)*. Whereas they had not been arranged or organized, it was difficult, nay impossible to locate any particular thing one wanted, and therefore it was seen as fitting to organize this album so that the confusion would be righted. With the assistance of uncommon masters, able artisans, outstanding connoisseurs of writing and inimitable calligraphers, he undertook for a time to arrange it; and he has actually produced an organization and unveiled an album, every page and specimen of which is worthy of laud and praise....

Inasmuch as the object of these words was to mention some of the superb masters whose works are contained in this album, it is not necessary to be longwinded. Written by the most humble Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi al-Katib, may God forgive his sins and overlook his faults, during the months of the year nine hundred seventy-two [A.D. 1564–65].[6]

[5] A common corruption of *islimi*, see Glossary.

[6] At the end of the album, on folio 190a, a chronogram for completion of the work yields 973 (A.D. 1565–6).

Mirza Muhammad-Haydar Dughlat

Tarikh-i Rashidi

Mirza Muhammad-Haydar Dughlat (1500–1551), a maternal cousin of Babur Mirza and prince of the Turko-Mongolian Dughlat tribe, dedicated his *Tarikh-i Rashidi,* a history of Mughulistan and Kashghar from the mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century and the author's memoirs to 1541, to Abdul-Rashid Khan of Mughulistan.

In his chronicle of the outstanding men of letters and the arts of the late Timurid era he gives several anecdotes on Abdul-Rahman Jami, Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i and the poet Banna'i, and attempts a critical appreciation of the most outstanding calligraphers and artists.[1]

❁

The Poets

Among the poets who were in that glorious time, the greats ones have been mentioned among the saints and ulema, like Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami, who, at the risk of being repetitive, heads the list not only of the saints of Khurasan but also of the ulema and poets. Truly the mention of his name is welcome repeatedly, and wherever people of literary excellence are reckoned, time and again they begin and end with his name. Mawlana Abdul-Ghafur Lari has written in his commentary on the *Nafahat:* "From the beginning to the end of his life the mawlana was always bound by the external appearance of metaphorical [love[2]]. The murmur of love always sounded the drum of domination in the kingdom of his heart. Toward the end of his life I once went into his presence while he was alone performing his ablutions. His blessed arms were swollen and full of brands and scars. I was astonished by this, thinking that no eye had ever seen such luminous, unblemished arms [as he normally had]. He raised his head and saw me. 'For a long time,' he said, 'we practiced being a lover by fashioning in our mind a desirable, pleasant form and then contemplating and viewing it. For a long time, having imagined such a fantasy, we made love to it. Today God has given my arms the form of that imaginary form's arms.' When I looked, the mawlana's arms had returned to their original state."

His poetry is too well known to need any description in this miserable place. However, he has one little-known *ghazal* that has been acknowledged as incomparable. The first line consists of letters no two of which are joined together. The second line consists of words in which

[1]Mirza Muhammad-Haydar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi,* ed. Muhammad Shafi', "Iqtibas az Tarikh-i Rashidi," *Oriental College Magazine* 10/3 (1934): 150–172.

[2]*Majaz* (metaphor) refers to *'ishq-i majazi* (literally, metaphorical love), human love, opposed to *'ishq-i haqiqi,* "real" or mystical love.

every two letters are joined together, and the third line consists of words in which every three letters are joined together, and so on to five. Here is the *ghazal*:[3] **[155]**

I have a pale face from separation from that gate: afflicted with pain and branded inwardly by that wounder of hearts.
My body is so emaciated on the night of separation from you that one would think it was the new moon so slender.
Your down is Khizr, your curly locks are musk of Tibet; your body is silver, and the rubies of your lips are vessels of sugar.
The martyr to love enjoys the pleasure of paradise; heaven eternal is the lot of the miserable.
You are sweet of lip, radiant of countenance, eloquent of speech, ambergris-scented of locks.

The continuation of the *Nafahat* is thirty sections long. Mawlana Abdul-Ghafur apologizes, saying that if he were not concerned about length, he could publish much more of the [saints'] good qualities; but he contented himself with this much. Since my purpose in writing this little bit was something else, my goal will be missed if I write more.

Mir Ali-Sher. His pen name was Nawa'i. No one, either before or after, has written more Turkish poetry than he has. He is a master at this craft, and his Turkish poems are as famous as Mulla [Jami's] Persian poetry. However, Nawa'i has much Persian poetry also, and in Persian he used the pen name Fani. Not only did he compose a "reply" to the divan of Khwaja Hafiz, but the "reply" he composed to Khwaja Khusraw's "*Bahr al-abrar*" *qasida* is better than anyone else's.[4] The first line is as follows:

The fiery ruby that adorns the crown of princes is an ember for cooking raw images in the head.[5]

When His Excellency Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami returned from his trip to the Hejaz, Mir Ali-Sher sent this quatrain to greet him: **[156]**

Tell me true, O azure-hued sphere, which of these two strutted better: your world-illuminating sun from the direction of the morning, or my world-traveling moon from the direction of the evening.[6]

He has three Turkish and one Persian divans. He wrote a biography of saints in Turkish and composed an imitation of the *Khamsa*. Aside from another divan, he has many other compositions all in Turkish.

He stems from the Uighur *bakhshi*s. His father was called Kichkinä Bakhshï and was an official. Mir Ali-Sher was acquainted with Mirza Sultan-Husayn in childhood. When the mirza became padishah, Mir Ali-Sher joined his retinue, and the mirza patronized him greatly. He was a man of learning, and it was mostly due to his efforts that so many peerless men of learning appeared in various classes during that time. While amir he worked hard and accumulated so much property that his daily income was 18,000 *shahrukhi*s. Moreover he, the outstanding military man of the age, turned over to the mirza's representatives his post, with all the servants and retinue, the mint, the royal stable and workshops and retired from the military to serve as royal confidant. Insofar as was possible he tended to the affairs of the needy in his own house, and he patronized people of learning. He spent all the income from his property on good works for the next life

[3] Obviously the technical feat is lost in translation.

[4] This *qasida* by Amir Khusraw is not given in the printed text of his divan.

[5] The entire *qasida* is given by Dawlatshah, *Tadhkirat al-shu'ara*, p. 562–69.

[6] "Evening" *(shâm)* forms a pun with "Syria" *(shâm)*, the direction from which Jami would have returned from the pilgrimage.

and built many charitable institutions, mosques and buildings, many of which remain in Khurasan to this day. Few have been able to construct and build so much. There was no one among the people of excellence who was not in some way patronized by him. He was a man of extreme delicacy and elegance, and he wanted everyone to be just as elegant. This was difficult for people, and for this **[157]** reason he was often offended. Aside from his delicacy and touchiness no one can find fault with Mir Ali-Sher. He was truly an excellent and fortunate man. He spent his entire life single and engaged in charitable works.... **[159]**

Banna'i. He too was a learned man and superb poet. There were continually disputes between him and Mir Ali-Sher, and insults were traded between them.... Because Banna'i often made Mir Ali-Sher the butt of his witticisms, the mir also began to inflict insults. He said, "Mawlana Banna'i has gone mad. Take him to the hospital and treat him [for insanity]." For this reason Banna'i fled and went to Iraq, where he found favor with Sultan Ya'qub. After a time he returned to Herat, and Mir Ali-Sher sent someone to summon him. Mir Ali-Sher acted kindly and friendly toward him, presenting him with gifts and letting bygones be bygones. Banna'i also apologized for past witticisms, and the two became friendly. While inquiring about his absence, the mir asked, "How did you find Iraq?"

"The one really good thing I found in the Iraqis," replied Banna'i, "is that they absolutely do not compose Turkish poetry."

"You are still unreasonable," said the mir. "Let us leave these insults."

Calligraphers

The *nasta'liq* script, which gained prevalence at that time, had not existed or been heard of before. Mir-Ali **[162]** Tabrizi, the originator of this script, lived during the time of Amir Timur.

Mawlana Ja'far was his pupil, and he also wrote all scripts well and was a master of all styles, *thuluth, naskh, riqa'* and *rayhan.*

Mawlana Abdullah Ashpaz Harawi[7] was his pupil. Hafiz Futai,[8] Mawlana Mahmud Katib Samarqandi and others were pupils of Mawlana Abdullah. Moreover, all copyists are pupils of this group.

In *ta'liq* [script] Mir Abdul-Hayy was a pupil of Mawlana Ja'far, and most *ta'liq* writers are pupils of Abdul-Hayy. However, in *naskhta'liq* Mawlana Azhar, Mawlana Shaykh-Abdullah Khwarazmi and Mawlana Shaykh Mahmudi Khafiniwis[9] are all [Ja'far's] pupils.

Just as Mawlana Ja'far wrote better than the originator [of *nasta'liq*, Mir-Ali Tabrizi], Mawlana Azhar wrote better than [Ja'far]. Mawlana Ja'far writing was heavy and broken (*kund u shikasta*) yet it was solid, graceful, masterful and mature (*muhkam u ba-malahat u pukhta*), while Mawlana Azhar, the delicacy (*litafat*) that has been mentioned notwithstanding, wrote correctly (*durust*) but his hand was uneven. Mawlana Ja'far lived during the time of Shahrukh and was employed in the library of Mirza Baysunghur, who was the son of Mirza Shahrukh and the father of Mirza Babur Qalandar. **[163]**

Mawlana Azhar was in the retinue of Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän. Mawlana Azhar's pupils are: Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadi, Shaykh Bayazid Purani, a grandson of Shaykh Puran, and Sultan-Ali Qayini. As Mawlana Ja'far improved upon Mir-Ali Tabrizi's calligraphy and Mawlana Azhar improved upon Mawlana Ja'far's, Mawlana Sultan-Ali improved even more upon Mawlana Azhar's.

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[7]Text misreads Yazdī for Harawī.

[8]Given in Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, *Manāqib*, p. 34.

[9]= Shaykh Kamāluddīn Maḥmūd Harawī.

Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadi: All are of one accord with regard to his specimens and inscriptions, both minuscule and majuscule, and even *naskhta'liq*, that no one, before or after him, could come close to him. In all qualities he was without equal; especially the grace (*malahat*) and verve (*maza*) that his writing has, no one else has had. He has written a treatise on the canons of calligraphy (*âdâb-i khatt*)[10] in which he says: "Early in my career I practiced calligraphy in the sacred precincts of the shrine at Ṭus.[11] At that time I had a dream in which the Imam of the Pious, Legatee of the Apostle of the Lord of the Worlds, the Victorious Lion of God Ali ibn Abi-Talib put a pen in [my] hand. I awoke from my dream, and then I knew how to write." During his youth, when he was practicing, he shaped his script in such a way that was popular but did not please professionals. Mawlana Ja'far had begun a *Khamsa* but left it unfinished; Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id asked if there was no one who could complete it. Since Mawlana Sultan-Ali had acquired a reputation with the people, they said, **[164]** "At present he has quite a reputation. Perhaps he can bring this important task to fruition." Mawlana Sultan-Ali was brought [to court] and shown Mawlana Ja'far's work. He immediately accepted, copied one section, and brought it [for approval]. Mawlana Azhar was seated at the door of a chamber. When [Sultan-Ali] showed Mawlana Azhar [what he had written], Azhar grew angry and said, "You think you'll complete Mawlana Ja'far's *Khamsa* in this style!?" [So saying,] he took Mawlana Sultan-Ali to a room, kicked him inside and kept him under lock and key for two days. After that he released him and said, "My son, you have a great talent, but your writing is that of an autodidact. The *nasta'liq* style is not like that." He gave him a sample and said, "One must write in this style." The mulla used to say: "I took the sample and copied it. After copying I realized that that was how *naskhta'liq* should be. Prior to that I was unaware of the lack of technique (*be-uslubi*) in my writing and was proud of my masterliness, purity and forcefulness (*pukhtagi u safi u muhkami*). Writing that lacks technique cannot be called calligraphy."

Today so much of the mulla's writing remains that the mind can scarcely accept it, for in most countries of the world there are few connoisseurs of calligraphy who do not have specimens or books copied by the mulla. In the libraries of the emperors of the world, if there are not two or three books in the mulla's writing, it is not counted as a library. This is among the marvelous things.

The Pupils of Mawlana Sultan-Ali

He had many pupils, among whom are Mawlana Ala'uddin [Muhammad Harawi]. No one wrote so like the mulla as did Mulla Ala'uddin, **[165]** especially in inscriptions. There is also Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, who wrote most charmingly. Next is Mawlana Muhammad Abrishami, whose writing was quite masterly but more broken (*shikasta*).

Then there is Mawlana Zaynuddin Mahmud, son-in-law and pupil to the mulla; his inscriptions are very good and he writes round (*gird u niz*[12]) and vivaciously (*ba-maza*).

Then there is Sultan-Muhammad [b.] Nur, who, although his pen is swift (*tez*), writes poorly (*kawak*). There is also Qalandar Katib, whom the master favored

[10]Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī, *Ṣirāṭ al-khuṭūṭ*. Photo reproduction and Russian translation by G. I. Kostygova, "Traktat po kalligrafii Sultan-'Ali Meshkhedi," *Trudy Gosudarstvennoy Publichnoy Biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, vol. 2, part 5 (Leningrad, 1957), pp. 103-163. English translation in Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, trs. V. Minorsky (Washington: Freer Gallery, 1959), pp. 106-125.

[11]I.e., the shrine of Imam Riza at Mashhad.

[12]This reading is uncertain. Perhaps *u tēz* ("and fast").

particularly since, of all people, he found his disposition the most pleasing. He never had a fixed residence and never owned a shirt or shoes, spending his entire life single and alone in utter rectitude and purity. His calligraphy is inferior to the aforementioned group.

The Pupils of This Group

There is another group who were pupils of this group. Mawlana Qasim [b.] Ali, pupil of Mawlana Muhammad Abrishami, whose pen is heavy (*kund*), but for tastefulness, refinement and forcefulness no one of this group can approach his writing, and he writes better than most of his peers. This humble one was his pupil, as will be detailed later.

Next is [Muhammad-] Qasim [b.] Shadishah, who was a pupil of Sultan-Muhammad Khandan and writes gracefully.

Next is Mawlana Mir-Ali. He was a pupil of Zaynuddin Mahmud and writes extremely purely and solidly. His minuscule is better than his majuscule, and his inscriptions are better than his specimens. He writes majuscule inharmoniously and without verve, and there is no grace in either his minuscule or his majuscule. **[166]** However, no one is known to have surpassed him in the power of his hand.

The group who have been penned are those who are unrivaled before and after.

Painters (*al-musawwirun*)

Shah-Muzaffar, son of Master Mansur, than whom there was none better during the time of Sultan Abu-Sa'id. In this art he [Mansur] is a master: he possesses a fine, thin (*nazuk-i barik*) brush, and aside from Shah-Muzaffar, no one else has had such a fine brush; however, it is slightly drier (*chiz-i khushktar*) [than Shah-Muzaffar's (?)]. He does combat scenes (*girift u gir*) very forcefully. However, Shah-Muzaffar surpassed him many times over. His brush is extremely fine, pure and possesses such grace (*malahat*) and maturity (*pukhtagi*) that the eye of the beholder is astonished. He passed away at the age of twenty-four; during his lifetime he finished seven or eight scenes (*majlis*). His pen-and-ink drawings (*qalam-siyahi*) are to be found in the possession of some people [and] the masters of this art consider them very dear.

Bihzad. He is a master of depiction. Although his hand is not so delicate as Shah-Muzaffar's, his brush is more forceful than the former's, but the former's draftsmanship (*tarh*) and articulation (*ustakhwanbandi*) are better than his.

Long ago in the time of the Hulaguid khans who were emperors of Iraq there was Khwaja Abdul-Hayy. The practitioners of this art believed that he was a saint *(wali)* **[167]**. In the end he repented [of painting], and wherever he found his works he washed them off and burned them. For this reason his works are very rare. In purity of brush (*safai-i qalam*), fineness and solidity, indeed in all characteristics of painting, he has had no peer. After Khwaja Abdul-Hayy there were Shah-Muzaffar and Bihzad. After them until our own day there has appeared no one. They were both protégés of Mir Ali-Sher.

Qasim [*b.*] *Ali Chihra-gushay.* He was a pupil of Bihzad. His works are like Bihzad's and in the same style [although] someone who has a practiced eye can appreciate that Qasim Ali's works are coarser than Bihzad's and that his draftsmanship (*asl-i tarh*) is somewhat inelegant (*beandamtar*).

Maqsud. He is next to Qasim Ali and a pupil of Bihzad. His brush is in no way inferior to Qasim Ali's, but his draftsmanship *(asl-i tarh)* and execution *(par-*

dakht) are neophytish *(kham)* in relation to Qasim Ali's.

Mawlana Mirak Naqqash. He is one of the wonders of the age. He was Bihzad's master. His sketching is more masterly than Bihzad's. Although his execution is not up to Bihzad's, still all his works were done outside in the open air, whether he was traveling, in attendance on the prince or at home; and he was never tied to a studio *(hujra)* or portfolio *(kaghadhliq)*. This is strange enough, but further yet he practiced all kinds of sports, and this is absolutely at odds with being a painter. In order to ...[13] he often practiced body-building exercises *(zurmandiha)* and gained a reputation for that. It is quite strange to couple painting with such things.

Ustad Baba Hajji. In painting, his brush is masterly, but his draftsmanship is inelegant *(beandam)*. In all of Khurasan he is without equal in painting design *(tarrahi-i naqsh)* and charcoal [sketching] *(zughal-giriftan)*. It is said that in a gathering he was goaded to draw fifty semicircles, all, [as though drawn by] a compass, without the slightest differentiation. Not one was larger or smaller by so much as a hair's breadth.

Ustad Shaykh Ahmad, brother of Baba Hajji, Mawlana Junayd, Ustad Husamuddin Ghadaragar and Mawlana Wali were all expert masters, and there is not much reason to prefer one over another.

Mulla Yusuf. A pupil of Bihzad, he is very fleet of hand *(tez-dast)*. What the [other] masters can produce in one month he does in ten days. However, he does not have the refinement of brush that the others have. His illumination *(tadhhib)* is better than his painting.

Mawlana Darwesh-Muhammad. He is my master and a pupil of Shah-Muzaffar. He has no equal in thinness *(bariki)* of brush and has surpassed even Shah-Muzaffar. However, [his painting] has not such elegance *(andam)*, maturity or grace *(malahat)*. His combat scenes are quite neophytish. He has made a picture of a rider who has picked up a lion on a spear: the entire [picture] fits on the end of a grain of rice.

There are many painters, but the masters and forerunners of this group are those who have been mentioned.

Illuminators *(al-mudhahhibun)*

Yari. A master at illumination *(tadhhib)*, his outlining *(tahrir)* is even better than his illumination. He was a pupil of Mulla Wali but has surpassed him.

Mawlana Mahmud has done extremely fine illumination that has surpassed that of Yari. He has prepared a *debacha* for Mirza Sultan-Husayn, but it is unfinished. He labored on it for seven years and made it so intricate *(barik)* that in the joints of the *band-i rumi*, each of which may be half a chickpea in size, he has made of gold a yellow *yakmaha* (?) [such that?] fifty *islimi* tendrils can be counted, be it that he has placed and tinted[14] them all.

[13]Indecipherable phrase: *giriftan-i mātūma-māqdārī* (?).

[14]Reading *u shustamān karda* with MS A for the *dast ba-ān karda* of the text.

Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i

Preface to His First Turkish Divan, *Gharayib al-sighar*

Like Amir Khusraw, Jami and many other poets, Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i composed a series of divans during different periods of his life—in Nawa'i's case, in both Persian and Turkish. The preface to his first Chaghatay Turkish divan, *Gharayib al-sighar* (Novelties of youth),[1] is interesting for several reasons. The conceit of youthful madness that leads the poet to abandon serious study and take up a life of abandon to wine and song is clearly in evidence here (the familiar conceit may be seen in Ahmad b. Abdullah Hijazi's autobiographical sketch, pp. 330–31). Also, the indebtedness he proclaims to Sultan-Husayn for improving his poetry is a telling comment on the role played by the prince in the literary circles of his time, although one may doubt the extent to which Sultan-Husayn actually engaged in the editing process.

❁

When the *ghazal* singers of the divan of eloquence hurl fire from the repository of poetic nature into the tinder of distracted lovers' souls, they cannot string one fiery ruby onto the cord of poetry if they do not stud the introduction to their poetry with gems of praise for the Creator, who established the people of love as the jewel in the crown of all humanity through the nobility of their diamond tongues and the pearls of their graceful expression.

> Praise God: He is the exalted, the sublime,
> who made the sea of love overflowing.
> When he cast man therein as a diver, he gave
> both pearls of ecstasy and pearls of speech.

When the garden decorators of the orchard of rhetoric bedeck the beautiful rosebed of gorgeous beloveds in the garden of fantasy, [3a] they cannot tie a single fiery rose into a metrical nosegay if they do not cause the prolegomena of their poetry to sparkle with flowers of thanks to the Almighty, who made the horde of beauty the delight of all creatures through the lamp of the languid narcissus.

[1] Text in 'Alīšīr Navā'ī, *Divān*, facsimile edition, introduction and indices by L. V. Dmitrieva (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1964), pp. 6–31 (foll. 2b–15a). The facsimile text was compared and collated with the transcription made by Günay Alpay Kut, "Ḫuṭbe-i devāvīn" in "Alī Šīr Nevā'ī'nin Birinci Divanı Garā'ib uṣ-ṣığar," Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi PH.D. dissertation, 1965.

Praise to him who created gifts and bounty,
from whose garden of existence the brambles
of nonexistence were banished.
In that garden the fire of every rose that has
raised its banner has lit up the house of the
soul and the candle of vision.

Though the heart is inclined and the tongue ready to speak this praise and eulogy, neither can the heart rest nor the tongue attain its desire unless the gift of praise becomes a means for the illuminating star of the constellation of apostleship, the precious pearl of the jewel-cask of prophecy, the one alluded to in the hymn *wa-mā yanṭiqu 'ani 'l-hawā*,[2] the keeper of the treasury of *in huwa illā waḥyun yūḥā*,[3] intoner of the anthem *ana afṣaḥ*,[4] speaker of the antiphon *ana amlaḥ*,[5]

Muhammad, the moon around whom apostles
are clustered like stars—nay, not a moon but a
world-adorning sun.
The nine spheres parasites on his existence,
[3b] proof of this claim the rescript of
lawlak.[6]
He takes a steed swifter than a hundred
lightning bolts, the new moon a breast-plate
for that steed, and Jupiter and Venus as
ornaments of his equippage, on either side the
sun and moon his squires.
For those grief-stricken in the lane of error, for
those crazed in the wilderness of ignorance,
O God, make him an intercessor eternal, and
leave me not without hope, O God.

And may God pray for him, his family and companions and for all who came after them, until Doomsday.

*

The writer of these confused pages, a quaffer of the cup of tribulation, drainer of the vat of antinomianism, a scandal in the quarter of madness, a madman in the lane of scandal,

Singer in the garden of fidelity, nightingale of
antinomianism, i.e. Nawa'i,

(may God forgive his sins) says that when the throne of Khurasan was adorned by the House of Timur, [4a] the dark chamber of my life was illuminated by light from the candle of youth and the garden of my life was perfumed by the scent of the roses of jeunesse. As happens at that age, passion dominated nature, and from the dominance of passion nature sought pleasure: through my ripped shirt[7] the old wounds on my breast were revealed one by one, and my shirt was stained in bloody stripes from the new lines cut into my body. My heart ever in search of wine and thoughts of my beloved ever on my mind, my soul was drunk on the wine of love, and my heart was besotted by the love of wine.

If the cupbearer has no rosy wine cup, my
breast burns; if there is no rose-cheeked
cupbearer before me, my condition is hopeless.

Then the house of my reason was swept away by a torrent of wine, and the lightning of love reduced my piety and well-being to ashes.

When a person is afflicted by love and wine, it
is no wonder if every moment there are a
hundred catastrophes. Although the affliction
is grave, my wish is that it should remain
with me forever.

Yes, all feeling left my heart, and my heart reached a state where

[2]Koran 53.3: "He doth not speak of his own will."

[3]Koran 53.4: "It is no other than a revelation, which hath been revealed unto him."

[4]*Hadith:* "I am the most eloquent."

[5]*Hadith:* "I am the most beautiful of speech."

[6]Reference to the *ḥadith qudsi*, *"Lawlāka lamā khalaqtu 'l-aflāka"* (were it not for you, I would not have created the celestial spheres).

[7]*Könglākim čākī*, equivalent to the common Persian poetical expression *pīrāhan chāk*. "To rip the shirt (or collar)," a sign of mourning and bereavement, is an act of desperation in love.

Day and night my feet bare, my collar ripped,
in the tavern lane drunk and insouciant, [4b]
My cry constantly reaching the celestial
sphere, my converse totally with rogues.

Now, since my innate nature was not totally without rectitude, in love's lane and intoxication's quarter—where there is no end to marvelous states or to unusual predicaments, be they, as in love, astonishment at the beloved's beauty, jealousy at the thought of the rival, expectation of the spring of union, or the thorniness of the autumn of separation, or be they, as in wine, the pleasure of drunkenness, the agony of hangover, the attentiveness of the vintnor or the carping of the enforcer of public morals—everything that happened to me was in conformity with those states.

Every thought that appeared in my heart my
tongue expressed garbed in poetry.
The people, raising a cry to the dome of
heaven, gave their lives for that poetry.
Every line this ruin of nature composed gained
as much fame as the *bayt-i ma'mur*.[8]
In the tavern all things, visible and invisible,
came easily to people's tongues. [5a]

[My poetry] was on the lips and hearts of not only the dreg-drinkers of the tavern but cloaked [dervishes] who hold converse with God, not only common villains but the learned elite. It came to the notice of the noble freemen of the age, even magnificent princes, especially that precious pearl of the royal treasure-house, he who sat humbly in the corner of contentment, unique among great minds and spiritual people, whose intellect unraveled the threads of subtle matters and whose pure nature unveiled the countenance of eternal verities.

Dervish by nature, yet regal himself, king and
dervish, Muhammad-Sultan.[9]

When the pen of my tongue or the tongue of my pen composed one line or more—or even a whole *ghazal*—he immediately wrote it with his musk-strewing pen on the camphor-like page, ennobling both black and white; and as the princes of quick understanding who are related to him and the princes of poetic nature who hold converse with him made numerous copies, it spread to all people, [5b] and, becoming an intimate companion in tribulation to distraught lovers and a confidant to rose-cheeked beloveds, it gained untold fame and repute among elite and common alike. However, it did not occur to me that I should think of collecting or arranging these scattered verses. Although those who were [my] most intimate companions and beloved friends many times besought me to undertake this labor, nonetheless it appeared to my distracted mind that "people learn to laugh when a madman says one word: so to collect such words would be to increase their mirth."

The words of a madman who is constantly
drunk are worthy of laughter.
If people learn, it is no wonder that sometimes
it is necessary for people to make ridicule.

To the end that some of these words were worthy of being collected for their passionate content, best beloved friends were in earnest in beseeching me so to do. However, a poet

Who every day gains notoriety for another
passion, every night a moth to another candle,
[6a] his labor is madness, his home the tavern.
What does a madman know of making a
divan?

[8]*Bayt-i ma'mūr*, the prototype of the Ka'ba in heaven and often taken as synonymous with the Ka'ba. Nawa'i puns on the word *bayt*, which means both "line" of poetry and "house."

[9]Muhammad-Sultan, known as "Kichik Mirza," son of Sultan-Ahmad b. Sidi-Ahmad b. Miranshah.

On the assumption that the madness of the writer is susceptible to treatment and his moods affected by the wine of the goblet of rectitude,

Away, wine of love and madness!
Let the arts take the place of them all!

However, of those whose poetry has been collected into divans, both those who have passed away into the realm of eternity and those who are presently abiding in the perishable world, there are: of the first category,[10] Amir Khusraw of Delhi, the lion of the forest of anguish, salamander of the fire of love, a mine of spiritual gems, and Khwaja Hafiz of Shiraz, the disgraceful *roué* of the tavern of annihilation, an insouciant drunkard with the goblet of affliction, the confidant to the mysteries and rites of love, and, in the second category,[11] His Revered Excellency Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami, the luminous candle of the retreat of sacrosanctity, the poetic nightingale of the garden of familiarity, the sweet-speeched parrot of the sugarcane break of rhetoric. Their divans are extant.

Among the eloquents of Uyghur expression and the rhetoricians of Turkish speech are Mawlana Sakkaki[12] and Mawlana Lutfi.[13] The sweet poetry of the one has unlimited fame in Turkistan, and the subtle *ghazals* of the other are common in Iraq and Khurasan. Their divans too are extant. However, it is passing strange that the beloved friend Suhayli,[14] the leader of Persianate youths Turkish to the core,[15] who cast the traveler of poetic temperament into exile in the realms of strangeness in order to acquire meanings, can, with the fingertips of witty virgin [lines], put a hundred knots in the string of raindrops of meaning pouring from the cloud [of his imagination] during the springtime of Persian poetry, and in the field of Turkish poetry, when he charges his steed, his nimble mind can knit with his spear-tip a hundred links in the chain of beautiful subtleties that have been dead for a hundred years. At present he is arranging both his [Persian and Turkish] poems and is inclined to complete divans. There are other writers of eloquence and grace whose works are heard on all sides, and most of them are in the *ghazal* style and are pleasant and acceptable. [7a]

How then could a madman accustomed to the desert—who is even more of a stranger to swimming—throw himself in among so many divers for meaning; and if he did, what sort of pearls would he be able to find?

The people of this caravan are yearning for the sanctuary, their camels are galloping, prancing clouds. Yet I lie wounded, scarcely able to take a step: it is foolishness to think of accompanying them.

I always placed this acceptable apology before people and excused myself with this reasonable pretext until, when the vicissitudes of fortune laid waste the

[10] I.e., those who are no longer living.

[11] I.e., those who are still alive.

[12] Mentioned in Nawa'i's *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 51, as a native of Transoxania of whose poetry the people of Samarqand were very fond. Nawa'i adds that when he was in Samarqand he searched for Sakkaki's poetry and, finding none, was told that all his good lines had been incorporated into the works of Lutfi.

[13] Mir Ali-Sher gives him a long notice in the *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 223.

[14] Amir Shaykhīm Suhayli, Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ahmad, was, at the time of composition of the *Majalis al-nafayis* in 896/1491, *sadr* to Sultan-Husayn, and it was at his request that Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi wrote his setting of the Bidpai fables, *Anwar-i Suhayli*. Nawa'i mentions that he "occasionally inclines to Turkish poetry" (*Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 57).

[15] *Fārsi-dişār u Turki-şi'ār* could be translated as "wearing Persian coats over their Turkish drawers."

foundation of that world-ruler's reign,[16] and a spinning celestial sphere snuffed out the candle of his life, the throne of world rule boasted the footfall of an emperor who, by being the jewel in the crown of the star of felicity, held his head to the heavens and who, by being the dome of the parasol of the star of good fortune, raised his head to the sun. The dark chamber of rule was lit by a torch of good fortune such that before him the luminous full moon hid itself like Suha[17] in the rays of his brilliance, and the realm of justice glowed with the sun of his equity [7b] such that in the reflection of each of his rays the world-illuminating sun appeared as a dust mote. The foot of the pulpit from which the rulership of this clime conqueror was announced reached, in the nobility of his regal titles, the apex of Jupiter; the mirrored surface of the coinage of the conquests of this treasure bestower made manifest the designs of well-being with his ever-increasing name. During the time of this ruler of pure religion, the Divine Law gained such currency that in his vigilance his sun-like mind took the strings from Venus's harp and used them to rule pages for the Koran; in the maintenance of his subjects, by order of the farmer of equity, drought-fearing Mars has planted the seeds of the fixed stars in the farm of the celest. In the garden of the martial arts, by the glittering sword of this *sahib-qiran*, the roses of victory have blossomed; and in the assembly of this conqueror's banquet, from the clouds of his favor, pearls of victory have been scattered by his determination.

A king whose description could not be exhausted by a hundred thousand tongues in a hundred thousand years, even if each one of the hundred thousand years were made a hundred thousand. If mentioned for a hundred thousand centuries, not one thousandth could be enumerated, even if every moment of the hundred thousand centuries were a hundred thousand years. Before his exalted lineage khans bow; at his threshold mighty *khaqans* prostrate themselves day and night. At his feet fall *qa'ans* by the month and year; him do sultans serve with all their hearts. [8a] The heavens' back was bent under the weight of his learning. The brilliance of the moon was eclipsed by the light of his mind. If rule is his absolutely, it is marvelous that he is also dervish by nature. The heavens wrote his titles thus: Sultan son of a sultan, son of a sultan,

Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Bahadur Khan (may God extend his kingdom and rule forever, and may He cause his piety, justice and beneficence to emanate upon the universe).

May he be granted his every desire, O Lord.
May the wine of his good fortune flow forever, O Lord. May his pleasure continue always, O Lord. May his fortune abide eternally, O Lord.

Amen, O Lord of the Universe.

To sum up, when the sun of the celestial sphere of the sultanate subjugated the stars of the fourth sphere, i.e., that of the king of stars, he was enthroned over the fourth clime,[18] and the people of the inhabited quarter were blessed with welfare in the habitation of ease and were freed from care in the serenity of leisure.

Like stars around the moon, the people rushed around the sun.
Great lords of the kingdom of this world and those of lesser rank, [8b]
Great and humble, elite and common, they all strutted to his sublime threshold.
Reaching his gate, they were given audience.
And even stranger is the fact that miserable I,

[16]It is not clear to whom he is alluding here. Sultan-Husayn took Herat in 873/1469, the year in which Abu-Sa'id died. He certainly does not mean Yadgar-Muhammad, the ruler installed by the Turcomans from whom Sultan-Husayn took Herat. Kichik Mirza (Muhammad-Sultan) did not die until 889/1484

[17]Suhā, a small, insignificant star in Ursa Major.

[18]The sun occupies the fourth celestial sphere; Herat lies in the fourth terrestrial clime.

a mere handful of dust in the depths of the celestial sphere, flotsam in the shoreless sea,
Before his excellency, whose courtyard is the heavenly sphere, and in that courtyard the sun and moon are but mud bricks,
I cast myself trembling like a dust mote, tumbling in the light of that sun like an atom.
When I circumambulated the field of the sun, I hovered about him like a dust mote.

When my face was exalted by the dust of this celestial court and my head was elevated to the level of the feet of the dogs of this heavenly court, although for seven generations back [my] family have been vassals to this exalted house:

My father swept the dust of this threshold, my mother was a servant to this palace. Whether I be a nightingale or a crow to this courtly garden, whatever has happened to me away from this garden, my soul has suffered pangs of separation.

Nonetheless, because of the dearth of my worth and great inferiority, it never occured to me to claim any attention from exalted rulers, nor had a desire to be noticed by celestial emperors manifested itself in me. However, because of that majesty's transmutating attention and patronage I had no choice but to join his retinue and worship him like a slave, for he decorated the mine of my heart with gems of precision from the sun of his mind by endless patronage—as the sun [9a] nurtures various gems in mountains[19]—and adorned the orchard of my mind with flowers of subtleties nourished without limit and sprinkled from his palm—like clouds producing various herbs from the earth. In his gatherings some of my verses happened to be mentioned by his pearl-raining tongue, and some of my *ghazals* were written down by his gem-strewing hand at parties. Sometimes he cured them of fault by changing a defect in wording, and sometimes he liberated them of deficiency by correcting an infelicity of expression. In some of my verses he took out one by one inappropriate words and mounted in their place regal pearls in a heap of jet, and in some of my *ghazals* he crossed out one by one inharmonious lines and replaced them with gilded palaces set in the midst of bleak desert. His words in my confused lines, and his lines in my jumbled *ghazals* were

Like gems amidst granite, or like embers amidst ashes, or like red roses amidst thorns, or rather like an informed soul in a lifeless body.

In short, by such corrections my untidy and disorderly words were put in order. As the paintings of those corrections made the portico of my verse the envy of the Gallery of China,[20] and the [9b] garden of my *ghazals* in the springtime of his attention became the envy of Sublime Paradise, they became more beloved to the eyes of connoisseurs and more desirous to the hearts of the *ahl-i dil*,[21] and their fame surpassed all bounds. In truth,

When the king took his pen to correct that labor, every line became a masterpiece, every word a book of kings.

I was left in puzzlement at the notion that those gems had turned a ruin into a treasury and in astonishment at the thought that the light of those beacons had illuminated this hut.

That shining lamp illuminated me, that lucky star gave me good fortune.

[19] A commonly held belief, that gems were rocks, which, having captured the sunlight to which they were exposed, sank deep into the mountains and were changed into gems.

[20] The Gallery of China *(nigārkhāna-i Chīn)* is the repository of all beautiful forms.

[21] *Ahl-i dil* (the people of the heart) a common expression for persons of sensitivity, lovers, dervishes, sufis, poets, etc.

His every word turned me a hundred times into a slave, every act of kindness made me ashamed that I was [not more] servile.

In this state, suddenly a royal command was issued to arrange these lines:

A voice suddenly revealed a mystery, saying,
"O magical storyteller,
Adept in the realm of rhetoric, lucky-starred in the kingdom of euphony,
Put your soul in order for your pen, [take] ink from the pupil of Mercury's eye,
The cavalry of invisible meanings has made an inroad into your pen. [10a]
From the raincloud of your poetic gift, nay, from the pearls of your poetry, people's thirst is quenched,
Your poetry has raised the banner to a zenith as you moved your pen across the tablet of the Throne [of heaven].
Although every word of yours is a pure pearl before which the celestial spheres bow their heads,
Nonetheless these fairy virgins have become, like the Pleiades, so scattered
That we desire these dispersed ones to be gathered. Get going, for no excuse is acceptable!
When our highmindedness became inclined, you became a poet of rare words.
Now the exalted mind wants you to contemplate making a divan.
In this world anyone who has such children, delightful and pleasing all,
In our felicitous age is it licit to drive them from pillar to post in the world?
Now bring them all together as a father should, like a lord gathering his scattered children:
And that naïve, perplexed horde are children to you and servants to us.
They are wretched, and we are coming to their aid. If you are heartless, we are not. [10b]
Now that you know there is a command, get to work: begin shooting arrows at the target.
Do not stop for an instant until [your poetry] is arranged." This is what it said, and God knows best.

When this undeniable command was issued, when this order, which must be obeyed in silence, went forth, my mind went up in smoke and my brain caught fire: the tongue of my pen was mute, and the pen of my tongue was broken—I had neither the power to begin nor the ability to make an excuse. In utter conformity to my condition, my tongue and heart sang this refrain:

From his own soul-refreshing poetry Nawa'i is stuck in grief, like the nightingale beset by affliction from his own melody.

Then, all of a sudden, the ancient voice of wisdom struck fear in me, and reason raced toward me, saying,

What is this depression? What sort of calamitous inability is this?
Without taking pains can a person see an end to his labor? Without kindling its heart, can the lamp burn?
When a seed falls to earth it becomes a flower; when a worm gives up its life it becomes silk.
Have you less zeal than a tulip? Have you less ambition than a worm? [11a]
If you begin and work hard, if you spill a hundred goblets of blood in the endeavor,
If you are a slave to him, the king's exertion will make you not only sing but produce a divan.
When I received this good news from wisdom, I then found hope from without myself.
Claiming God's assistance and taking refuge with the king,
I seized the pen in accordance with the command and began to arrange pages.
Even if it is not worthwhile to collect this flotsam and jetsam: since these pearls are secreted within, why worry?
However black the darkness may be, grieve not, for therein is the Fountain of Life.

This divan, God willing, will be arranged in accordance with the above-mentioned rule and come to life in accordance with the order just mentioned. Now there are several items that have been included but that are not apparent in other divans. First of all, no one who is arranging a divan can object to four of the thirty-two letters that constitute people's expression and that are used in writing.[22]

[22]Apparently he means the four letters (*p, č, g, ž*) added to the Arabic alphabet for Persian and Turkish. Indeed, in the facsimile *Dīvān*, *b* and *p* are distinguished in the alphabetical order, *ghazals* in *b* falling from fol. 33b through 39a, and

When the bride of poetry puts on her rhythmic tunic of poetic silk and begins to display herself, **[11b]** if the four are lacking among the thirty-two gems, then her beauty is deficient and her speech is defective.

For a coquette who possesses great beauty,
beauty of expression is an added adornment.
Amongst the rubies, if there is deficiency in
the pearls, then she must be ashamed of her
words.

Therefore, the gems of those four letters have been strung onto the cord of the other letters, and the *ghazals* have been arranged according to the thirty-two letters. Moreover, the *ghazals* of each letter differ in no way stylistically from the other *ghazals* written (rhyming) in that letter. It is established that it is proper not to be negligent at any moment of praise of God the Exalted, or laud of the apostle, or of something that indicates both. If this felicity is not assured at every moment, at the initiation of every declared affair what sort of negligence may not result?

Although God's word is, from beginning to
end, eternal speech, [12a]
See how at the beginning of every chapter is
[the formula], "In the name of God the
Compassionate, the Merciful."
The *hadith* is a witness to the fact that
"everything has a purpose."
The Apostle realized and said that "in
everything God made is an indication of
Him."

In order that this be remembered, the first *ghazal* of each letter begins with praise of God, laud to the Prophet, or an exhortation that indicates one of the two.

ghazals in *p* from 39b through 44b, although there is one misplaced *ghazal* rhyming in *-arîp* on fol. 38a. Similarly, *ghazals* rhyming in *-č* and *-g* are separate from those in *-j* and *-k*. Needless to say, given the orthographic conventions of the period, *b/p* and *j/č* are rarely, and *k/g* are never, actually distinguished in the *ductus*.

It seems that when some people put their poetry together and make divans, no purpose, other than to describe metaphorical beauty[23] and to extol external beauty marks, can be discerned. There are divans in which not one homelitic line can be found: such a divan is a total waste of effort. For this reason, in this divan, aside from praise of God and laud of the Prophet, in every passionate *ghazal*, the hearing of which causes moonfaced beauties to be refractory and the grief-stricken to be confused, one or two homelitic **[12b]** lines of good advice have been inserted, so that, through the lightning of chastity, the brilliance of their cheeks not shine so and in order that the harvest of their existence not be completely destroyed by the conflagration of that lightning bolt. If the gazelles of these *ghazals* should begin to flirt or act immodestly, the homelitic advice of those lines will hold them in restraint.

If those rosy-cheeked beauties should flirt and
begin to plunder reason and religion,
If they make eyes and wink, if they act
immodestly and saucily,
If, with the glow of their cheeks, they make
the world burn with desire,
This wise advice, a million pieces of good
advice, will constantly prevent them so that
the world may obtain relief from sedition.

Another thing is that in other divans they bypass the conventional *ghazal* style and do not bedeck the bride of speech in her special typology *(maxṣūṣ naw'larda)*, and if sometimes the first line is in a particular mode, they do not finish dressing her in her garments in accordance with the contents of the first line. All too often, if the contents of one line sprout roses during the springtime of union, the next line looks like the thorns of the autumn of separation: such form is considered out-

[23] "Metaphorical beauty" *(majāzī ḥusn u jamāl)* refers to physical beauty; it is opposed to "real" *(ḥaqīqī)*, or divine, beauty.

side of and beyond consistency and harmoniousness. For this reason I have endeavored that the contents should be agreeable in form and confortable in meaning from the first line until the last.

Wherever there is spring, there must be meadows; wherever there is a meadow, there must be roses and jasmine.
Wherever there is autumn, there must be thorns; wherever there are thorns, there must be pain and tribulation.

An ascetic is not happy in the tavern; what does a debauchee want among the devout?
[Real] exile, as all strictly agree, means for someone to fall in amongst a flock of strangers.

Moreover, aside from *mathnawi*s and *qasida*s, which, God willing, will each and all be in a separate volume, an example of every type [of poetry] will be appended to these poems: exhilarating *mukhammas*es to adorn any Quintet, sempiternal *musaddas*es equal to any Sextet, profitable *ruba'iyyat* graceful all, edifying *qit'a*s advantageous all, **[13a]** pleasing *mustazad*s indescribable all, nonpareil *fard*s unique all in grace and fluidity, famous riddles that all conceal names, precious enigmas that all have an obvious inner meaning, linked strophic verse that is all desirable, well-balanced *tuyugh*s all Turkic in style.

The purport of this preface, which was written for the face of this beauty, the object of this introduction, which was written for the cheek of this lovely, is that, when any ruler builds a building impregnable or raises a portico high, he has his own name and titles inscribed on the arch in order that, as long as the arch remains, his name may remain therein.

Whoever builds a structure that is destined [to remain], when [his] name is inscribed therein,
For as long as the structure lasts, that name will be on the lips of people.

Since the architect that is His Majesty's delicate nature has constructed an exalted castle that is like the celestial dome, **[13b]** and since the gardener that is His Highness's noble imagination has designed a world-adorning garden that is like heavenly paradise, what wonder is it if his regal titles are inscribed on the foundation arch of this castle or on the arcade of this garden palace?

The goal was this exalted palace—O Lord, may it never pass away.
It is a structure founded by the king, made as flourishing as the castle of time.
The king had it built with his patronage.
Consider me not the architect, but rather a laborer.
Whether laborer or expert architect, when a thousand wages were paid,
When the king's gilded palace is finished, what have they to do with the palace?
If Abraham made the Ka'ba flourish, is it known for certain what master built it?
The dam that Alexander made famous, who can say who labored upon it?
In the effort of construction, the building will be known by the name of whoever pays the gold. **[14a]**
[People] will call a building by the name of the person who has had it built.
However, it is the rule among people for the builder's name to be inscribed.
When I realized this, I inscribed the king's name on the portico of this palace,
So that as long as this celestial palace remains this name may show on the portico.
As long as the palace of the heavenly sphere travels, may the stars spin about the portico.
Like the king's portico, may the foundation of his life be as stable as the foundation of the heavens.
May destiny every moment grant his every wish from this divan. Amen.

To the scholarly and erudite I present these scattered lines, which, as has been explained, were developed without entering into any order: some were spoken in youth, some were the product of contemplation while others were extemporized; some came while I was sober, and some while drunk and still others during madness. **[14b]** Thinking that perhaps among them there was not such an enormous difference, I trust it was not too audacious

to collect them. However, a thousand lines or so more or less were collected by, and acquired great fame among, the people. After being commanded to set them in order, it was difficult, nay impossible for me, after the book had spread and fame had been acquired, to exclude some lines that were rather unpolished or some *ghazal*s that were somewhat unfinished. Therefore, every one has been strung in its proper place.

If there is a rose, there must be thorns in the garden; if there are pearls, there must be oysters in the sea.
If there is intoxication, there must be a hangover in time: do not then criticize silly lines in this divan

If amidst a hundred roses there is one thorn, what wonder? If among a hundred beauties there is one ugly, what wonder?
If you drink a thousand goblets of the water of life, what wonder if at the bottom of one of them you find something that troubles you?

The string of words has grown too long, but the pearl of intent remains. May it be said to my lords that my request is that **[15a]**

When one by one the literati gaze upon this book my pen has scriven, if they find mistakes, let them change them and, in changing them, let them not be deficient.

The fault-finder, whose every word is contrary, will call a turquoise a donkey-bead when he babbles.
Since he has shown what his essence is, forgive him, and may God thus be equitable to his essence.

O Lord, many sins have been registered against me, and I have blackened my book and wasted my life.
If Thou dost not wash that book with the water of mercy, alas! on doomsday what will I do with my black book?

O Lord, give Nawa'i his wish for annihilation, since he has passed away in thy path, O Lord.
Graciously grant him eternal life, O Lord, but, whatever you do, O Lord, do not disown him!

Sultan-Husayn Mirza

"Apologia"

In this piece, written in Chaghatay Turkish by the last effective ruler of the Timurid dynasty at Herat, Sultan-Husayn Mirza speaks of Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i as having completed his *Quintet* and of Jami as though he were still alive. The date of composition would then lie between 1485, when Mir Ali-Sher finished the last of his *Quintet* and 1492, when Jami died.[1]

It is not known why Sultan-Husayn should have written such an apology for his reign, in which he boasts of his accomplishments and the superiority of his rule over that of his predecessors and takes pride in the galaxy of poets who graced his court. Nonetheless, Sultan-Husayn's "Apologia" remains a good example of highly Persianate Chaghatay prose style.

❁

Praise to that King of Kings, in the presence of whose glory and splendor the mightiest sovereign imaginable is but an insignificant beggar:

God, in whose court every king with armies
like the stars is mere dust

(splendid be His might and majesty, and may His grace and favor extend to all). And salutations without end upon him who sits on the throne of apostleship, in the shadow of whose standard every monarch the tip of whose banner surmounts the sun is but a miserable petitioner:

The apostle, whose cavalry consists of all
[former] apostles, by reason of whom time and
space exist

(may God pray for him, his family, his successors and his companions).

The writer of these lines, Sultan-Husayn, son of Mansur,

who drives the pen across the face of the page,
consumed with sorrow and blackened with sin,

in need of the mercy of his almighty and all-forgiving Lord, thus says that when God brought things into being from nonexistence, the ultimate purpose of all creation was humanity, to which [the words], "We ennobled the sons of Adam and bore them into the dry land and the sea,"[2] attest. Although He so ennobled

[1]Source: Tourkhan Gandjeï, "Uno scritto apologetico di Ḥusain Mīrzā, sultano del Khorāsān," *Annali del' Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, N.S. 5 (1953): 157–83.

[2]Koran 17:70.

humans over all other creatures that there can be no higher station and the mind can conceive of no better rank, nonetheless **[167]** He promised those who render thanks for blessings that He would ever renew this favor, as attested by [the words], "If you are thankful, I will certainly give you more."[3] If every strand of hair were a tongue, and every tongue constantly spoke with a thousand praises in thanks for His blessings, it still would not be possible to give appropriate thanks—it is not even possible for anyone to give thanks for his own petty condition.

Never tire of thanking Him: whether He accepts or rejects, let Him know.
Whatever God has commanded, you are obliged to do—only if you are incapable are you excused.
Nonetheless, strive, insofar as you are able, to make your tongue accustomed to thank God.

Now if thanks are obligatory for people, it is obvious, according to the verse, "He created man of inequality,"[4] that gifts and blessings are unequal.

'Though everything is lit by God's light, a candle is not equal to the sun.

Therefore, since inequality is obvious in the ranks of human creation, and God in His grace and favor has bestowed and allotted unequal favors to individuals, of course it is necessary that the giving of thanks be unequal:

A beggar's gratitude is paltry, but a king's is regal. **[168]**

It is certain then that the edicts of kings, whom God has made not merely crowned and enthroned in His land but "shadows of God upon the earth," extend to the people of the world, and those living are obliged to serve them.

Before [kings] people are to be humble and obey orders.

It is thus established that kings must render more thanks and their gratitude must be voiced longer. Even among rulers there are differences, for the favor of the Almighty Ever-living, the King without minister, is not the same for all. It seems that one of that group for whom greater gratitude to the Creator is obligatory is this miserable wretch, for if I lived a hundred thousand years and rendered thanks with a hundred thousand tongues, I would not be able to offer my gratitude for more than one out of a hundred thousand of His favors to me. Thus it is that I would wish to express a few of my many blessings and to write down on this page one of a thousand with the tongue of the pen.

One of those things is that, although some rulers were given greater kingdom and standing and larger treasuries and armies than was this humble one, pride crept into their hearts and they were lax in rendering thanks. This humble one, however, was given such a share of high-mindedness that, had I been given a hundredfold the splendor and kingdom they were, it could not have made my heart prideful or diminished my worshipfulness.

If some relied on their own strength and might, my reliance is on His favor and grace. If He humbled some of them because of the baseness of their lineage, my forefathers for seven, nay seventy generations have been elevated to rule and govern. **[169]** If some have been so magnificent and proud in their royal status that they disdained dervishes, He has made me humble and supplicant before that exalted group.

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[3]Koran 14:7.

[4]The verse Sultan-Husayn must have had in mind, but the meaning of which he reverses entirely, is Koran 67:3 (*mā tarā fī khalqi 'l-raḥmāni min tafāwut*, "you see no inequality in the Merciful's creation").

If He made [me] king over the people of the world, He made [me] dust under the feet of the people of (spiritual) poverty.

There are some He has adorned with the raiment of asceticism and worshipful obedience and bedecked with knowledge and erudition, but in my view He has shown this way [i.e., dervishdom] to be the best in His sight, and those mighty ones to be acceptable and without equal. I have prayed for assistance for their spirits with the *Fatiha*, and He has granted them the spiritual strength to give me victory and success.

During the time of some there have been endless tyranny and innumerable acts of aggression against the poor, miserable peasantry on the part of self-willed, highly positioned princes and mighty ministers of state. In my time, however, the poor have been delivered of these sorrows and the unlucky peasantry freed of these bonds.

In the time of some, tyrannical ministers and wrong-thinking potentates wrecked the pious foundations and, spending the proceeds on debauchery and entertainment, have indulged in ungodliness and sacrilege. However, the overseers [I] appointed to the foundations have repaired all the damage and gladdened the people of merit. Because in former times the foundations were in ruins, students were aggrieved and teachers deprived; but now, thank God, there are in the capital nearly one hundred educational institutions where religious learning and certain knowledge are to be found. From the farthest reaches of Anatolia to the borders of China capable students from all the lands of Islam, hearing of the limitless [opportunity for] study, choose the hardship of exile from their homes and turn their faces to this imperial city. Of God's favor all expenses are met by the income of the foundations, and they pass their days in freedom from want. Near the above-mentioned places of study is a *khanaqah*, in every corner of which those in need are tended to and those deserving receive a portion [of good things].

If, in former days, traveling merchants, other strangers and wayfarers had insurmountable difficulty going from their homes to their destinations because of brigands and highway robbers, [170] now swift retribution has rid the realm of the chaff of that God-forsaken group's existence and dispatched them to hellfire. At every stage there are lofty caravanserais for travelers and towering fortresses to provide safety for wayfarers where they may find protection from the cold and shade from the heat. Aside from protection, they can obtain whatever they need therein, and at every turn are stationed troops and police to prevent crime and prohibit robbery.

If, during the time of some, mosques were allowed to go to wrack and ruin, and the congregations were held captive by brutes, in my time the amount [spent] on mosques would be beyond the reckoning of accountants, and the congregations can scarcely fit inside, every spot therein being as resplendent as the sanctuary at the glorious Ka'ba.

If, in the days of some, the precepts of divine legislation and the people of Islam have been subjugated to heretical hordes, during these days the arm of the Prophet's law and precepts has become so strong that the enforcers of public morals can almost snatch the lute and harp from Venus, the Singer of the Third Heaven, and dash them to the ground.

There are other things too, to recount which in detail would take too long. Aside from those sorts of things, during the reign of this humble one God has brought into existence many people who have had the honor to appear at my court, and because of their existence this age is preferable to any other age, and they too are reasons for thankfulness that renders the tongue mute and the nib of the pen broken. Of these people, the most learned and most excellent, a pure pearl from the

ocean of erudition, a shining sun of the spheres of saintliness, a master stringer of poetical gems, is Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami. For so long as the ancient celestial sphere has been gazing upon the people of the world with its hundred thousand eyes of stars and planets, **[171]** such a rare image has never been seen; and for so long as the world-illuminating sun has been traversing its path around the earth, its rays have never fallen upon such a peerless one as he. The oyster-shell of the world is full of precious pearls of his poetical gems, and the brocade of the firmament is adorned with seedpearls of his prose. He has innumerable compositions on all branches of knowledge, and in every composition are storehouses of meaning without number.

When the scales of his poetical talent weigh treasure, the Five Treasures[5] are a balance for him.
Not only Khusraw but also Nizami stand in awe of him when he composes.

His delicate *ghazals* excite the emotions, and his emotional lines are so delicate that we hope that God may cause the shadow of his guidance to continue forever and favor the days of this state with the likes of him.

There are other poets who shine like Canopus at the zenith of beauty of speech and persons upon whose subtle verse and powerful turn of phrase the people of the world feed. The celestial spheres have never before produced their likes, and at present there is no trace of their equal in any other place.

In the environs of Herat (may God protect her from catastrophe), where there come to mind and can be mentioned so many talented and discerning people, there are nearly another thousand whose job is to string pearls of meaning onto the cord of poetry and to enhance gems of precision with the garb of adornment and beauty. In no [other] epoch have there been ten such persons out of a thousand, and in no place has there been one such person out of a hundred. Those whose names have been mentioned and descriptions penned have banqueted in the assembly of Persian poetry and exhibited their ability to swim in the sea of Persian, but until today no one has clothed those virgins of meaning with a Turkish garb, and these musk-scented *élégantes* have remained veiled in their nakedness in the oblivion of poetical talent, and these angelic beauties have not been able to manifest their charm because of their lack of raiment—until this auspicious time, when one of my vassals and servants, who has attained the grade of *kükältashlïq* (foster brotherhood) and **[172]** accumulated a wealth of companionship through the path of loyal service, a confidant like a sacred dove in the closed quarters of retreat, a sharer of secrets in nocturnal conversation like the wine duck,[6] bold in expressing the truth, by whom I mean Mir Ali-Sher, who is known by his nom de plume, Nawa'i, and in whose [melodious] poetry this nom de plume is implicit.[7] He has infused life into the dead body of the Turkish language with his messianic breath. He has clothed those revivified ones with embroidery and silks woven with a Turkic warp and woof. With raindrops flowing like the spirit from his springtime poetic talent multicolored roses have blossomed in the garden of poetry, and with reanimating drops from the cloud of his mind he has scattered pearls of various hues into the ocean of poetry. Into every poetical arena into which he has charged his steed, he has brought that realm under his subjugation with the sword of the pen. The tongue is

[5] *Panj ganj* (five treasures), a five-part poetic narrative, such as Nizami and Amir Khusraw's *Khamsas*.

[6] *Baṭṭ*, a duck-shaped drinking vessel.

[7] Nawa'i is derived from *nawā* (melody).

incapable of describing his composition. I recall several lines from one of the *mathnawis* he composed on the topic of which I have been speaking, and they are as follows:

For as long as there has been Turkish tyranny,
for as long as the foundation of poetry has existed in this language,
The celestial sphere has never seen one so rare as me, as capable as Nizami in versifying.
Of whatever poetry this wretch may compose, every word is a pure pearl,
God gives me such speed that no one can catch up with me.
In this arena Firdawsi is the hero who could answer a challenge by Rustam:
He penned the glorious *Shahnama*, in the attempt to rival which every pen breaks.
He is so uncontested in this area that no one can compete with him.
That mine of treasure [Firdawsi] said in his own tongue, "I labored on the *Shahnama* for thirty years."
Whenever I might want to say this, of God's grace I have such strength
That, no matter how sluggish my talent may be, I can write in thirty months what it took him thirty years to write.
Whether particular meanings or allusion, a hundred of his lines is my daily dessert.
If I set my hand against his, not to a book of kings but to a quintet, [173]
I hope that thus making a conquest my arm will have the strength [to equal] his hand.
The thirty years of which Nizami spoke will be for me a labor of two or three years.
When, like him, I compose romance, I will show people how to compose.

When these lines emerged from his poetical talent, it was considered by people to be poetic exaggeration and pomposity, but during these felicitous times and in this ever-increasing state he set his hand in earnest to a quintet and exerted himself to complete it. Although Nizami is the [undisputed] master of poetry, it is well known that it took him thirty years to finish his quintet; and it is known that 'Mir Khusraw, who shortened the quintet from thirty thousand to eighteen thousand lines, completed his in six or seven years. It took this champion of the arena of eloquence and lord of the jungle of elocution, while producing delightful explanations and making pleasing improvements in many of the tales, no more than two years from the beginning of the labor until the end of the finished product. If one computes the time during which he was actually composing, it took not even six months. Anyone who inspects will realize the variety of his stories, the magic of his verse, the strength of his constructions, and the subtlety of his meanings. He has scriven not only in the *mathnawi* style, but in all types of poetry in which the eloquent among the Arabs and mellifluous among the Persians have ever endeavored or recorded, an elucidation of which is mentioned in the *fihrist* to his divan.[8] Did I say divan? God forbid! It is a casket full of pearls of purest words, a celestial sphere of pages filled with stars of chastest meaning.

Call it not a divan: call it a calamity for the people of grief and pain. Call it a doomsday blazing with the fire of grief.[9] [174]

Which line of his does not hurl fire into lovers' souls? Which allusion of his does not bring on an onslaught of the pangs of separation? Which hemistich of his does not cause the blood of passion to flow from the breast? Which word of his does not cause torrents of tears to flow from those suffering separation? In the realm of poetry what mighty fortress has he approached that the gates were not flung open to him? What powerful country has he raided with the army of poetical talent

[8] In the *debacha*, or *fihrist*, to his divan Mir Ali-Sher mentions the poetic forms he has included, aside from *mathnawī* and *qaṣīda: mukhammas, musaddas, rubā'iyyāt, muqaṭṭa'āt, mustazād, fard, mu'ammā, lughaz, tarjī'* and *tuyugh*. See 'Ališīr Navā'ī, *Dīvān*, facsimile edition by L. V. Dmitrieva (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1964), fol. 12b–13a.

[9] Both "calamity" *(āfat)* and "doomsday" *(qiyāmat)* are complimentary in the context of a divan, the emotive descriptions in which evoke the exquisite suffering of lovers.

that he has not conquered? He is today the champion of the inhabited world of poetry, and it is fitting that he be called *sahib-qiran* in the conquest of these realms.

He is a conqueror of the realm of poetry.
Which realm-conquering sovereign?
Do not call him merely sovereign, for this champion, if you speak true, is a *sahib-qiran*.

That a person of such marvelous works and amazing poetry appeared in this state during this reign, and that God made him cognizant of service to this celestial court and the dean of angelic panegyrists are also reasons for much thankfulness.

O Lord, how can I give thanks to thee? With what tongue should I begin?
If I had a hundred lives I would sacrifice them, but if I said I had rendered [thanks] I would be mistaken.

O Lord, made me capable of serving thee. If calamity and pain come, make me patient.
Make me inwardly mindful of thee. Make my tongue speak of thy favor.

Glossary of Titles and Terms

agha — Princess, often appended as a title of respect for ladies of high rank, especially wives and daughters of the Timurids.

ağruq — Baggage train, including accompanying wives, other females and camp-followers. It is important to remember that the Timurids maintained their seminomadic heritage and never trusted urban buildings, preferring to carry all their possessions, including their treasuries and valuables, with them in the *ağruq* at all times. To the victor in a battle belonged the spoils of the *ağruq,* including objets d'art, jewel-encrusted vessels and illuminated manuscripts.

alachuq — A Central Asian style trellis tent. The normal Persian equivalent is *khargāh.*

amīr — High military title, commander; equivalent to the Turkish *beg;* as a title, *amīr* precedes the given name. In later Timurid times *amīr* was shortened to *mīr* and as such is often part of a given name, e.g., Mir-Ali. *Amīr al-umarā:* commander-in-chief, principal officer.

amīrzāda — See *mīrzā.*

ash — Food in general, stews with some sort of noodle in particular. *Ash* was customarily distributed to the population at large at funerals and on the fortieth day after a death.

atäkä — Lord tutor, regent; the noble appointed as guardian and tutor to a prince.

bahadur — From the Mongolian *bağatur,* or *ba'atur* (hero), a loan-word in Persian from Mongol times as *bahādur;* as a military title of high merit it follows the given name.

bakhshï — Originally, in Mongol times, *bakhshï* designated Buddhist monks and teachers. In the Timurid era the term came to mean Turkish secretaries and scribes, who kept records and prepared documents in the Uighur script. Their Persian counterparts were called *nivīsanda.*

baraun ghar — See *qol.*

basmala — The formula *bi-smi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīm* (in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful), used in the Islamic world to initiate any action.

batman — A Turkish weight equivalent to the maund, which varied greatly according to time and place, usually around 3 kg.

beg — Literally "lord"; Turkish equivalent to *amir,* q.v.; follows given name.

begim Literally "my lady," feminine equivalent of *beg*. By association with *khanïm* > *khānum*, q.v., the word was later naturalized in Indo-Persian as *bēgum* and follows the given name.

bey Uzbek for *beg*.[1]

bitigchi Scribe, secretary.

börk A cap, usually of felt, with low or high crown and turned-up brim.

chahār- For all compounds with *chahār-*, see *chār-*.

chapar A man-sized, portable shield.

chārqab A garment of gold brocade, "peculiar to the kings of Transoxiana," as the dictionaries define it. The exact configuration is unknown.

chārsū "Crossroads," the central marketplace in a city.

chārṣuffa Four-sided chamber with arched recesses in each of the four walls.

chārṭāq Pavilion, or kiosk, formed of four arches supporting a dome.

chihil sutūn An architectural type, consisting of portico and columns, often with a reflecting pool. Literally *chihil sutūn* means "forty columns," but the connotation is "many-pillared."

dägälä A short-sleeved, brocaded garment.

dār al-ḥarb "War zone," non-Muslim areas in which holy war could be waged.

darugha Commissioner, prefect.

debācha An elaborate decorative element in book illumination. Originally the term *debācha*, or *debāja* (an Arabicization of the Middle Persian *dêbâg*), meaning "brocade," appears to have referred to any illumination of the round and oval types that later, especially in India, became known as *shamsa* (q.v.). The term *debācha* refers not only to frontispiece illumination, including double frontispieces, but also to the text of prefaces and introductions, which were highly "brocaded" rhetorically and began on the illuminated pages.

dhikr Sufi meditative session. In some orders musical accompaniment and dancing were integral to the *dhikr;* in others only silent *dhikr* was permitted.

dinar A silver coin. In Transoxiana the Kepeki dinar (so called after Kebek Khan, r. 1318–26) weighed 8 grams and was divided into 6 dirhems.[2]

divan (1) A collection of a poet's works. (2) The administrative apparatus of a kingdom; also the office of the chief fiscal and administrative officers. Under the Timurids a dual divan system was operative: the Persian Divan, called both the Tajik Divan and the Sart Divan, staffed by Persians, dealt with fiscal and general administration, while the Turkish Divan, staffed by Turks, was responsible for the military.

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[1]At some point the Turkic *é* > *i* in Uzbek; hence *bey* > *bi(y)*. Since it is not known whether the shift had occurred by the fifteenth century, all the so-called "closed *é*" vowels are transcribed as *e*.

[2]Bert Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, 558.

el People, tribe. See also *ulus*.

farrāsh The court official who supervised the pitching and furnishing of tents.

firangi One of the classic motifs of Persian design (literally, "Frankish, European").

ghajarchi Reconnoiterer, tracker, pathfinder, guide.

ghazal A monorhyme Persian verse form, usually amatory in tone and vocabulary, consisting of five to twelve lines.

ghāzī "Warrior for the faith," *ghāzī* was the title awarded to rulers who staged raids or waged holy war on the *dār al-ḥarb* (q.v.).

ghichak A small viol.

ghol See *qol*.

ḥadīth The body of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings.

ichki A member of a prince's inner circle; his comrade and confidant.

'Idgāh A place, generally some distance outside of town, for large numbers of people to congregate for holiday prayers, usually with a wall containing a *miḥrāb* and a pulpit.

ïnaq Comrade, advisor.

islīmī Vine-and-tendril motif in illumination, the term *islīmī* was often changed to *islāmī* (Islamic) to accord with *khaṭā'ī* (Cathaian, Chinese), *firangī* (Frankish, European), and *band-i rūmī* (Anatolian knot), other basic motifs of illumination.

jarīb A measure of area, approximately 960 square meters.

jätä Literally "bandit," *jätä* was the term applied by Chaghatayid Turks to Mongolians and un-Islamicized Mughuls, who in turn called the Chaghatays *qaraunas* (half-breeds).

jäün ghar See *qol*.

jočin Guest of honor.

kattāra An Indian double-hilted dagger (Hindi *kaṭār*, Sanskrit *kaṭṭāraḥ*).

kävürgä A very large military kettledrum.

khamsa "Quintet," generally refers to one of the two most famous collections of five *mathnawis* by Amir Khusraw of Delhi and Nizami of Ganja.

khan Shortened form of the Mongolian *qaġan* (or *qa'an*, emperor, from which are also derived *khāqān*, q.v., and *qā'ān*). During the Timurid period this title is applied only to ruling descendants of Genghis Khan.

khānaqāh A Sufi "chapterhouse."

khanïm Literally "my khan," feminine equivalent to *khan*; title for daughters of khans. As the *ï* sound is foreign to Persian, the word was naturalized in Persian as *khānum*.

khānzāda Title for any offspring of a khan; often used as a title in lieu of the given name for daughters of khans, as the many Khanzada Khanïms.

khāqān — From the Mongolian *qağan* (emperor). The title *khāqān-i sa'īd* (felicitous emperor) was often applied to Shahrukh; *khāqān-i manṣūr* (victorious emperor) was Sultan-Husayn's epithet.

kharwār — A large measure of weight, approximately 300 kg.; the older "small *kharwār*" is 83.3 kg.

khatai — One of the classic motifs of Persian design (literally, "Cathaian, Chinese").

khatun — Lady, princess.

khuṭba — The proclamation read during the congregational Friday prayer in which the name of the reigning monarch is given. The *khuṭba* and coinage were the primary means of proclaiming the independent, autonomous rule of a sovereign in a given area.

khwāja — A title of learning and respect.

kitābkhāna — Workshop, atelier in which the arts of the book were practiced. Although books may sometimes have been stored in the *kitābkhāna*, they were generally kept in a *khizāna* (treasury, storeroom).

köl — Lake, morass.

kotwal — Warden of a fort.

kükältäsh[3] — Milk brother or sister, equivalent to the Persian *hamshira*. The bond created between children nursed by the same woman was strong in Turko-Iranian society.

kürägän — From the Mongolian *kürägän* (son-in-law); the title adopted by Timur when he married Saray Malik Khanïm, the daughter of the Genghisid Qazan Sultan Khan of the Ulus Chaghatay. The title was also adopted by Timur's descendants who married Genghisid princesses (*khanzadas*, q.v.), e.g., Miranshah Kürägän, who married Sevin Beg Khanzada Khanïm, the daughter of Aq Sufi Qonqïrat; Ulughbeg Kürägän, who married both Aqi Sultan Khanika, the daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khan (Ögedei), and Husn Nigar Khanika, the daughter of Sham'-i Jahan Khan (Chaghatay); Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän, who married Khanzada Begim, the daughter of the Uzbek Abu'l-Khayr Khan (Jochi); and Mirza Muzaffar-Husayn Kürägän, who married Ahmad Khan's daughter, Khanzada Khanïm. The title *kürägän* (> *kürgän*) was naturalized in Persian as *gürkān* and appears in Ottoman as *gürkan*.

kutubkhāna — Variant of *kitābkhāna* (q.v.).

langar — A Sufi establishment in which meals were prepared for the indigent.

lawḥ(a) — Rectangular illuminated chapter heading. See *sarlawḥ*.

madrasa — "Seminary," institution of higher religious learning.

mangğlay — Vanguard of the Turco-Mongolian army. See *qol*.

malik — Large-scale landowner.

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[3]This word is also read as *kökältash* (Doerfer, *TMEN*, §343). I have followed Sir Gerard Clauson (*Etymological Dictionary*, p. 732) in reading *kükältäsh*.

mathnawī A Persian verse form, usually narrative and without limit as to length, consisting of rhyming couplets.

maṭla' The first line of a *ghazal*.

mawlānā Arabic for "our lord," a title of respect for learned persons; often shortened to *mullā*.

miḥrāb Niche in the wall of a mosque to indicate the direction of prayer (*qibla*, q.v.).

mīr Shortened form of *amir*, q.v. Also occurs as an integral part of certain given names, e.g., Mir-Ali.

mīrzā Shortened form of *amīrzāda* (amir's son), the title given during the Timurid period to all descendants of Amir Timur. Amongst the Uzbeks and Turcomans the title meant simply son of an amir.

mithqāl A measure of weight, 4.6 grams in the 16th century.[4]

möchälgä A legal obligation.

morchal Also *molchar*, from the Mongolian *boljar*, the time and place of an agreed-upon encounter, hence "station" (see Doerfer, *TMEN*, I, 107).

mufarriḥ A digestive and refreshing concoction, often laced with intoxicants and narcotics.

muḥaddith Specialist in the *ḥadīth*, q.v.

muḥtasib Enforcer of public morals and inspector of commercial weights and measures.

mujāwir A person in residence, temporarily or permanently, at a shrine or holy place.

mujtahid The highest grade of jurisprudence; a jurisprudent *(faqīh)* who reached the rank of *mujtahid* was theoretically able to exercise "independent judgment" to make a legal decision. Although Shiites still recognize *mujtahid*s today, the grade had ceased to have practical meaning in the Sunni world by the time of the Timurids.

mullā Shortened form of *mawlānā*, q.v.

musalsal A type of script in which all letters are connected to each other, in defiance of the normative rules of Arabic script.

naqabchī A specialist in tunneling into fortresses.

naqāra A pair of small timpani; the privilege of having *naqāra* beaten was awarded to high-ranking military officials and princes. The entire equipage of timpani and timpanists is referred to as *naqārakhāna*.

naqīb Dean of the sayyids of a city or an area.

naqsh Design, illumination, painting (by implication, nonfigural). Nonfigural painters are called *naqqāsh*. Cf. *taṣwīr, tadhhīb*.

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[4]See Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), p. 6.

nasta'liq — A fluid calligraphic style that developed *ca.* A.D. 1400, characterized by placement of individual graphic units approximately on a 30° bias to the horizontal base line.

nawrozi — Garments awarded as special favor by a prince at the Persian New Year *(nawroz).*

nithār — Coins and semi-precious jewels scattered over the bride and groom, as well as guests, at a wedding feast. See also *sachïq.*

nökär — Liegeman, associate, companion. This term was naturalized in Persian as *nawkar* and came to mean servant. During the Timurid period it indicated a prince's liegemen and close companions who were not of *beg* rank.

noyan — Mongolian for prince. In the Timurid period *noyan* was a high military title.

ögülgä — Money distributed among soldiers, either as an incentive or, more commonly, as a reward after a battle or conquest.

öläng — Grassy meadow, grazing pasture.

ordu — The Turco-Mongolian army camp. *Ordu* is the origin of the English "horde."

pādishāh — Independent, autonomous ruler of a domain.

peshkash — "Offering," gift, tribute. The offering of cash and/or luxury goods expected from anyone granted audience with a ruler.

qabaq — Literally "gourd," the term refers to the gourd mounted on a pole, which was originally used as target in mounted archery practice. By extension the term refers to the game as a whole.[5]

qalpaq — Mongolian type fur hat.

qaraul — Scout, patrol.

qaṣīda — A monorhyme verse form, generally eulogistic.

qibla — Direction toward the Ka'ba in Mecca, the direction of Muslim prayer.

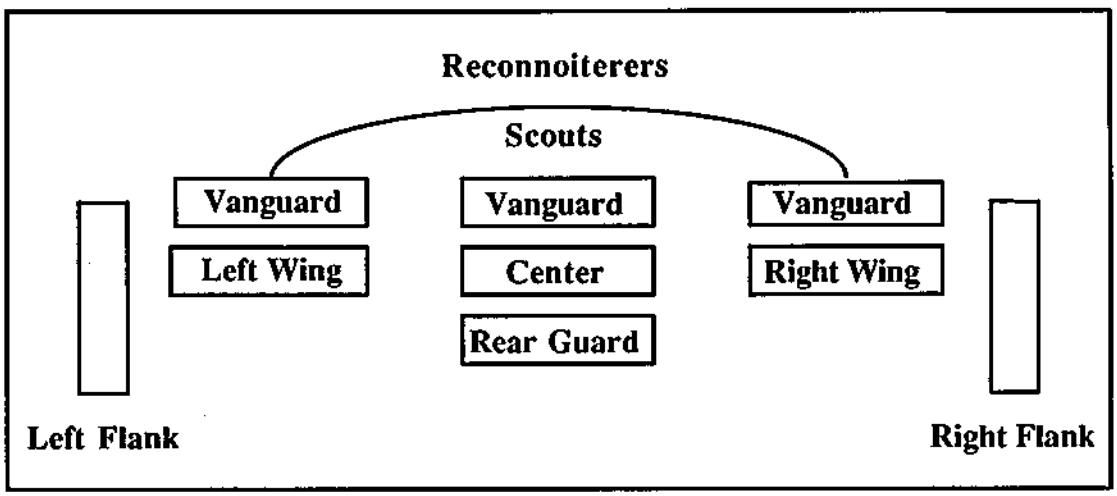
qiṭ'a — (1) Occasional poem. (2) A calligraphic specimen, sample of calligraphy. Samples of *nasta'liq* consist generally of two or three lines of poetry written diagonally on the page; other styles are written horizontally.

qïzïlbash — Literally "red-head," the term was used to designate members of the Safavid Order, who wore a high-peaked red felt cap under their turbans.

qol, ghol — Central body of the Turco-Mongolian army. The *qol* was divided into right wing *(ong qol),* center and left wing *(sol qol),* flanked by the right flank, (Mongolian *baraun ghar* > Persian *barānghār)* and the left flank (Mongo-

[5]An excellent illustration of the *qabaq* game, with the tall pole on which the target was set and mounted archers, is reproduced in E. Yu. Yusupov, ed., *Alisher Navoiy asarlariga ishlangan rasmlar: XV–XIX asrlar* (Tashkent: Fan, 1982), plate 221. The line of poetry by Mir Ali-Sher incorporated into the illustration is: *Kim ki sarkāšrāk, ḥavādiṯ oqïğa kōprāk hadaf / ošbu ḥālatnï qabaq aḥvālïdïn qïlğïl ḥisāb* (The higher one's head is reared, the more one becomes a target for the arrows of [untoward] events: calculate this situation from the state of the *qabaq).*

lian *jäün ghar* > Persian *jawānghār)*. For the Mongolian, Turco-Mongolian and Safavid tactical arrays, see Doerfer, *TMEN*, IV, pp. 82–92, who gives the following diagram as an idealized representation of the Timurid tactical array:



qorchï Arms bearer, from the Mongolian for quiver-bearer.

qulavuz Scout, advance patrol.

qurultay Assembly of nobles, council; jamboree.[6]

quṭb In Sufi belief the *quṭb* (pole) is the chief of the 360 saints of the age; by virtue of his existence the universe is held together.

rikābkhāna Section of a military camp where armor and other accoutrements are kept.

sachïq The Turkish equivalent to *nithar*, q.v.

ṣadr Administrator and supervisor of religious endowments.

ṣāḥib-qirān Literally "lord of the conjunction," Timur's title refers to the conjunction of the two lucky stars, Venus and Jupiter, under which he supposedly was born.

sarāparda An enclosure made by stretching cloth on poles driven in the ground, the *sarāparda* creates private spaces within a camp.

sarlawḥ The first or main *lawḥ* (q.v.) in a book, usually much more elaborately ornamented than subsequent *lawḥs*. Cf. *debācha*.

sayyid A descendant of the prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali ibn Abi-Talib's sons, Hasan and Husayn. Sayyids occupied a position of great respectability and venerability in Turco-Iranian society.

shamsa Sunburst medallion, burnished gold roundel.

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[6]The word *qurultay* was taken into Chaghatay from the Mongolian *quriltay* (see Doerfer, *TMEN*, §305) and it is often spelled as *quriltay*, but in the majority of instances in Timurid sources, particularly earlier sources like Yazdi's *Zafarnama*, it is spelled *plene*—and was doubtlessly pronounced—as *qurultay*.

shar'ī A linear measurement equivalent to approximately two miles, the exact distance depending upon the terrain.

sharī'a Islamic law.

shāhnishīn A raised platform or dais, sometimes provided with sides and a back.

sharīf A descendant of the Bani-Hashim clan, to which the prophet Muhammad belonged.

sulṭān A title often awarded princes when they were made provincial governors; also occurs as an integral part of some given names, e.g., Muhammad-Sultan, Sultan-Husayn.

tadhhīb Gilding, limning, illumination. The limner, or illuminator, is called *mudhahhib*, and the term, like the English *limner*, originally referred to the artisans who did the gold fill and gilding in illumination; later it was loosely used for painter and artist in general.

taḥrīr (1) "Contour," a fine black (or other color) outline around words and shapes. (2) Writing, calligraphy; originally meant a clean copy of a document.

ta'līq A chancery calligraphic style characterized by a severely slanting line and "shorthand" connections between all letters within a word. In Ottoman usage the word *ta'līq* refers to *nasta'līq;* the *ta'līq* style is called *dīwānī.*

tamgha A sales and customs tax instituted by the Mongols and hence considered un-Islamic by the ulema.

tanga(cha) A silver coin introduced by Timur. The Shahrukhid tanga weighed 4.72 grams.

tärkän Female title of high rank.

tarkhan A Turco-Mongolian class of special favor to which one could be nominated by the ruler. *Tarkhans* were exempted from normal taxation and interference in their lands, which were inherited and did not revert to the crown upon the death of the holder, as a normal fief did; they had immediate access to the ruler at any time, and they were exempted from prosecution for up to nine offenses.

taṣwīr Depiction, loosely used for painting in general, but normally implies figural painting. Figural painters are called *muṣawwir, ṣūratgar* and *chihragushā(y).* Cf. *naqsh, tadhhīb.*

Toqmaq The Chaghatay designation of the Uzbeks.

toquz Turkish for "nine," *toquz* means the nine, or ninefold, gifts presented to a ruler during audience. Also, any set of nine.

töshäk Mattress, cloth or carpet upon which the ruler sat while holding a reception or court. As a special mark of favor, a guest could be invited to sit with the prince on his *töshäk.*

tovachi A military officer in charge, among other things, of the muster; troop inspector.

toy Feast, banquet.

tümän (1) A unit of currency designating 10,000 dinars. (2) An administrative area.

tugh Yak- or horsetail standard awarded to high-ranking military commanders.

tura A defensive line formed of iron rods and plates fastened together with chains and hooks.

tuyugh A Turkic verse form.

uljamishi A type of kowtow, homage.

ulus "Nation" in a geographical sense, a coalition of various tribes within a given area. In Timurid texts usually only the Chaghatayid *ulus* is referred to. Cf. *el.*

uruq Clan, family, household.

Uwaysi A Sufi who was initiated into Sufism not by a living shaykh but either by the spirit of a dead shaykh or by Khizr, the master par excellence of "masterless" Sufis. The term is derived from a contemporary of the prophet Muhammad, Uways Qarani, who believed in the prophet without ever having seen him and performed extraordinary acts of mortification.

wālī Superintendent of a religious trust; also ruler of an area administered through the religious foundations.

yasa, yasaq Mongolian custom, Genghisid law; (death) penalty.

yasaqi Soldier.

yasaul Sergeant at arms.

yurt Camp site, station, dwelling place.

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