

THE “GRAVE TASK” OF WRITING TURKO-MONGOL HISTORY:

MIRZA HAYDAR DUGHLAT AS A HISTORIAN

The “Grave Task” of Writing Turko-Mongol History:

Mirza Haydar Dughlat as a Historian

by

Henry Dickie Brill

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## Abstract

Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat (b. 1499–1500, d.1551) was a Turko-Mongol aristocrat who left behind an ambitious historical work: the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, or the *History of Rashid*. In his Persian-language history, Mirza Haydar chronicles the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate, a remnant of the Mongol Empire, from the mid-fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. Indeed, the period at the center of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was a highly tumultuous one that saw the slow, but steady, rise of new Islamicate empires, which brought major political and cultural changes to Central and South Asia. However, Mirza Haydar does not limit himself to an abstracted discussion of political and cultural changes. Rather, he describes at length his own experiences within this highly fluid and formative milieu. The present thesis attempts to recover the ways in which history was imagined, constructed, and practiced in early-modern Central and South Asia by using the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haydar as a case study. Such an examination allows for new insights on the intellectual ecosystem and cultural world in which the Moghul historian lived to come to the fore.

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## Introduction

### Approaching Mirza Haydar: A Methodological Contextualization

With my lack of ability, what right had I to put my destitute pen to the page of composition? However, it was out of necessity, since a few narratives of the Moghul khans who were Muslims have been heard from reliable sources, and there are also those whose careers I have witnessed myself. Now that I look around myself, I see that among my peers there is no one left who knows these narratives or who could recite them. If I were not so bold, the Moghuls and the Moghul khans would become so neglected that they would lose their own heritage, not to mention the history of their ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

So writes the historian and Turko-Mongol aristocrat Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat (b. 1499–1500, d.1551), describing the factors behind the composition of his 1546 Persian-language history: the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, or *History of Rashid*, a major source for the study of late-medieval and early-modern Central and South Asia. Here, a passage drawn from a concluding section in the work, Mirza Haydar locates his historiographical drive in the desire to record the soon-to-be-lost history of the Moghul khans, by whom he means members of a particular lineage descended from the world conqueror Chinggis Khan. A complex subject in its own right, the historical circumstances of both Mirza Haydar and the object of his analysis will be unpacked in proceeding chapters. However, what can be identified at the outset is a marked sense of anxiety concerning the larger project, in which Moghul history and, indeed, heritage are understood as lying at stake.

The serious concerns underlying how Mirza Haydar frames the composition of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* encourage the student of history to pay critical attention to his historiographical journey. The present thesis attempts to move in such a direction by situating the analysis of Mirza Haydar as a historian as its primary goal. In particular, the

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan, English Translation*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996), 85. The Thackston translation is cited hereafter as *TR-T*.

following series of separate, yet interrelated, questions motivate this examination of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a work of history: How did Mirza Haydar construct his text as history? In what ways does his work draw and differ from well-established trends in historical writing? How did personal experience intersect with the role of historian for Mirza Haydar? And, what does the historiographical style of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* suggest about the lived experiences of the Turko-Mongol Muslim aristocracy during the early-modern period?

Recent developments in scholarship on early-modern Islamicate historical writing have shaped these questions, and will help to provide a guiding framework through which to approach Mirza Haydar as a historian. A brief overview of scholarly work on the subject will help to contextualize my approach, as well as its significance within the secondary literature.

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Much of the historiographical landscape has changed since Marilyn Robinson Waldman noted how scholars of Islamicate history all-too-often read “historical narratives almost exclusively as unstructured, uninterpretive mines of factual information” in her 1980 study of a major Persian historiographical work.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the last thirty-five years have seen an increased interest in the critical examination of Islamicate historiography, with a particular focus on historical narratives composed around the rise of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Timurid-Mughal Empires. Scholarship on Persian- and Turkic-language histories dating to the early-modern period can be divided in three related categories: (1) studies in which a particular historian serves as the

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<sup>2</sup> Marilyn Robinson Waldman, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980), 3.

analytical focal point; (2) comparatively broader works wherein a number of authors are considered in attempt to analyze historical writing during a well-defined milieu, most often the reign of a particular sovereign; and (3) comparative inquiries, centered around a particular trope or theme. More overlapping than exclusive, these three categories represent the dominant approaches to Islamicate historical writing during the early-modern period.

Many modern scholars have approached Islamicate historiography from the early-modern period by taking the author as a primary focal point. The Ottoman historian Cornell Fleischer was one of the early pioneers of such an approach. In 1986, Fleischer published his well-known study of Mustafa Âli (d. 1600), an Ottoman polymath par excellence: historian, *littérateur*, and bureaucrat.<sup>3</sup> Following a tripartite structure, the work begins with an intellectual biography of Âli.<sup>4</sup> Fleischer then contextualizes the intellectual in terms of sixteenth-century developments in the Ottoman bureaucracy, before providing a treatment of Âli as an early-modern historian.<sup>5</sup> By providing a comprehensive reading of Âli, Fleischer was able to make a number of important contributions to modern debates about the Ottoman Empire, the most significant of which lies in a re-evaluation of supposed imperial “decline” following the reign of Sultan Süleyman (d. 1566).<sup>6</sup> An early adopter of the historian-centric approach, Fleischer

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<sup>3</sup> Cornell F. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 13–187.

<sup>5</sup> Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 191–231; 235–307.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Fleischer suggests that Âli writes of empire-wide decline in large part due to the vicissitudes of his own career within the Ottoman bureaucracy. See: *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 300–307.

For an overview of the decline thesis, see: Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, no. 1–2 (1997–1998): 30–75; and, Dana Sajdi, “Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction,” in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 1–40.

ultimately demonstrates its potential to provide a rich look at intellectual, cultural, and administrative developments during the early-modern period.

Working within and without the realm of Ottoman historiography, scholars have continued to focus on individual historians, much as Fleischer does in his monograph on Mustafa Âli—which is now over three decades old. Kaya Şahin, who studied Ottoman history under Fleischer, and Evrim Binbaş, who works on Timurid history, serve as representative examples. Şahin situates the Ottoman historian Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1567) at the center of his examination of the reign of Sultan Süleyman, which was recently published in 2013.<sup>7</sup> Arranged in two sections, the work begins with a look at the life and career of Çelebi, before moving to an analysis of the historiographical features of his writings.<sup>8</sup> In a similar methodological vein, Evrim Binbaş pairs biographical and historiographical analyses in his 2016 study of cross-dynastic and cross-linguistic intellectual networks in late-medieval Iran, which centers on the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi (d. 1454).<sup>9</sup> By focusing on particular historians, both Şahin and Binbaş have made significant historiographical contributions, highlighting the utility of an author-focused approach to historical writing.<sup>10</sup>

While some scholars have found it beneficial to focus on a particular historian, others have taken a comparatively broader approach by considering trends in historical writing during a well-defined analytical unit, oftentimes demarcated in terms of dynasty

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<sup>7</sup> Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, 15–154; 157–252.

<sup>9</sup> İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> In particular, Şahin suggests how historical writing helped to usher in a new imperial consciousness during the reign of Süleyman, for which see: Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, especially chapter six. Binbaş makes a major contribution by highlighting the key role of occult sciences in the intellectual networks of the fifteenth-century Islamicate world, for which see: Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, especially chapters three and four.

and time period. The work of Sholeh Quinn, a scholar of the early-modern Safavid dynasty in Iran, serves as a good example of the dynastic-focused method of examining historical writing. Quinn published her study of Safavid historical writing under Shah ‘Abbas (d. 1629) in 2000.<sup>11</sup> Rather than limiting her analysis to the best-known Safavid court historian, Iskandar Beg, Quinn aims to provide broader reflections on the Safavid historiographical topography, a process involving the close study of seldom-used sources.<sup>12</sup> Reading many historical narratives from different authors, Quinn treats larger themes in Safavid historiography, such as the development of “imitative” models of historical writing.<sup>13</sup> Focusing on historical writing during a well-defined period has allowed Quinn to put the Safavid dynasty in conversation with others, namely the Timurid and Timurid-Mughal royal houses, showing the possibilities of a study considering a multiplicity of historians.<sup>14</sup>

Following a similar method as Quinn, art historians have also examined the production of court history through consideration of multiple historians. The works of David Roxburgh and Emine Fetvacı, both of whom probe the intersections of art and historiography, serve as cases in point. Roxburgh examines sixteenth-century album prefaces, most of which were produced under Safavid patronage, in a 2001 monograph.<sup>15</sup> Much as Roxburgh has considered prefaces of different authorship, Fetvacı has recently provided a treatment of miniatures in Ottoman court histories with a particular focus on

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<sup>11</sup> Sholeh A. Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah ‘Abbas: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah ‘Abbas*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah ‘Abbas*, especially chapters three and four.

<sup>14</sup> See: Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah ‘Abbas*, especially chapter six.

<sup>15</sup> David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

those dating to the late-sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> By considering multiple authors writing within a distinct imperial setting, both Roxburgh and Fetvacı have broken considerable historiographical ground on major themes relating to book production and readership during the sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Considered on the whole, a dynastic-centric approach has allowed scholars to draw broader conclusions about the practice and theory of writing history in particular contexts.

Historians studying early-modern historical writing through an imperial framework have paved the way for those taking a more comparative view, which has provided particularly rich insights in recent years. Those who take a comparative approach typically examine the ways in which early-modern authors writing in different contexts (e.g., political, temporal, generic) treat a particular historiographical feature. Some working in this vein, such as Shahzad Bashir, choose to focus on the structure of historiographical works. For example, Bashir recently published an article on “Islamic time,” which examines the temporal scaffolding of three, well-known historiographies written in Persian from 1490 to 1540.<sup>18</sup> In particular, Bashir notes how the authors of these works each employ markedly different understandings of time. On the one hand, Bashir notes how the universal history of Ghiyas al-Din Khwandamir (d. 1534) reflects a “progression of time from prehistory to his own present,” while “representing alternative

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<sup>16</sup> Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013). See the companion volume for essays that also take a dynastic-centric approach: H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı, eds., *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> Specifically, Roxburgh tracks developments to the genre of album preface and, in doing so, highlights how artist-authors conceptualized art history, as well as the past more generally, for which see: Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, especially chapters five and six. Fetvacı makes a major contribution by demonstrating how non-royal patronage of luxury book production was connected to elite identity and political legitimation. See, for example, her discussion of manuscript production sponsored by grand viziers: Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, chapters three and five.

<sup>18</sup> Shahzad Bashir, “On Islamic Time: Rethinking Chronology in the Historiography of Muslim Societies,” *History and Theory* 53, no. 4 (December 2014): 519–544.

histories as independent streams of time.”<sup>19</sup> On the other, he demonstrates how the local historian Mu‘in al-Din Isfizari, writing circa 1493, privileges space over time by describing the progression of time in the city of Herat.<sup>20</sup> Examining how these authors take different approaches to temporality is part and parcel of an ongoing project in which Bashir attempts to re-conceptualize “Islam” as a category of analysis, suggesting how a thematic approach to early-modern historiography can provide larger theoretical insights.<sup>21</sup>

While some scholars, such as Bashir, have examined the structure of Islamicate historiographical works through a comparative approach, others have engaged in analysis of a similar scope by looking at the ways in which early-modern authors treat a particular theme. The recent work of Ali Anooshahr serves as a case in point. Anooshahr considers Persian-language historiographical sources from the Ottoman, Safavid, Shibanid-Uzbek, Chaghatayid-Moghul, and Timurid-Mughal Empires, most of which date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup> In particular, Anooshahr probes “the *problematique* of origins,” that is how early-modern historians writing for various dynasties deal with the question of imperial origins and construct mythologies related to Turko-Mongol heritage.<sup>23</sup> By focusing on the construction of Turko-Mongol origin myths, a very singular theme, across a wide array of texts written in different imperial contexts, Anooshahr is able to

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<sup>19</sup> Bashir, “On Islamic Time,” 535; 533. For an extended treatment of how Khwandamir represents conflicting historical narratives, see: Shahzad Bashir, “A Perso-Islamic universal chronicle in its historical context: Ghiyās al-Dīn Khwāndamīr’s *Ḥabīb al-siyar*,” in *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past*, ed. Bernd-Christian Otto, Susanne Rau, and Jörg Rüpke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 209–225.

<sup>20</sup> Bashir, “On Islamic Time,” 535–539.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of how Bashir attempts to re-conceptualize Islam in light of recent theoretical work on the subject, see his “Everlasting Doubt: Uncertainty in Islamic Representations of the Past,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 20 (March 2018): especially 25–29.

<sup>22</sup> Ali Anooshahr, *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires: A Study of Politics and Invented Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>23</sup> Anooshahr, *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires*, 2.

demonstrate how modern historians have adopted accompanying conceptions of genealogy and ethnicity, further highlighting the possibilities of a comparative approach to Islamicate historiography.<sup>24</sup>

Surveyed only in brief here, scholarship on early-modern Islamicate historical writing is methodologically rich, with scholars taking three major approaches: historian-specific, dynastic-centric, and comparative. Although secondary literature on the subject is on the whole well developed, it is certainly not without its shortcomings. In particular, English-language studies of Turko-Mongol historical writing from the early-modern period are relatively few and far between. Indeed, those who have studied the subject have in large part focused on the Timurid-Mughal Empire of South Asia.<sup>25</sup> The history and the historiographical traditions from other contemporaneous dynasties have remained comparatively understudied. As case in point stands the primary subject of the present thesis: the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and its author Mirza Haydar.

While scholars have acknowledged the importance of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a historical source, which serves as the only extant record of certain events and large groups of people, few have engaged in thorough study of the text or its author. Biographical treatments of Mirza Haydar can be found in two sources. The first lies in the introduction to an English translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, authored by the Orientalist Ney Elias.<sup>26</sup> Although Elias provides a helpful overview of Mirza Haydar, his

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<sup>24</sup> For which, see: Anooshahr, *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires*, especially chapters two and eight.

<sup>25</sup> For rich studies on the early Timurid-Mughal Empire, see: Stephen Frederic Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Bābur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483–1530)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); and, Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and, Lisa Balabanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire: Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

<sup>26</sup> For which, see: Ney Elias, introduction to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar*,

introduction is now rather outdated, especially as the editor is wont to critique Mirza Haydar on the basis of modern European understandings of historical writing.<sup>27</sup> The more recent work of Mansura Haidar, a collection of translated sources about Mirza Haydar, is more useful than that of Elias.<sup>28</sup> By making seldom-studied sources accessible to an English-speaking audience, Haidar has made an important contribution to the study of early-modern Central and South Asia. However, she does not view Mirza Haydar in a particularly critical light, as such an approach would not fit the aims of her type of study. While not entirely lacking, scholarship on Mirza Haydar—an important political actor and historian—remains rather limited.

Much as scholarly work on Mirza Haydar leaves much room for further exploration, examinations of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a work of historical writing are not very thorough. For instance, two scholars have considered the genre of the work in short articles of less than ten pages each.<sup>29</sup> While these studies have certainly influenced the questions considered in the current thesis, they are nonetheless very cursory treatments of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Recently, Ali Anooshahr has provided a comparatively more sustained treatment of the history.<sup>30</sup> In particular, Anooshahr analyzes the “aristocratic

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*Duglát: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, by Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Duglát, ed. Ney Elias, trans. Edward Denison Ross (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1895), especially 1–27. The Ross translation is cited hereafter as *TR-R*.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example: Elias, introduction to *TR-R*, 4–6.

<sup>28</sup> Mansura Haidar, *Mirza Haidar Dughlat as Depicted in Persian Sources* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2002).

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Hayoz, “Hagiographic Tendencies in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: Mirza Haydar Dughlat’s Hagio-Historiographic Way of Writing History,” in *Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the European Society for Central Asian Studies*, ed. Tomasz Gacek and Jadwiga Pstrusińska (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 149–156; and, Eiji Mano, “The *Baburnama* and the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: Their Mutual Relationship,” in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 44–47.

<sup>30</sup> Ali Anooshahr, “Mughals, Mongols, and Mongrels: The Challenge of Aristocracy and the Rise of the Mughal State in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 6 (2014): 559–577. Anooshahr presents a slightly revised version of the article as chapter six of his *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires*.

outlook of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*,” making an important contribution to the study of Turko-Mongol political systems during the early-modern period.<sup>31</sup> That being said, Anooshahr focuses almost exclusively on aristocratic-royal dynamics, causing him to present a rather limited reading of a wide reaching text. Suffice it to say that secondary literature on the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* serves as a good starting point for a more sustained consideration of Mirza Haydar and his history.

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The current thesis primarily takes a historian-specific approach by situating Mirza Haydar as its analytical focal point. A number of early-modern works available in English translation allow for such an approach. I have primarily drawn from the 1996 translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* published by Wheeler Thackston.<sup>32</sup> Thackston translated his edition of the Persian text, which comprises about two hundred folios and is based on two manuscript copies of the work from the British Museum in London and the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg.<sup>33</sup> I have also consulted the earlier translation by the Orientalist Edward Denison Ross to get a better (but admittedly incomplete) sense of the multivocalities of the text.<sup>34</sup> These two English-language translations of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* take center stage in this study. I have also consulted translations of well-known sources roughly contemporary to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, namely royal memoirs from members of the Timurid-Mughal royal house, to contextualize Mirza Haydar and his history. These include the largely autobiographical memoir by the Timurid-Mughal

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<sup>31</sup> Anooshahr, “Mughals, Mongols, and Mongrels,” 563.

<sup>32</sup> *TR-T*.

<sup>33</sup> Wheeler M. Thackston, editor’s preface to Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan, Persian Text*, ed. Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996), ix–x.

<sup>34</sup> *TR-R*.

Emperor Zahir al-Din Babur (d. 1530), known as the *Baburnama*, as well as the memoir of the Timurid-Mughal princess Gulbadan Begum (d. 1603), known as the *Humayun-nama*.<sup>35</sup> Analysis of these primary sources in particular allows for a thorough look at Mirza Haydar as both historian and historical actor.

My consideration of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and its author is broken into three body chapters. Each of these chapters is situated along an interpretive dynamic related to how Mirza Haydar serves as one of the only extant textual sources for much of the history at the center of his work and, accordingly, at the center of my own. That is to say, I approach the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as both source and subject of interpretation on account of the relative dearth of historiographical sources on the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate during the mid-fourteenth to early-sixteenth centuries. Here, the challenges and possibilities of working with a source that stands more-or-less alone in recounting a certain history are perhaps most evident. Admittedly, I cannot provide a comprehensive answer to the correct means by which such a text should be approached. Suffice to say that my consideration of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* moves from taking the work as a source of context (among other contemporaneous texts) to an object of interpretation as the narrative progresses.

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<sup>35</sup> For the translation of the *Baburnama*, see: Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York: Modern Library, 2002). The Thackston translation is cited hereafter as *BN-T*.

Thackston first published this English translation as part of a trilingual edition of Babur's text, for which see: Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Bāburnāma: Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1993). Here, I use the 2002 edition, as it is more accessible than the 1993 original.

For translations of the *Humayun-nama*, see: Gulbadan Begim, *The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-nama)*, ed. and trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902); and, Gulbadan Begim, *Humāyunnāma*, in *Three Memoirs of Homayun*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2009), 1: 1–67.

Chapter One serves to contextualize Mirza Haydar by considering the broad contours of the world in which he lived and about which he wrote. In particular, the first section of the chapter explores the political and genealogical relationships between a number of major Turko-Mongol royal and aristocratic families, including the Chaghatayid-Moghul, Timurid-Mughal, and Shibanid-Uzbek dynasties, in addition to the Dughlat aristocratic lineage. These competing and interrelated families played a key role in shaping the political landscape of Central and South Asia during the early-modern period, which is well reflected in the politically focused narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. In addition, Mirza Haydar shared important kinship connections to the leading royals of his day as a member of the Turko-Mongol aristocracy. As such, an examination of the major Turko-Mongol families will also help to make the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and its author more intelligible. In the next section, I provide a brief overview of the physical space in which political interactions between the major Turko-Mongol families unfolded. On the whole, Chapter One serves to contextualize Mirza Haydar and his world.

The world in which Mirza Haydar lived was not unrelated to his historical methodology, which is the subject of Chapter Two. In this chapter, I provide a brief overview of the configuration of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* before examining the various authorial poses that Mirza Haydar assumes in the text. As both historian and historical actor in some of the events at the center of his work, Mirza Haydar plays several different (and, at times, competing) roles with accompanying forms of historical evidence. Here, I provide reflections on these different roles and types of evidence in attempt to recover what the process of historical writing looked like for Mirza Haydar. After considering its major historiographical features, I then place the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in conversation with

contemporaneous works of historical writing. Doing so allows for its author to be located within well-established modes of representing the past in Persian- and Turkic-language sources. That being said, Mirza Haydar does seem to differ from many of his contemporaries by presenting an “integrative” vision of the past produced in large part outside the confines of court patronage. Thus, Chapter Two attempts to gauge the significance of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a work of history and Mirza Haydar as a historian.

The analysis of Chapter Three builds on the contextual and historiographical work presented in the first two body chapters. In particular, Chapter Three examines the ways in which Mirza Haydar represents the lives and miracles of select ‘*awliyā*’, or “Friends of God,” associated with the emergent Naqshbandiyya—a Sufi group that has continued to shape South Asia into the modern period.<sup>36</sup> The first section of the chapter considers how the representation of Naqshbandi teachers in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is connected to its compositional moment, a period during which Mirza Haydar ruled an environment he found hostile to Naqshbandi aims. In this sense, Mirza Haydar appears to have reflected and shaped his religious milieu. I then probe the connection between Mirza Haydar’s biography and his Sufi-inspired poetry, highlighting how Sufi networks could serve as much-needed sources of affectivity and guidance as familial networks shifted during the early-modern period. Ultimately, Chapter Three attempts to demonstrate how a historiographical analysis of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* can provide a reconstruction of early-modern social circumstances not stated directly in the text itself.

The thesis concludes with an Epilogue in which I provide a brief gloss of its major arguments. Following an argumentative overview, I consider the afterlives of the

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<sup>36</sup> Discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, Sufism is a form of Islamic mysticism centered on devotion to and reverence for “Friends of God.”

*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and its author, with a particular focus on how early-modern historians remembered Mirza Haydar and how authors (re)interpreted his history into the nineteenth century. Then, I briefly consider the connection between the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and recent developments in historical writing. Both of these considerations are aimed at highlighting the significance of Mirza Haydar as a historian who continues to speak well into our contemporary moment. However, before turning to his text, a few words are required on the mechanics of this thesis.

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A few terms used frequently in the present thesis require definition, the first of which is the temporal designation “early modern.” In large part motivated by earlier developments in scholarship on European history, an increasing number of scholars who work on the Islamic world have started to speak in terms of the “early modern” during the last twenty or thirty years. However, the meanings and boundaries of the period are still very much the subject of debate. Here, my usage of “early modern” is similar to that of Joseph Fletcher, who defines the period as spanning from 1500 to 1800.<sup>37</sup> According to Fletcher, this period can be meaningfully understood as the precursor to modernity on account of its “interconnection and horizontal continuities,” expressed most clearly in “the economies, societies, and cultures of the early modern world.”<sup>38</sup> While I provide further reflections on the methodological relationship between Fletcher and Mirza Haydar in the Epilogue, suffice to say that his understanding of the “early modern” works particularly well with a study focused on the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

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<sup>37</sup> Joseph Fletcher, “Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period, 1500–1800,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, no. 1 (1985): 37–57.

<sup>38</sup> Fletcher, “Integrative History,” 38.

That Mirza Haydar used a system of dating different from the Gregorian calendar further complicates the treatment of time in the present thesis. In particular, Mirza Haydar drew the dates recorded in his history from the Islamic calendar, or *Hijrī* calendar—a lunar system of dating that takes the *Hijra*, or migration, of the Prophet Muhammad and his early followers from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina) in 622 CE as its starting point. In order to present the reader with an optimal experience, I have decided to reference years only in Common Era, which have been provided in the Thackston translations, throughout the thesis. This does not present a problem in the case of specific dates, as the conversion is usually only off by several days. However, a *Hijrī* year will overlap two Common Era years, in which case I reference a yearlong period. In spite of its reductionism, such a solution allows for the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (and contemporaneous texts) to become more accessible to a broader audience.

In addition, the terms “Central Asia” and “South Asia,” both of which are frequently employed in this thesis, are not self-evident categories of analysis and, as such, require some consideration. Part of the problem lies in that early-modern authors neither wrote nor envisioned space using such categories. Instead, they understood space in comparatively smaller regions, namely Transoxiana (southern Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan), Balkh (northern Afghanistan), and Khwarazm (Turkmenistan).<sup>39</sup> The Chaghatayid-Moghuls, Timurid-Mughals, and Shibanid-Uzbeks all competed for political supremacy in these regions, which I refer to as Central Asia. Out of the three dynasties, the Timurid-Mughals were the most active in South Asia. Specifically, Babur conquered portions of northern Hindustan, including the cities of

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<sup>39</sup> This geographic overview is adapted from R. D. McChesney, “The Chinggisid Restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 277n1.

Lahore and Agra, located in modern-day Pakistan and India, respectively. Here, I use South Asia to refer to the areas under early Timurid-Mughal rule, and not in its modern sense, which denotes a comparatively broader geography.

Finally, a few words are required on the subject of transliteration. Mirza Haydar wrote primarily in Persian, although his history also includes Qur'anic quotations in Arabic and verses of poetry in Chaghatay, a Turkic language similar to modern Uzbek. I can read Arabic script and am in the process of learning modern Turkish, which is in the same language family as Chaghatay. However, the languages at the center of the text remain inaccessible to me. As such, I have taken a simplified approach to transliteration. Specifically, I have adopted the rendering of names, places, and historical texts from the Thackston translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which generally eschews diacritical marks. I have aimed for consistency in transliteration, although I have not altered different renderings quoted from scholarly sources. Where I employ well-known Perso-Arabic religious terms, I have followed the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* transliteration system. Although the approach here is admittedly imperfect, it is in line with a larger aim of the current study: to make Mirza Haydar and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* more accessible to a broader audience.

## Chapter One

### Locating Mirza Haydar: Familial, Geographical, and Political Landscapes of Early-Modern Central and South Asia

Mirza Muhammad-Haydar Dughlat—a member of the Turko-Mongol aristocracy, perhaps best remembered for his efforts as a historian—was born in the city of Tashkent around the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Through his father, Mirza Haydar was a member of the Dughlat family, one of the key aristocratic families in Central Asia during the early-modern period; however, he also shared a kinship connection to the Chaghatayid-Moghul khans, the Chinggisid royals descended from the second son of the Mongol conqueror, through his maternal lineage. In fact, in large part on account of his genealogy, Mirza Haydar served as a longtime advisor to the Moghul khans, although there were moments during which he found himself in the retinue of other related, and oft-competing, sovereigns from the Chinggisid line. On behalf of these political patrons, Mirza Haydar went on military campaigns, traversing the political terrain of Central and South Asia, quite literally from Kashgar to Kashmir.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Mirza Haydar eventually found himself in the latter region, the north of modern-day India, toward the end of a lifetime of navigating the complexities of Turko-Mongol dynastic politics. Imagining the year is 1545 and the setting is Kashmir, we watch as Mirza Haydar sits down to pen an ambitious work: the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, an account of both his times and the history of the Moghul khans. As he is writing, Mirza Haydar recalls moments of political ascendancy as well as those of dynastic, familial, and

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<sup>1</sup> For the difficulties of dating Mirza Haydar's birth, see: Haidar, introduction to *Mirza Haidar Dughlat as Depicted in Persian Sources*, 11–12.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix One for a better sense of the political topography across which Mirza Haydar journeyed.

personal defeat. Mirza Haydar is not concerned merely with the ruling elite; he considers the many artists, mystics, and poets of his epoch. The long history of the Moghul khans, a history that Mirza Haydar fears is being forgotten more and more each passing day, is also on his mind during this moment, which is marked by both his physical distance from Central Asia and his political alienation from the khanate.<sup>3</sup>

The historiographical journey on which Mirza Haydar embarked was a rather unusual one. Most notably, the ways in which he combined the genres of history-writing and memoir, at least according to scholar Eiji Mano, seem to have largely lacked historical precedent.<sup>4</sup> However, before Mirza Haydar can be approached as a historian, it is necessary to provide a brief treatment of his life and times. The primary goal of this chapter is to locate Mirza Haydar within the context in which (and about which) he wrote, paying particular attention to his place in its familial, political, and geographical landscapes.

In order to contextualize the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, this chapter takes Mirza Haydar as its analytical focal point and is guided by the following set of separate, yet interrelated, questions: How did Turko-Mongol kinship networks define the political environment of Central and South Asia? What were the personal and political dynamics of relationships between members of interrelated and competing Chinggisid families? What role did the Turko-Mongol aristocracy play in the intense competition between royal families? And, how did political interactions between members of the Turko-Mongol ruling elite play out over geographical space? By probing these questions, we can get a better sense of the context and content of the history.

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<sup>3</sup> This imagined scene is drawn from Mirza Haydar's introduction to his history. For the textual basis of this fictive vignette, see: *TR-T*, 3–5.

<sup>4</sup> Mano, "The *Baburnama* and the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*," 44–47.

By examining the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and contemporaneous sources, such as memoirs from members of the Timurid-Mughal royal house, this chapter contextualizes Mirza Haydar in terms of the familial, political, and geographical landscapes he traversed, allowing for select features of his history to be taken up later in the thesis. By providing reflections on the role of Mirza Haydar as a Turko-Mongol Muslim aristocrat with a wide range of familial, social, and political networks in early-modern Central and South Asia, this chapter also provides a look at the highly fluid nature of the politics of this milieu. In order to appreciate the place of Mirza Haydar in his historical period, it is first necessary to analyze one of the key organizing features of the Turko-Mongol world in which he lived: Chinggisid systems of kinship.

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The leading royal families of Mirza Haydar's world included: the Chaghatayid-Moghuls, Timurid-Mughals, and Shibanid-Uzbeks, all of whom drew legitimacy from their Chinggisid genealogy. The Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house, for instance, traced their Chinggisid lineage through the male line as descendants of Chaghatay (d. 1242), the second son of the Mongol conqueror. By the time of Mirza Haydar, the Chaghatayid-Moghuls had lost their historical foothold in Transoxiana, a region that roughly corresponds to modern-day Uzbekistan, and came to rule an area known as Moghulistan, portions of which lie in the far west of modern China.<sup>5</sup> Instead, members of the Timurid dynasty, descended from Temür, a conqueror from the Turko-Mongol Barlas lineage, ruled Transoxiana for most of the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> However, the Timurids were unable

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<sup>5</sup> For which, see: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. "Chaghatayid Dynasty," by Peter Jackson, last accessed February 15, 2019, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/chaghatayid-dynasty>.

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the early-Timurid dynasty, see: Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Temür and the early Timurids to c. 1450," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo,

to maintain a Central Asian empire in large part due to incursions of the Shibanid-Uzbeks, who claimed Chinggisid legitimacy through Jöchi, the eldest son of Chinggis Khan.<sup>7</sup> In fact, intensive political competition in Central Asia for control over major cities forced a branch of the Timurid dynasty into South Asia, where it laid the foundations for the Timurid-Mughal Empire (c. 1526–1857).<sup>8</sup> On the whole, the kinship connections of these three families allowed for a defining feature of the early-modern period: fluidity in the political sphere.

In the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar reflects extensively on his position and status as a Moghul aristocrat amid the intense political competition brought by competing Turko-Mongol dynasties. Toward the beginning of Book One of his history, for example, Mirza Haydar outlines how the Dughlats, his paternal relations, came to be one of the leading aristocratic families in the Moghul khanate. As Mirza Haydar recounts, Chinggis Khan gave Amir Ortu Böra, one of his paternal ancestors, “seven privileges,” ranging from ceremonial honors, such as a privileged place in the divan, to military liberties, such as the unique freedom to bring arms into the royal assembly.<sup>9</sup> That Chinggis Khan presented Ortu Böra with such privileges exemplifies two, interrelated features the aristocratic experience. On the one hand, the position of amir, or non-Chinggisid military commander, was one that came with great status—at times seeming to approach that of the khan. On the other, it was the khan himself who made the position and its

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Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 182–198.

<sup>7</sup> For the Shibanid-Uzbek dynasty, see: *Encyclopedia of Empire*, s.v. “Shibanid Empire,” by Nurten Kılıç-Schubel, last accessed February 15, 2019, [https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/wileyempire/shibanid\\_empire/0](https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/wileyempire/shibanid_empire/0).

<sup>8</sup> For the foundation of the Timurid-Mughal dynasty in South Asia, see: Stephen F. Dale, “The later Timurids c. 1450–1526,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially 212–217.

<sup>9</sup> *TR-T*, 29–30.

accompanying status possible. Herein lies one of the key underlying tensions of the amir-khan relationship, a tension with which our Moghul historian was intimately familiar.

Although Mirza Haydar traces the history of the Dughlat lineage to Ortu Bōra, a non-Chinggisid military commander, he does not identify himself as an amir.<sup>10</sup> Instead, Mirza Haydar lays claim to a more specific title. At the outset of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, he identifies himself as “Muhammad-Haydar,” who is “known familiarly as Mirza Haydar.”<sup>11</sup> The Persian title of *mīrzā* is an abbreviation of *amīrzāda*, which refers to the son of an amir.<sup>12</sup> That Mirza Haydar makes a concerted effort to identify as the son of an amir, rather than an amir, is significant. Whereas the rank of amir, in a restricted sense, refers to a non-Chinggisid military commander, the title of *mīrzā* references a genealogical connection to an amirate, thus emphasizing the aristocratic position and accompanying status to which Mirza Haydar laid claim. That Mirza Haydar portrays membership in the Chaghatayid-Moghul aristocracy as the central part of his identity is significant for the ways in which it maps onto larger changes in the Turko-Mongol

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<sup>10</sup> Scholars have long debated how to conceptualize social organization in Central Asia. Anthropologist David Sneath has led the charge against using the categories of “tribe” and “clan” to understand Central Asian societies. Instead, Sneath advocates for the concept of “aristocratic lineage” in attempt to acknowledge the internal conflict within nomadic groups. For the argument in whole, see: David Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). For a summary, critique, and response, see: David Sneath, “A Response to Critics,” *Ab Imperio* 4 (2009): 164–175.

In this thesis, I view the Dughlat as a polity, and the family with which Mirza Haydar affiliates himself as an aristocratic lineage within the larger polity, which comprised multiple lineages (not all of which were aristocratic). In particular, Mirza Haydar places himself within a lineage from Ortu Bōra to Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza, his paternal uncle (*TR-T*, 31). When referencing the “Dughlat lineage,” I actually mean the aforementioned line. This approach is adapted from Ali Anooshahr, who instead seems to view the Dughlat in its entirety as an aristocratic lineage. See his “Mughals, Mongols, and Mongrels,” 559–577.

Admittedly, the rather synchronic approach that I take here is firmly situated within the sixteenth-century period in and about which Mirza Haydar wrote. However, this approach allows for the position of Mirza Haydar within Moghul society to come to the fore, while respecting the internal dynamics of the Dughlat. Thank you to Professor Nurten Kılıç-Schubel for working through these issues with me.

<sup>11</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> For the definition of *mīrzā*, see: Maria Eva Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 43n1.

politics of early-modern Central Asia.

As a member of the Dughlat lineage, Mirza Haydar represented a larger trend in Turko-Mongol political systems: the shift in power away from Chinggisid royals and toward members of the aristocracy. During the fourteenth century as the unified Mongol Empire came to an end, leaders from Turko-Mongol aristocratic lineages began to assert more power, often ruling through a puppet khan, who was a member of the Chinggisid royal house. In fact, Temür, the eponymous founder of the Timurid dynasty, ruled through a puppet khan after conquering the Ulus Chaghatay, as he was a member of the Turko-Mongol Barlas lineage and thus non-Chinggisid by blood.<sup>13</sup> Temür, and similarly non-Chinggisid aristocrats, used a complex series of techniques, both fictive and kinship-based, to draw on Chinggisid legitimacy. These modes of legitimation are far too complex to unpack here; however, suffice it to say that as a member of a powerful aristocratic lineage, Mirza Haydar had to grapple with the changing relationship between Chinggisid royal and non-Chinggisid amir.

In fact, Mirza Haydar himself serves as something of an exemplary case study of the aristocratic-royal relationship and its associated complexities. Returning briefly to the aristocratic origins of the Dughlat family, Mirza Haydar relates that Tughlugh-Temür Khan, a Moghul khan who ruled later in the mid-fourteenth century, reaffirmed the honors given to Ortu Böra and bestowed additional ones upon Amir Bolaji, another Dughlat amir.<sup>14</sup> In fact, these privileges were passed down a particular line within the larger Dughlat lineage, often from father to son.<sup>15</sup> However, the privileged status of the

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<sup>13</sup> For a detailed discussion of how Temür rose to power, see: Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially chapter 3.

<sup>14</sup> *TR-T*, 30.

<sup>15</sup> *TR-T*, 31.

Dughlat family ceased rather abruptly in 1533, at which time Abdul-Rashid Khan killed the Dughlat amir, Mirza Haydar's paternal uncle, whose name was Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza. On account of the murder of his uncle, Mirza Haydar found that "the customs of our [Dughlat] ancestors have been overthrown," here highlighting the uneasy position in which he found himself during the later years of his life.<sup>16</sup> An analysis of the ways in which Mirza Haydar presents the history of Dughlat-Moghul connection suggests that, although the position of amir often functioned as a hereditary one within the Dughlat family, it was ultimately still dependent on the khan himself.

Importantly, the relationship between Dughlat amir and Moghul khan was not merely a political connection; Mirza Haydar and his Dughlat relatives shared familial ties to the Chaghatayid royal house. Maternally, Mirza Haydar was related to the Moghul royal family; his mother was Khub-Nigar Khanīm, the elder sister of the then-khan, Sultan-Mahmud Khan.<sup>17</sup> As Maria Eva Subtelny notes in her study of Turko-Mongol kinship networks in early-modern Central Asia, intermarriage between royal and aristocratic lineages—such as the Moghul royal house and the Dughlat family, respectively—was a relatively common feature of this world, "particularly among [the] elites, in order to cement a political alliance, to acquire pseudo-Chingizid lineage."<sup>18</sup> In spite of the his mother's genealogy, Mirza Haydar was not understood as being a proper Chinggisid in his time; the Turko-Mongol kinship system was a patriarchal and agnatic one, as historians have long noted.<sup>19</sup> That being said, maternal relations were still regarded as significant sources of status and charisma, perhaps most evident in the

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<sup>16</sup> *TR-T*, 31.

<sup>17</sup> *TR-T*, 64.

<sup>18</sup> Maria Eva Subtelny, "Bābur's Rival Relations: A Study of Kinship and Conflict in 15th–16th Century Central Asia," *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 107.

<sup>19</sup> See the representative discussion of Subtelny in her "Bābur's Rival Relations," 106–107.

preference for matrilineal cross-cousin marriages, which “served to integrate more firmly the loose socio-political structure of the clan and to bind together different clans” in the words of Subtelny.<sup>20</sup> Thus, Mirza Haydar was an aristocrat who, although not properly a Chinggisid, could look to his maternal relations for support and guidance, adding further complexity to the Dughlat-Chaghatayid relationship.

In fact, Mirza Haydar describes the standard closeness between the Dughlat amirs and Moghul khans at some length in his history. In a particularly memorable passage, Mirza Haydar writes of the intimate relationship between Muhammad-Husayn, his father who was an amir, and Sultan-Mahmud Khan, a member of the Moghul royal house: “They always did things together. Many times the khan said to my father apologetically, ‘I have to go to my wife for conjugal duties. You will be left alone in the chamber like a night watchman, and this is contrary to friendship.’”<sup>21</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar provides an anecdote that effectively illustrates the marked bonds of friendship shared between his Dughlat father and Sultan-Mahmud Khan. The intimacy of this particular relationship reflects a larger trend, namely the “long and often arduous process of discipline and mentorship,” which was “monopolized by and passed down among important families,” royal and aristocratic alike.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the underlying political goal of the amir-khan relationship was a central component of the intimacy between Dughlat amir and Moghul khan.

Although often using the language of friendship and its associated tropes to frame the Dughlat-Moghul relationship, Mirza Haydar at times employs kinship terms to

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<sup>20</sup> Subtelny, “Bābur’s Rival Relations,” 107.

<sup>21</sup> *TR-T*, 64.

<sup>22</sup> Anooshahr, *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires*, 117.

describe the connection between his Dughlat family and the Moghul royals.<sup>23</sup> In a particularly emotive scene, Mirza Haydar recounts how Abdul-Rashid Sultan—the son of the Sultan-Sa‘id Khan, who was ruling Moghulistan at the time—swore to recognize the Moghul historian as his “elder brother,” a source of guidance second only to the khan himself.<sup>24</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar references a nominal kinship tie to the royal Moghul house. In addition, Mirza Haydar followed an existing political tradition to develop ties to the Chaghatayid-Moghul dynasty. Specifically, Mirza Haydar appears to have cultivated his connection to the royal family through his marriage to Muhibb-Sultan Khanım, the daughter of Sultan-Ahmad Khan, upon which he “attained the status of *kürägän*,” or royal son-in-law, in September 1513.<sup>25</sup> Thus, Mirza Haydar shared kinship ties, expressed in terms of symbolism and developed through marriage, to the Moghul royal house, through which he acquired a degree of Chinggisid political charisma.

As a *kürägän*, alternatively transliterated as *güregen*, Mirza Haydar appears to have fit into longer pattern of Turko-Mongol political legitimation.<sup>26</sup> Specifically, the *kürägän* tradition refers to the marriage of non-Chinggisid heads of aristocratic lineages with royal women from the Chinggisid line. Through this type of marriage, a ruler without Chinggisid lineage could aspire to sovereign rule, as theoretically such political ascendancy was only permitted to descendants of Chinggis Khan.<sup>27</sup> Temür, a non-Chinggisid who was a member of a Turko-Mongol aristocratic lineage, popularized the *güregen* mode of legitimation in the fourteenth century. In the words of Beatrice Forbes

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<sup>23</sup> I discuss the ways in which Mirza Haydar uses the vernacular of friendship in Chapter Three.

<sup>24</sup> *TR-T*, 244.

<sup>25</sup> *TR-T*, 180.

<sup>26</sup> The transliteration of this term—which is found in the Mongolian, Persian, and Turkic languages—has proved difficult for scholars. For a brief discussion of why, see: *TR-T*, 179n1.

<sup>27</sup> For this well-noted aspect of the Chinggisid political theory, see the representative discussion of Beatrice Forbes Manz in her “Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty,” *Iranian Studies* 21, no. 1–2 (1988): 105.

Manz, Temür himself “took a wife from the Chinggisid line and assumed the title of Guregen (royal son-in-law). He gave considerable symbolic importance to this title, including it after his name on his coinage and his official correspondence, and securing it for several of his sons and grandsons by marrying them also to Chinggisid wives.”<sup>28</sup> The descendants of Temür continued to invoke the *güregen* model, perhaps most notably in the Timurid-Mughal Empire of South Asia, rulers of which fashioned themselves as members of “the Guregeniyya, the dynasty of ‘the son-in-law.’”<sup>29</sup> Thus, *kürägän* marriages functioned as an important mode of political legitimation, one that both predated and post-dated our Moghul historian.

Although certainly an important means by which non-royal rulers could acquire a degree of Chinggisid legitimacy, the role of *kürägän* was merely one mode of legitimation amid many. As such, it is important not to overstate the centrality of this particular authorizing technique. In fact, Mirza Haydar does not devote much attention to his status as a royal son-in-law. For example, he comments that even “before I was given the status of *kürägän*, I was never away from him [Sultan-Sa‘id Khan] for a moment.”<sup>30</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar suggests that the *kürägän* marriage functioned to *re-affirm* an already existing relationship, that is his closeness with Sultan-Sa‘id Khan, rather than *create* an entirely new one. Although the cursoriness with which Mirza Haydar treats his *kürägän* status may be related to sixteenth-century changes to political culture, it is certainly reflective of one of the defining features of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*: the focus of its author on his identity and independence as a Dughlat amir. While considered in depth

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<sup>28</sup> Manz, “Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty,” 110.

<sup>29</sup> Lisa Balabanlilar, “Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongol Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent,” *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (2007): 6.

<sup>30</sup> *TR-T*, 174.

later in this thesis, the aforementioned theme is evident even at the outset of Mirza Haydar's history, when he rather boldly thanks God for making him "superior to and not beholden to" the Moghul nation.<sup>31</sup> What is important here, however, is that Mirza Haydar shared kinship connections to the Moghul royal house through both marriage and his maternal lineage, which served to solidify the historical connection between the Dughlat lineage and the Moghul royal family.

Especially considering the close relationship, expressed in terms of both friendship and family, between Mirza Haydar and the Moghul khans, it is unsurprising that in his self-described "history of the Moghul khaqans," Mirza Haydar treats his maternal relations at some length.<sup>32</sup> The Moghul royal family, similar to the Dughlat lineage, shared complex kinship connections to competing lineages and dynasties in Central Asia. Early in the narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar briefly traces the genealogy of Tughlugh-Temür Khan (d. 1362), with whose reign the Moghul historian begins his project. Specifically, Mirza Haydar traces Tughlugh-Temür's lineage through Chinggis Khan and even further back to the mythical figure of Alan Qoa, the Mongol progenitress.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the Moghuls about whom Mirza Haydar writes laid claim to Chinggisid lineage. However, Mirza Haydar most definitely does not use Moghul and Chinggisid synonymously in his history. By writing a "history of the Moghul khaqans," Mirza Haydar, in fact, chronicles the reigns of the Chaghatayid-Moghuls, who were descended from the second son of the Mongol conqueror.

Although Mirza Haydar sets the Chaghatayid-Moghul khans as his analytical focus, he does not limit his history to a discussion of Moghul dynastic politics. In

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<sup>31</sup> *TR-T*, 4.

<sup>32</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

<sup>33</sup> *TR-T*, 6.

addition to providing a treatment of the Moghul khans, Mirza Haydar chronicles the reigns of various sovereigns from the Timurid and Shibanid-Uzbek dynasties, a brief overview of which has been presented toward the beginning of this chapter, at some length. In fact, scholars of the Timurid-Mughal Empire in South Asia have frequently cited the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in large part because Mirza Haydar relays much information about its key players, most notably Babur and Humayun.<sup>34</sup> Although such an approach has allowed historians to corroborate events presented in Timurid-Mughal sources, it has an effect of ignoring the dual role of Mirza Haydar as historical actor and historian. Inverting this analytical lens to focus on the ways in which Mirza Haydar was connected to members of the Timurid-Mughal dynasty—in addition to making his life story, and relatedly his role as a historian, clearer—deepens our understanding of early-modern Central and South Asia.

Much as he discussed the connection between Dughlat amir and Moghul khan, Mirza Haydar frames the Dughlat-Timurid relationship in terms of both kinship and friendship, even though the kinship ties between the Dughlat lineage and Timurid dynasty were not nearly as strong as those between the Dughlat family and Moghul royal house. For example, Mirza Haydar recounts how his father, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, visited Sultan-Husayn Bayqara, a leading Timurid ruler who is remembered in particular for his patronage of the arts and religious institutions.<sup>35</sup> Sultan-Husayn received Muhammad-Husayn Mirza with great honor during his visit, giving the Moghul aristocrat “precedence over all his [Sultan-Husayn’s] sons, even over Badi‘uzzaman Mirza, his

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<sup>34</sup> Many scholars studying the Timurid-Mughal in South Asia have approached the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in this way. Representative and well-known studies include: Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises*; and, Subtelny, “Bābur’s Rival Relations,” 102–118.

<sup>35</sup> For a detailed discussion of Sultan-Husayn Bayqara, see: Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, especially chapter two.

eldest, dearest, and worthiest son.”<sup>36</sup> It appears as though Sultan-Husayn formalized this relationship by giving “one of his granddaughters in marriage” to Muhammad-Husayn.<sup>37</sup> Aside from this passing reference, Mirza Haydar does not discuss the marriage of his father and the unnamed Timurid bride—a seemingly secondary union from which no children were born, probably because Muhammad-Husayn was “martyred” shortly after it took place.<sup>38</sup> Although just one example, this marriage reflects how members of Mirza Haydar’s Dughlat line preferred marriages to Chaghatayid-Moghul princes, rather than Timurid ones.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Dughlat-Timurid marriages, although probably functioning to re-affirm the connection between the two families, do not appear to have been nearly as significant as marriages between the Dughlat lineage and the Moghul royal house.

That is not to say, however, that members of the Dughlat line did not share important maternal kinship connections to the Timurid royal house. In particular, the Dughlat family and Timurid dynasty were linked via the maternal lineage of the Chaghatayid-Moghul house. For example, Mirza Haydar and Babur, the Timurid prince who laid the foundations for the Timurid-Mughal Empire in South Asia during the early years of the sixteenth century, were related through their respective mothers, Khub-Nigar Khanīm and Qutlugh-Nigar Khanīm; both were sisters—daughters of Yunus Khan, the Chinggisid royal who ruled Moghulistan in the mid- to late-fifteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Although just one example, this maternal connection illustrates the ways in which certain members

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<sup>36</sup> *TR-T*, 132.

<sup>37</sup> *TR-T*, 132.

<sup>38</sup> For the death of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, see: *TR-T*, 138–140. I discuss the ways in which this event impacted Mirza Haydar in Chapter Three.

<sup>39</sup> For the high frequency of Dughlat-Moghul marriages, especially among Mirza Haydar’s line, see Appendix Two—where the title “khanīm” denotes a woman of Chaghatayid-Moghul descent, whereas “begim” indicates a Timurid princess.

<sup>40</sup> *TR-T*, 103. For a visualization of the inter-connections between the Chaghatayid-Moghul and Timurid royal houses, see Appendix Two.

from the Timurid, Chaghatayid-Moghul, and Dughlat families were interrelated.

Maternal connections—such as those between Mirza Haydar and Babur—served central affective and political functions, in spite of the patriarchal and patrilineal logic on which Turko-Mongol systems of kinship were built. For example, Babur “appears to have felt closer to his Moghul relatives” in large part because “his maternal uncles served him *in loco parentis*,” in the words of Maria Subtelny.<sup>41</sup> Although Subtelny helpfully identifies the affinity between Babur and his Chaghatayid-Moghul relations, in general she seems to downplay the significance, both political and personal, of his connection to his mother and grandmother, Qutlugh-Nigar Khanīm and Esān-Dawlat Begim. For example, Babur appears to have looked to Esān-Dawlat Begim for political advice in his early years; he writes: “For tactics and strategy, there were few women like my grandmother, Esān Dawlat Begim. She was intelligent and a good planner. Most affairs were settled with her counsel.”<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the relationship between Esān-Dawlat Begim and Babur was not merely a political one. Babur gives a sense of his affection for Qutlugh-Nigar Khanīm and Esān-Dawlat Begim when describing the aftermath of their almost back-to-back deaths, in an emotional mode unusual for the ambitious prince-poet: “the pain of separation was unbearable.”<sup>43</sup> Thus, Babur seems to highlight the central political and affective functions that his maternal relatives performed, representative of a larger trend in early-modern Central and South Asia.

Much as Babur appealed to his maternal Chaghatayid-Moghul relations for support, Mirza Haydar looked to his maternal Timurid relations, whom he treats at some length in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, for safety during times of political and personal upheaval.

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<sup>41</sup> Subtelny, “Bābur’s Rival Relations,” 113.

<sup>42</sup> *BN-T*, 29.

<sup>43</sup> *BN-T*, 185.

Perhaps the most significant moment in which Mirza Haydar appears to have benefited from his kinship connection to the Timurid royal house came in 1509, when young Mirza Haydar was without guidance from senior family members following the murders of his father and maternal uncle; he eventually found himself in the retinue of Mirza Khan, a Timurid prince whose mother, Sultan-Nigar Khanım, was from the Chaghatayid-Moghul line.<sup>44</sup> However, under the reign of Mirza Khan, “there was not enough for the bare necessities of life” due to rather dire political circumstances, causing Babur to order Mirza Haydar to be sent to Kabul, where he was ruling.<sup>45</sup> In the opening line of his decree to Mirza Khan, Babur cites the status of Mirza Haydar as “the son of my *beg yāznā*,” his kinship relation to Mirza Haydar.<sup>46</sup> Thus, Babur appears to have brought Mirza Haydar to safety from a moment of political uncertainty in large part due to their kinship connections as members of the Timurid house and Dughlat lineage, respectively.

After the narrative moment in which Mirza Haydar voyages to Kabul, he chronicles his closeness with Babur at some length, providing further evidence of the lived reality of the Dughlat-Timurid connection. Specifically, Mirza Haydar presents Babur as an important affective resource, when he records Babur’s particularly emotive analysis of the events that brought the future historian to Kabul:

My *beg yāznā*, and my uncle the khan, and our brethren and kinsmen have all been made to drink bitter martyrdom. Thank God you have come back to me in safety. Do not be upset by their loss, for I will take their place. What love and affection you might have expected of them I will give you and more.<sup>47</sup>

Here, Babur promises to care for Mirza Haydar with “love and affection,” exceeding that

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<sup>44</sup> For the genealogy of Mirza Khan, see: *TR-T*, 92.

<sup>45</sup> *TR-T*, 152.

<sup>46</sup> *TR-T*, 152. Wheeler Thackston provides a helpful definition and contextualization of the term *yāznā*: “*yāznā* is the Chaghatay Turkish term for the husband of an elder sister. This was the degree of kinship between Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and Babur’s mother, which Babur uses to refer to his aunt’s husband” (*TR-T*, 152n1).

<sup>47</sup> *TR-T*, 153.

of his Dughlat and Chaghatayid-Moghul relations. Interestingly, Babur does not discuss his relationship with Mirza Haydar using nearly as affective terms; Babur instead notes, rather plainly, that “after his father [Muhammad-Husayn Mirza] was killed by the Uzbeks, he [Mirza Haydar] came and joined my retinue for three or four years.” Then he moves on abruptly to discuss the poetic and artistic talents of Mirza Haydar.<sup>48</sup> That being said, Babur makes clear that he had spent some time with Mirza Haydar, who provides comparatively more details concerning the intimacy of their relationship. For example, Mirza Haydar relates that he attended assemblies and went horseback riding with Babur, who “never let me [Mirza Haydar] leave his side except during study time [...] to the end he was like a kindly father to me.”<sup>49</sup> On the whole, Mirza Haydar and Babur appear to have shared a close relationship, an important effect of the larger Dughlat-Timurid connection.

In a world marked by intense competition between related kinship groups, intimate relationships across dynastic lines, such as the connection between the Dughlat line and Timurid royal house, came to play an important political role. In 1506–07, for example, Mirza Muhammad-Husayn, who was Mirza Haydar’s father, and Mirza Khan, a Timurid prince, rebelled against Babur in Kabul testing the strength of the Dughlat-Timurid connection. After Babur quelled the rebellion, he sent liegemen after Mirza Muhammad-Husayn—who was eventually found wrapped in a carpet, hiding in his wife’s tent.<sup>50</sup> Although the image of a grown man wrapped in a carpet is certainly

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<sup>48</sup> *BN-T*, 14–15. Babur devotes considerably more attention to Mirza Muhammad-Husayn Mirza than his son, Mirza Haydar, probably due to generational factors. Mirza Muhammad-Husayn was an important political actor in Central Asia while Babur was ruling there, whereas Mirza Haydar was not on account of his youth.

<sup>49</sup> *TR-T*, 154.

<sup>50</sup> *BN-T*, 242. This is a particularly striking portrayal of Mirza Muhammad-Husayn because being wrapped in a carpet and trampled to death by horses was a Chinggisid mode of execution for members of

memorable in its own right, the significance of this particular episode lies in how Babur responded to Mirza Muhammad-Husayn and Mirza Khan. Specifically, Babur thought that Mirza Muhammad-Husayn “deserved to die under torture,” given his transgressions; however, Babur reasoned that “since we had family connections, his sons and daughters being my own aunt Khub Nigar Khanīm’s children, I kept these claims in mind and let him go free.”<sup>51</sup> In wake of the Kabul rebellion, Babur appears to have treated his Dughlat relation with some leniency, at least in part due to their kinship connections.

The case of the Kabul rebellion becomes more complicated, however, when sources other than the *Baburnama* are considered. For example, Gulbadan Begim—who composed a Persian-language memoir in 1587, which shares some similarities to that of her father, Babur—provides a slightly different treatment of the insurrection. Whereas Babur seems to locate his lenient response to Mirza Muhammad-Husayn in terms of familial connections, in a rather abstracted sense, Gulbadan focuses more on the lived realities of the relationship between Babur and his maternal aunts as the central factor responsible for his treatment of both Mirza Muhammad-Husayn and Mirza Khan. She writes: “In the end, his Majesty forgave the mīrās their offences, for the sake of his aunts. He used to go, in his old fashion, in and out of his aunts’ houses, and showed them more and more affection, so that no mist of trouble might dim their hearts.”<sup>52</sup> Here,

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the elite who had committed crimes. That Mirza Muhammad-Husayn seems to have prepared for this form of execution, at least symbolically, perhaps suggests his guilt.

For how and why early Chinggisid royals used “bloodless” forms of execution—including the carpet method (in which blood was not shed, but rather absorbed)—see: Florence Hodous, “Faith and the Law: Religious Beliefs and the Death Penalty in the Ilkhanate,” in *The Mongols’ Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 106–129. Thank you to Professor Ruth Dunnell for bringing these issues to my attention.

<sup>51</sup> *BN-T*, 242.

<sup>52</sup> Gulbadan Begim, *The History of Humāyūn*, 89. In a more recent, but comparatively less accessible edition, Wheeler M. Thackston translates the phrase as: “Finally, for his aunts’ sake, he [Babur] forgave Mirza Muhammad-Husayn’s crime. As before, he resumed coming to his aunts’ tent every day and

Gulbadan suggests that the closeness between Babur and his maternal aunts played a central role in his leniency toward Mirza Muhammad-Husayn and Mirza Khan. On the whole, Gulbadan demonstrates the ways in which the intimacy of maternal relationships impacted political decisions concerning the Dughlat-Timurid connection.

Much as close familial ties impacted the political relationship between Babur and Mirza Muhammad-Husayn, bonds of intimacy marked later incarnations of the affinity of the Dughlat line and Timurid royal house. In particular, Mirza Haydar notes that Babur's son, Humayun (d. 1556), "had become my friend in the Moghul manner. He addressed me as 'friend [*dost*],' which he did not do with any of his brothers or princes of the age who were in his service."<sup>53</sup> That Humayun addressed Mirza Haydar using a term of such honor takes on significance when considered in context of the contemporary political climate of the Timurid-Mughal Empire. Following the death of Babur in 1530, Humayun ascended the royal throne; however, he "simply did not inspire the loyalty of his brothers—Mirza Kamran, Mirza 'Askari, and Mirza Hindal or that of their supporters," in the words of a modern scholar.<sup>54</sup> While the inability of Humayun to solidify his power had serious consequences, namely the fifteen-year dissolution of the Timurid-Mughal

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in showing them more favor than before lest discontent prey on the minds of his aunts." For which, see: Gulbadan Begim, *Humáyunnáma*, in *Three Memoirs of Homayun*, 1: 4.

<sup>53</sup> *TR-T*, 285–6. Thackston does not identify the specific term of friendship that Humayun is said to have called Mirza Haydar. I have drawn the term *dost*, a term in Persian and Chaghatay Turkic, from the Ross translation to get a better sense of what Mirza Haydar means in this passage (*TR-R*, 473). Here, Mirza Haydar seems to employ *dost* as it is used in modern Turkish, to connote an exceptionally close friend. Although the terms *arkadaş* (pl. *arkadaşlar*) and *dost* (pl. *dostlar*) in modern Turkish are often translated as "friend," one will usually have many *arkadaşlar*, but relatively few *dostlar*.

That is not to say that the term *dost* had a universal meaning during the early-modern period. Whereas Mirza Haydar seems to situate the title and associated status of *dost* as a rather exceptional mark of honor, Babur seems to use the same term "not [to] imply trust or trustworthiness or significant obligations. Its meaning was perhaps closer to acquaintance—a person yet to be proven—than friendship." For which, see: Stewart Gordon, "Babur: Salt, Social Closeness and Friendship," *Studies in History* 33, no. 1 (2017): 94.

<sup>54</sup> Munis D. Faruqi, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504–1719* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 52.

Empire, the significant point here is that Humayun addressed Mirza Haydar, who was then “in attendance upon Kamran Mirza,” as his singular *dost* while he was competing with Mirza Kamran for power.<sup>55</sup> At least in part due to the close personal bond that Humayun cultivated with Mirza Haydar, the Moghul historian eventually supported the former in the dispute between the various Timurid-Mughal royal brothers.<sup>56</sup> Thus, Mirza Haydar appears to have played a role in inter-dynastic disputes of the early Timurid-Mughal Empire, demonstrating how the Dughlat line and Timurid house were connected into the 1540s.

Not only did Mirza Haydar take a stance in competition within the Timurid-Mughal house; he also helped to further the imperial interests of Humayun through conquest. Specifically, Mirza Haydar proposed conquering Kashmir, a region in the north of modern-day India, during a moment in which Humayun was faced with a major political threat in the form of Sher Shah Suri, who took advantage of the conflict among Humayun and his brothers to take over vast portions of the Timurid-Mughal Empire.<sup>57</sup> It is not necessary to fully unpack here the details of his plan to take Kashmir; suffice it to say that Mirza Haydar envisioned Kashmir as a safe haven for members of the Timurid-Mughal ruling elite, its particularly mountainous topography serving to deter Sher Shah Suri and his formidable artillery.<sup>58</sup> Eventually, Humayun provided Mirza Haydar with “four hundred men” and “permission to depart” for Kashmir.<sup>59</sup> Although his discussion on the matter is limited, over the next several months, Mirza Haydar conquered Kashmir,

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<sup>55</sup> *TR-T*, 286.

<sup>56</sup> For the decision to support Humayun, see: *TR-T*, 286–89.

<sup>57</sup> For a treatment of Sher Shah Suri, see: Basheer Ahmad Khan Matta, *Sher Shah Suri: A Fresh Perspective* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>58</sup> *TR-T*, 289.

<sup>59</sup> *TR-T*, 289.

in large part due to internal divisions among members of the Chak family, who were ruling there when Mirza Haydar invaded.<sup>60</sup> Thus, Mirza Haydar appears to have contributed to the Timurid-Mughal imperial project through conquering Kashmir, where, ruling on behalf of Humayun, he wrote the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in the early-1540s.

To recapitulate, we have examined the ways in which Mirza Haydar and his Dughlat family members were related to the Chaghatayid-Moghul and Timurid royal houses, two major dynasties that in large part defined the political space of Central and South Asia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, that Mirza Haydar shared kinship connections to and served in the retinues of Chaghatayid-Moghul khans and Timurid princes should not suggest that political harmony marked his experience. Indeed, the rebellion of Mirza Muhammad-Husayn in Kabul—with a Dughlat-Timurid alliance broken and reaffirmed shortly thereafter—serves as a representative case that illustrates the extent to which political loyalty was fluid, a defining feature of this period. While unpacking the ways in which Mirza Haydar and his Dughlat lineage were situated vis-à-vis the Chaghatayid-Moghul and Timurid houses is helpful in beginning to appreciate the political complexities of early-modern Central and South Asia, it does not give a complete image of the major ruling dynasties. To better understand this political environment more fully, we must turn to examine one particular Chinggisid ruler who played a key role in shaping the political landscape of Central Asia: Muhammad Shibani Khan (d. 1510), the Uzbek ruler who conquered large portions of Timurid territory at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Shibani Khan is presented as an almost archetypical rival in both Chaghatayid-Moghul and Timurid source material. For example, Babur describes Shibani Khan and

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<sup>60</sup> *TR-T*, 291–2.

his men as “an old enemy” and “a foreign people,” respectively.<sup>61</sup> Recounting the death of Mahmud Sultan, a brother of Shibani Khan, Mirza Haydar provides a similar, but perhaps more damning, treatment of the controversial figure through the Chaghatayid-Moghul Sultan-Sa‘id Khan. Specifically, Mirza Haydar presents the actions of Shibani Khan, who “showed no emotion and did not weep” at his brother’s funeral, as indicative of “intrepidity and dispassion,” a source of amazement for all in attendance.<sup>62</sup> As Nurten Kılıç-Schubel has recently suggested, Mirza Haydar may emphasize this lack of emotions—unlike contemporary Shibani-Uzbek authors, one of whom paints Shibani Khan as particularly grief stricken during his brother’s mourning procession—as a means to critique Shibani Khan and his political legitimacy, of which the proper display of emotions was a large part.<sup>63</sup> Needless to say, both Babur and Mirza Haydar seem to paint Shibani Khan in a negative light.

The political exploits of Shibani Khan in large part explain his less than shining portrayal in Timurid and Chaghatayid-Moghul source material from the early-sixteenth century. In particular, Shibani Khan revived the empire of his paternal grandfather Abu’l-Khayr b. Dawlat Shaykh Oghlan, who, after being named khan of the nomadic Uzbek confederation in 1428, captured “most of the steppe region held by his eponymous ancestor, Shībān, a grandson of Chinggis Khan.”<sup>64</sup> This imperial revival proved to be a problem for Babur and Mirza Haydar, as Shibani Khan conquered extensive territory—including Transoxiana, Khurasan, Khwarazm in addition to “the Ferghana Valley with

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<sup>61</sup> *BN-T*, 257.

<sup>62</sup> *TR-T*, 109.

<sup>63</sup> For which, see: Nurten Kılıç-Schubel, “Familial Affection, Brotherly Love and the Royal Tears of Grief: Emotions, Sibling Relations and the Making of New Chinggisid Families in the 16th Century,” unpublished paper presented at the annual Central Eurasian Studies Society conference, University of Pittsburgh, October 26, 2018. Thank you to Professor Kılıç-Schubel for sharing this paper with me.

<sup>64</sup> McChesney, “The Chinggisid Restoration in Central Asia,” 291.

the cities of Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat, and Balkh”—pushing the Timurids in particular from their historical foothold in Central Asia.<sup>65</sup> Thus, it seems as though many sixteenth-century authors present a derogatory image of Shibani Khan due to his imperial ambitions, which were in large part responsible for pushing the Timurid royal house out of Central Asia.

Especially considering his Timurid-Mughal political patron, Mirza Haydar was forced to walk a rather fine line concerning the ways in which he represents Shibani Khan in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. On the one hand, Mirza Haydar himself experienced a great deal of hardship during his early years due to Shibani Khan. In 1508, for example, Shibani Khan killed Mirza Haydar’s father and maternal uncle, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Khan. As Mirza Haydar comments: “Outwardly he [Shibani Khan] received my father amiably and gave him permission to go to Herat, but when he reached Herat, Shahi-Beg Khan [Shibani Khan] sent someone on his heels to martyr my father in Khurasan and Sultan-Mahmud Khan in Khodzhent.”<sup>66</sup> Needless to say, the deaths of his father and uncle markedly impacted young Mirza Haydar, who was subsequently left without political or affective support from senior family members.<sup>67</sup> Although merely one example, the murder of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Khan is representative of the mistrust between Mirza Haydar and Shibani Khan, a personal context that the Moghul historian brought to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a whole.

At the same time as Mirza Haydar (and his Timurid patrons) harbored a great deal of ill will toward Shibani Khan, he took his task of recording history seriously. As such,

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<sup>65</sup> *Encyclopedia of Empire*, s.v. “Shibanid Empire.”

<sup>66</sup> *TR-T*, 140. Mirza Haydar uses the nickname “Shahi-Beg Khan” to refer to Shibani Khan throughout his history.

<sup>67</sup> I discuss the affective consequences of the “martyrdom” of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Khan in Chapter Three.

Mirza Haydar acknowledges the military alliance between his father and Shibani Khan, and describes their joint siege against Khusrawshah, a powerful Timurid amir.<sup>68</sup> Not only did Mirza Muhammad-Husayn and Shibani Khan share a political enemy in Khusrawshah; they also appear to have been part of a formal political relationship, with Shibani Khan serving as the patron of Mirza Muhammad-Husayn. For example, Mirza Haydar recounts how he went with his siblings “to Shahrīsabz, which Shahi-Beg Khan [Shibani Khan] had given my father as a fief,” the fief serving as evidence of a formalized connection between Mirza Muhammad-Husayn and Shibani Khan.<sup>69</sup> Of course, Mirza Haydar records the ways in which this relationship deteriorated later in the narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*; however, he shows the contrast with its early closeness, making the ways in which Shibani Khan eventually targeted the Dughlat lineage all the more egregious.

On the whole, Mirza Haydar elucidates the political complexity of early-modern Central and South Asia from an aristocratic—not royal—perspective, a viewpoint not often recorded in source material from the period. Further examination of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* demonstrates how the world in which Mirza Haydar lived was at once both integrated and fragmented. On the one hand, Chinggisid systems of kinship connected various Turko-Mongol royal families and aristocratic lineages, serving as the basis of political culture. On the other, the underlying logic of Chinggisid genealogy allowed for a multiplicity of Turko-Mongol families to compete for political sovereignty on relatively similar terms, prompting allegiances, loyalties, and fortunes to constantly shift. Indeed, the case of Mirza Haydar and his Dughlat lineage—who were at various times connected

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<sup>68</sup> *TR-T*, 99–102.

<sup>69</sup> *TR-T*, 116.

to the Chaghatayid-Moghul, Timurid-Mughal, and Shibanid-Uzbek royal families— illustrates the extent to which political loyalty was very fluid during this period. It was this fluidity of loyalty that in turn defined the political geography of Central and South Asia, with its ever-shifting princely realms. In order to better contextualize Mirza Haydar and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, it is appropriate to briefly consider the geographical space that he traversed in service of competing dynasties.

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That Mirza Haydar was able to begin his life in the Central Asian city of Tashkent and end it in the South Asian region of Kashmir represents the great extent to which Turko-Mongol kinship and its associated political culture were geographically dispersive and in large part not tied to a particular space. Indeed, the world in which Mirza Haydar lived and about which he wrote spanned from Khurasan to Kashmir, from Andizhan to Agra.<sup>70</sup> In the most basic sense, how did members of the Turko-Mongol elite envision the topography of this space? What were its defining characteristics? And, in what ways were communities structured across this space? Considering these questions, even briefly, helps to further contextualize Mirza Haydar, in particular, and the aristocratic experience, more generally, by highlighting the material realities of Central and South Asia.

One the most important aspects of Turko-Mongol societies in Central Asia concerned the relationship between steppe and city. In considering the world in which Mirza Haydar lived and about which he wrote, scholars have traditionally considered the steppe and city as separate spaces, and nomadic and sedentary populations as separate peoples.<sup>71</sup> More recent researchers have recognized the interconnections between urban

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<sup>70</sup> For a sense of the expansiveness of this geography, see Appendix One.

<sup>71</sup> David Durand-Guédy provides a helpful introduction to and critique of this scholarly tendency

and rural communities, which have interacted through trade, migration, and conquest. In the case of Turko-Mongol Central Asia, Michal Biran has suggested that cities became more important to the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate beginning in the 1320s, at which time the khans started to build fortresses in the valleys of Transoxiana, rather than the comparatively less settled steppe; however, they continued to live in tents, maintaining highly mobile courts.<sup>72</sup> Although considered only in brief here, city and steppe were highly interwoven during the early-modern period, as illustrated in Mirza Haydar's own experience.

Much like the Chaghatayid-Moghul royals, Mirza Haydar spent his life navigating both rural and urban areas. In fact, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* provides a number of descriptions of the steppe, which are helpful in painting an image of Central Asian geography. Describing Moghulistan, by which he means the western portion of the Chaghatay Khanate, Mirza Haydar chronicles the vast swathes of steppe in the region: "I have it on report from those who have seen it that all this territory [i.e. Moghulistan], a seven- to eight-month journey, which is mostly mountains and plains, is extremely pleasant and beautiful."<sup>73</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar gives the sense that large portions of the western Chaghatay Khanate featured a steppe-like environment. As a Moghul aristocrat, Mirza Haydar was familiar with this type of setting, but he did not spend all (or even a majority) of his time there.

In addition to descriptions of the steppe, Mirza Haydar also provides discussions

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in his "Introduction: Location of Rule in a Context of Turko-Mongol Domination," in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), especially 13–17. Thank you to Professor Ruth Dunnell for recommending the anthology in which this essay was published.

<sup>72</sup> Michal Biran, "Rulers and City Life in Mongol Central Asia (1220–1370)," in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 273.

<sup>73</sup> *TR-T*, 227.

of major cities in Central Asia. He treats cities in two primary ways. On the one hand, he discusses the history of cities undergoing a degree of decline. For example, Mirza Haydar cites Kashgar as an “ancient and well-known city” in Moghulistan.<sup>74</sup> Although earlier historiographies—such as the *Tarikh-i-Jahangushay* of Ata-Malik Juvayni, a Persian historian who lived during the thirteenth century—note the place of Kashgar as “the greatest of the cities of the Turks,” Mirza Haydar finds “no trace of anything stated therein,” suggesting that Kashgar underwent a period of decline.<sup>75</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar seems to reflect larger changes to the Chaghatayid-Moghul relationship to cities. In particular, the late-fourteenth century saw the Central Asian Moghuls frequently abandon seemingly well-established cities on account of Timurid invasions in addition to internal conflict within the khanate itself.<sup>76</sup> Derelict cities, such as Kashgar, thus stood as reminders of the highly fluid political environment of Turko-Mongol Central Asia for Mirza Haydar and his contemporaries.

Not all cities in Central and South Asia experienced a period of marked decline. Indeed, Mirza Haydar describes his own experiences in comparatively more ascendant cities. Writing of city-life in Kashmir, Mirza Haydar describes the “many lofty buildings made of newly-matured pine, the tallest of which are at least five stories, each story containing apartments, chambers, porticos, and galleries. From the exterior they appear so beautiful that anyone who sees them is stuck dumb.”<sup>77</sup> Not only were certain cities, such as those in Kashmir, striking in an architectural sense; they were also seen as centers of culture and scholarship. For instance, Mirza Haydar comments that Sultan-Husayn

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<sup>74</sup> *TR-T*, 184.

<sup>75</sup> *TR-T*, 188.

<sup>76</sup> Biran, “Rulers and City Life,” 275–276.

<sup>77</sup> *TR-T*, 260.

Bayqara, who held court at the great city of Herat, “promoted and patronized all classes of persons to such a degree that in every field there were one or two world-renowned masters the likes of whom had never existed before.”<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Herat served as something of a cultural center, home to ‘Ali Shir Nava’i, considered the founder of Chaghatay Turkic as a literary language, and ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad Jami, the noted Sufi poet.<sup>79</sup> The landscape of early-modern Central and South Asia thus featured a number of cities, some of which were well developed and populated, whereas others could only be remembered as such.

The treatment of Central and South Asian topography presented here has attempted to provide a look at where Mirza Haydar and, indeed, many of his aristocratic and royal contemporaries traveled in an oftentimes life-long search for political fortune. There is much to be said on the subject of space, especially concerning economic interactions across and connections between Central and South Asia.<sup>80</sup> In no small part because Mirza Haydar gives short shrift to matters of economy and trade, the present discussion of space is far from comprehensive. Instead, it has been aimed toward showing the ways in which Turko-Mongol kinship and its associated political culture spanned a vast landscape. Indeed, the world in which Mirza Haydar lived allowed for members of his ilk to travel across a truly diverse array of spaces and associated societies—from the bustling city of Herat to the sweeping steppes of Moghulistan. On the whole, such an examination of the various environments in which Mirza Haydar found

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<sup>78</sup> *TR-T*, 117.

<sup>79</sup> Stephen F. Dale, “The Legacy of the Timurids,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 8, no. 1 (April 1998): 44.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Stephen Frederic Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For a more recent treatment with a broader focus, see: Scott C. Levi, *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and its Trade, 1550–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

himself will help to make his career and historiographical choices more intelligible.

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Mirza Haydar was one of many actors competing for political influence and favor in early-modern Central and South Asia. However, he was unique in that he wrote his own history, which allows for an examination of his milieu from an aristocratic perspective, a viewpoint that is in large part not recorded in contemporaneous sources. By taking the life of Mirza Haydar himself as an example, we have examined the ways in which the Dughlat lineage was related, both genealogically and politically, to three of the major ruling dynasties in Central and South Asia: those of the Chaghatayid-Moghuls, Timurid-Mughals, and Shibanid-Uzbeks. Such an examination has allowed us to get a better idea of the context and content of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, showing the interrelation between familial relationships, political alliances, and geographical space.

As we will see in the next chapter, the context in which and about which Mirza Haydar wrote was not divorced from his methods as a historian. In large part, Mirza Haydar reflects the fluid nature of early-modern Central and South Asian politics, defined by competing and related Turko-Mongol dynasties, in the different authorial roles that he assumes in the text. Ultimately, the analysis presented here will help to contextualize the arguments of later chapters by giving a sense of the major organizing features of Central and South Asia during the early-modern period.

## Chapter Two

### Writing Outside the Borders of Empire: Method and Memory in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* comprises two distinct books, each of which features an introductory section in which Mirza Haydar outlines the goals and purposes of the particular book.<sup>1</sup> Although stylized as stand-alone works, Books One and Two function as a compositional whole, as the extensive number of intertextual connections between the pair seems to suggest. In Book One, Mirza Haydar draws from written and oral histories to provide a treatment of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khans of Central Asia from the mid-fourteenth century to the early-1530s. Mirza Haydar then uses oral histories to chronicle the political vicissitudes of the leading Turko-Mongol families during a period roughly contemporary to his lifetime in Book Two, the narrative of which ends in 1543.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Mirza Haydar treats different periods of history in Books One and Two; however, he frames both as part and parcel of his “eventual goal, i.e. the history of the Moghul khans.”<sup>3</sup>

By describing his work as one of *tarikh*, Mirza Haydar situated his text, as well as his authorial self, within a well-established tradition in Islamicate literature. As Julie Scott Meisami has noted, “In medieval Islamicate societies, ‘history’ (Arabic *ta’rīkh*, Persian *tārīkh*) referred both to a specific discipline and to works dealing with the objects of that discipline.”<sup>4</sup> Especially considering the status that *tarikh* reached as both process and genre by the sixteenth century, it is perhaps unsurprising that Mirza Haydar provides

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<sup>1</sup> *TR-T*, 3–6; 89–90.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Haydar lived from 1499–1500 to 1551.

<sup>3</sup> *TR-T*, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Julie Scott Meisami, “History as literature,” *Iranian Studies* 33, no. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 2000):

some reflections on his role as a historian. For example, in the introduction to Book One of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar reflects on the benefits of the “science” of history, before outlining the circumstances that brought him to “undertake the grave task of this history.”<sup>5</sup> That is to say, Mirza Haydar locates his role as historian and his text as history within a larger Persian-language historiographical tradition.

While Mirza Haydar certainly situates his history within the genre of *tarikh*, he also appeals to another—and, in many ways, different—means of remembering the past: a Turkic stream of historical thinking. Indeed, he gives a sense of how “the tribes of the Turks” remembered and employed the past in the introduction to Book One, which is worth quoting at some length:

Most nations, indeed all the people of the world, practice this science [i.e. *tarikh*, the science of history] and tell stories and tales of their forebears, and they use them as proofs and justifications, particularly the tribes of the Turks, who in everything they say and do, indeed even in most of their every-day conversations, speak of their ancestors and forebears.<sup>6</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar describes how Turkic peoples understood their genealogical past primarily through oral stories, which were remembered and invoked in the course of everyday life. Such a historical mentality, defined by orality and everyday application, stands in stark contrast to the *tarikh* as a textual and academic means of recording the past. Writing the history of a particular nomadic group, Mirza Haydar incorporates *tarikh* methodology and Turko-Mongol historical thinking into a singular narrative—allowing his work to be read as a synthesis of divergent trends in representing the past.

In large part on account of the Turkic stream of understanding the past, Mirza Haydar draws a connection between his contemporary moment and his motivation to

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<sup>5</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

write an historical narrative. Specifically, Mirza Haydar envisions writing Moghul history as a “grave task” because the Moghul khaqans “remember their ancestors merely by oral accounts,” which the historian feared were being increasingly forgotten as senior members of the Moghul royalty and aristocracy passed away.<sup>7</sup> That Chaghatayid-Moghul royals relied on oral histories does not seem to have bothered Mirza Haydar in and of itself. Indeed, he relies heavily on oral accounts to construct both books of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. However, Mirza Haydar does seem to have considered the written word as a comparatively more certain means of preserving historical memory. Viewing time itself as text, Mirza Haydar describes his motivation to write the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*: “for if I were not so bold, the history of the Moghul khaqans would disappear from the pages of time.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, Mirza Haydar positions himself as having the unique ability to preserve (or, perhaps more accurately, to fashion) the Chaghatayid-Moghul historical consciousness in large part on account of his compositional moment.

The goal of this chapter is to appreciate the journey that Mirza Haydar took by embarking on the “grave task” of practicing and writing history. In the first body section of the chapter, I consider the historical methodology that Mirza Haydar employed in constructing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Specifically, I examine the multiple roles that Mirza Haydar assumes in the text, namely those of compiler, eyewitness, and participant. In considering these roles, I explore the ways in which Mirza Haydar incorporated different sources—inter alia, textual histories, oral traditions, and memories—into the narrative of the text. Furthermore, I analyze Mirza Haydar’s meta-commentary in order to appreciate the ways in which the historian negotiates his different (and, at times, conflicting) roles

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<sup>7</sup> *TR-T*, 3; 90.

<sup>8</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

and their accompanying forms of evidence. By probing these issues, I attempt to recover his concept and craft of history as reflected in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

After providing a treatment of the compositional logic of the text, I turn to locate the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* within earlier trends in historical writing. Here, I pay particular attention to the ways in which Mirza Haydar both draws and deviates from the Turko-Mongol and Timurid genres of universal and dynastic history. In addition, I place Mirza Haydar in conversation with Turko-Mongol authors who chronicle their own experiences, much as Mirza Haydar does in Book Two of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Ultimately, Mirza Haydar was able to write outside of certain imperial power structures—to which contemporary historians and memoirists were in part beholden—allowing him to incorporate different genres to fashion a rather innovative text, which provides important reflections on the cultural worlds of early-modern Central and South Asia. However, before Mirza Haydar can be considered in tandem with other historians, it is first necessary to examine his historiographical style on its own terms.

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The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* remains such an interesting work of history in no small part due to the different authorial functions that Mirza Haydar assumes in the text. On account of these various preoccupations, the text can be read as drawing from a wide variety of established genres—e.g., hagiography, biography, and memoir.<sup>9</sup> Here, I consider the ways in which Mirza Haydar performs three separate, yet related, roles as a historian, those of compiler, eyewitness, and participant. Like many, if not most, historians, Mirza Haydar often describes times and places at which he was not present. In order to

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<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the ways in which Mirza Haydar performs the function of hagiographer, see Chapter Three.

construct an historical narrative about such milieux, Mirza Haydar compiled textual histories and, to a greater extent, oral traditions. I use compiler to refer to the role that Mirza Haydar played in acquiring, synthesizing, and criticizing textual and oral source material.

As a compiler, one of the key textual sources from which Mirza Haydar draws is the *Zafarnama*, or the *Book of Victory*, of famed Timurid historian Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi (d. 1454).<sup>10</sup> For example, Mirza Haydar notes his inability to make “an introduction and beginning to the book with a praise of God and the Prophet” and, as such, quotes the preface to the *Zafarnama* “for auspiciousness and good luck.”<sup>11</sup> Although textually complex in its own right, the *Zafarnama* provides an account of the rise and rule of Temür, the eponymous founder of the Timurid dynasty, and seems to date to circa 1436.<sup>12</sup> As John Woods has noted, the *Zafarnama* has “long been the best-known representative of early Tīmūrid historiography in Persian. Immediately after its composition, the work was widely acclaimed as a model of elegance and style for historical writing in Iran, Central Asia, and India.”<sup>13</sup> By quoting extensively the *Zafarnama*, Mirza Haydar appears to have fit within larger trends in Persian-language historiography during the early-modern period.

Considering the status of the *Zafarnama* as a historiographical model, it should not come as a surprise that Mirza Haydar quotes this influential work at some length in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.<sup>14</sup> One example indicative of the extent to which Mirza Haydar

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<sup>10</sup> For a recent intellectual biography of Yazdi, see: Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*.

<sup>11</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> İlker Evrim Binbaş, “The Histories of Sharaf al-Din ‘Alī Yazdī: A Formal Analysis,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65, no. 4 (December 2012): 410.

<sup>13</sup> John E. Woods, “The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48, no. 2 (1987): 99.

<sup>14</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

quotes from the *Zafarnama* lies in his treatment of Ilyas-Khwaja Khan (d. 1365), the son and heir of Tughlugh-Temür Khan: “Of Ilyas-Khwaja Khan nothing is known among the Moghuls, although I remember having heard Ilyas-Khwaja Khan’s name from my father. His history is included in the *Zafarnama* to the extent that the narrative touches upon him, and that portion is quoted here verbatim.”<sup>15</sup> In the most recent English translation, the portion quoted spans over five pages.<sup>16</sup> While Mirza Haydar explains using the *Zafarnama* in terms of filling a gap in oral tradition, he does not describe why he includes a quotation of such extensive length. Scholar Sholeh Quinn provides a possible answer to this question: “By quoting from such a well-known work [the *Zafarnama*] which narrates the interactions of a ruler of Moghulistān with Timur, Dughlat gives his work historiographical and historical legitimacy.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, the compositional decision to quote extensively from the *Zafarnama* might have been a move to provide Mirza Haydar and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* with a sense of respectability as historian and history, respectively.

Mirza Haydar might have quoted the *Zafarnama* to meet the historiographical expectations of his time; however, his doing so was not without problems, especially considering the perspective from which Yazdi authored the text. For instance, Woods suggests that Yazdi systemically purged “the Chingīzid components of Tīmūr’s biography.”<sup>18</sup> That is, instead of explaining the rise of Temür in terms of his manipulation of established Chinggisid political modes, Yazdi explained the ascendancy of Temür in

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<sup>15</sup> *TR-T*, 14. The content of the story concerning Khwaja-Ilyas is of secondary importance here. For a concise treatment of Khwaja-Ilyas, which plays particular attention to the consequences of his death, see: Hodong Kim, “The Early History of the Moghul Nomads: The Legacy of the Chaghatai Khanate,” in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), especially 299–307.

<sup>16</sup> *TR-T*, 14–19 passim.

<sup>17</sup> Sholeh A. Quinn, “The Timurid Historiographical Legacy: A Comparative Study of Persianate Historical Writing,” in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. Andrew J. Newman (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 23.

<sup>18</sup> Woods, “The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography,” 105.

terms of his charismatic qualities.<sup>19</sup> We can imagine that a historian attempting to recover the history of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khans, who traced their descent and, thus, political legitimacy from Chinggis Khan, would have found the pro-Timurid perspective of the *Zafarnama* difficult with which to work. And then there is the issue of Mirza Haydar himself, a matrilineal descendent of the Chinggisid royal house and a member of the Dughlat tribe, which Ney Elias, the late-nineteenth century editor of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, suggests remained “distinctively Moghul” in spite of its interactions with members of the Timurid ruling elite.<sup>20</sup> Mirza Haydar thus emerges as a historian caught between two, seemingly contradictory goals: situating his work within an existing historiographical terrain and writing a Chaghatayid-Moghul history, one which was dedicated to Abdul-Rashid Khan.

The portions of the *Zafarnama* that Mirza Haydar quotes suggest that the historian was able to navigate these seemingly contradictory aims.<sup>21</sup> Specifically, Mirza Haydar seems to have selected passages that represent the Chaghatayid-Moghul khan as a powerful figure, a ruler to whom Temür looked for support. In one such passage, Yazdi records an episode in which Temür asked Tughlugh-Temür Khan for amnesty. In response, the khan “dispatched an envoy to summon the Sahib-Qiran [Temür]. When he came before the khan, the khan welcomed him graciously and gave him the governorship

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<sup>19</sup> Compare, for example, the view of the leading scholar of Temür, who attributes his rise and rule to his personal charisma, suggested most forcefully through his skillful maintenance and manipulation of existing Chinggisid political structures. For which, see: Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 45.

<sup>20</sup> Elias, introduction to *TR-R*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> The *Zafarnama* has not been the subject of a scholarly translation into English, making an examination of how Mirza Haydar approaches the text difficult. Thackston notes where Mirza Haydar draws from Yazdi by referencing passages in a modern Persian edition of the *Zafarnama* in the footnotes—suggesting that his quotation is by and large faithful. However, a linguistic comparison of the two sources remains a subject for further study.

For a partial translation, see: “Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi: *Zafarnama*,” in *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, sel. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), 63–100.

of the province of Kish, along with his hereditary *tümän* [a retinue of ten thousand soldiers] and all its appurtenances and privileges.”<sup>22</sup> Here, Temür takes a subordinate position to Tughlugh-Temür Khan, who summons the Sahib-Qiran to the Chaghatayid-Moghul court to give him a nominal political position. Although just one example among many, the ways in which Mirza Haydar selectively quotes accounts of Temür’s early career from a major source of the Timurid historiographical tradition seem to both provide the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* with historiographical legitimacy, while highlighting the political power of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khan and downplaying his subservience to Temür during the mid-fourteenth century.

Mirza Haydar also appears to emphasize the early prestige of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house implicitly in the structure of Book One of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. In an early portion of the text, Mirza Haydar quotes lengthy passages from the *Zafarnama*, concerning the military campaigns of Temür against the Chaghatayid-Moghuls, who were known by the appellation Jätä, as well as other groups.<sup>23</sup> Unsurprisingly, these extracts from a Timurid dynastic history focus primarily on the actions of Temür; however, the ways in which Mirza Haydar frames these extracts, which are removed from their original context, seems to highlight the political ascendancy of the fourteenth-century Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate vis-à-vis other groups, which were conquered by the Timurid dynasty. For instance, Mirza Haydar quotes a passage from the *Zafarnama* in which Yazdi discusses Temür’s “campaign against Khwarazm,” a region in Central Asia

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<sup>22</sup> *TR-T*, 13. Sahib-Qiran, or “Lord of the Conjugation,” is a political title associated with the turn of the first Islamic millennium (c. last two decades of the sixteenth century) and often refers to Temür. For a discussion of this title and its use by Temür, see: A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship & Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), especially chapter two.

<sup>23</sup> *TR-T*, 16–28 passim. The epithet Jätä (bandits) was considered a derogatory appellation for the Chaghatayid-Moghuls, for which see: *TR-T*, 85.

that was then politically autonomous.<sup>24</sup> Temür, oft-described as “ever-victorious,” was militarily successful in that he “reduce[d] his enemies to naught” during the campaign.<sup>25</sup> As a general rule, Mirza Haydar paints Temür as a particularly formidable enemy, one who rarely failed to subjugate his enemies, by selectively quoting from the *Zafarnama*, such as the account of the Khwarazm campaign.

The representation of Temür as such a powerful warrior takes on particular significance in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* when considered in tandem Mirza Haydar’s descriptions of Timurid campaigns against the khanate. Specifically, he includes a number of passages from the *Zafarnama*, in which Yazdi chronicles the five campaigns that Temür led against the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate during the late-fourteenth century.<sup>26</sup> For the most part, the portions of the *Zafarnama* present Temür as a successful and “divinely guided” ruler in his campaigns against the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate.<sup>27</sup> In certain instances, however, Chaghatayid-Moghul agency shines through the distinctively Timurid extracts. Describing a battle in which the Timurid army outnumbered the Chaghatayid-Moghul forces, for example, Mirza Haydar quotes Yazdi: “the Jätä [Chaghatayid-Moghuls] relied on trickery and used the rain stone, which is one of the wonders of creation [...] Although the sun was in Gemini, suddenly a black-armored host of clouds leapt into the battlefield of the sky from the ambush of destiny, and so much water rained from the eyes of the clouds that a deluge arose.”<sup>28</sup> Here, Mirza

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<sup>24</sup> *TR-T*, 23.

<sup>25</sup> *TR-T*, 26; 22.

<sup>26</sup> *TR-T*, 16–27 passim.

<sup>27</sup> *TR-T*, 25. However, the fourth campaign had to be cut short on account of the declining health of Prince Jahangir, one of Temür’s sons. For which, see: *TR-T*, 24–26.

<sup>28</sup> *TR-T*, 18. Although a modern reader might approach such an explanation of the natural world in terms of sorcery and magic with some skepticism, this sort of explanation was an important part of elite worldviews in early-modern Central and South Asia. For reflections on these themes during the reign of the Timurid-Mughal Emperor Humayun (d. 1556), see: Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, especially chapter

Haydar, by way of Yazdi, relays the Chaghatayid-Moghul elite considerable, esoteric power over the natural world. Although just one example, the ways in which Mirza Haydar selectively quotes campaign accounts serve to give a degree of agency to the Chaghatayid-Moghul elite particularly vis-à-vis members of the Timurid dynasty.

Especially in light of extensive passages from *Zafarnama* in his text, Mirza Haydar can be read as playing the role of ethnohistorian, understood here as one who works to recover the history of groups that did not leave tangible records of their own. In fact, Mirza Haydar understands his role as historian in such terms. For example, he comments on the limited source material concerning the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate in the introduction to Book Two of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which is worth quoting at length:

During the time of Moghulistan's flourishing the people of learning were many, and it is possible that they wrote histories. Now, however, it has been more than a hundred and fifty years since they disappeared, and there is now no trace either of them or of their compositions. Indeed, of all those towns and settlements, aside from a few ruined towers and walls, no trace remains. [...] Since no settlements are left, and it has been so for a long, long time, the Moghuls have become a marginal people with no trace of learning and culture among them.<sup>29</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar highlights how he was forced to grapple with a dearth of textual sources and physical monuments produced by the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate. Instead, he could look to histories written for (and, accordingly, from the perspective of) other dynasties, in which the Chaghatayid-Moghul khaqans are only mentioned in passing, although he certainly relied more on oral traditions from members of his Dughlat line.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the “grave task” of historical writing required Mirza Haydar to take up the role of ethnohistorian to recover the Chaghatayid-Moghul past.

Viewing Mirza Haydar as an ethnohistorian is, of course, an exercise in

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<sup>29</sup> *TR-T*, 89.

<sup>30</sup> *TR-T*, 89–90.

anachronism, especially on account of the twentieth-century origins of ethnohistory as a means of analysis in the Euro-American academy.<sup>31</sup> However, such an approach is useful in that it allows for the examination of Mirza Haydar in a comparative framework, which can be helpful in gaging the significance of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a work of history. Specifically, Mirza Haydar appears to use an analytical approach similar to that of leading ethnohistorian Daniel K. Richter, who studies American history during the early-colonial period.<sup>32</sup> In *Facing East from Indian Country*, Richter “faces east” to “try to hear Native voices when they emerge from the surviving documents,” almost all of which are from European authorship.<sup>33</sup> Mirza Haydar employs a similar reorientation. By reading Timurid accounts, which were meant to propagate the legacy of Temür and his decedents, against the proverbial grain, Mirza Haydar sifts through biased source material to recover the historical agency of groups who did not leave extant historiographies, such as the fourteenth-century Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate.

Not only does Mirza Haydar’s method recover the political autonomy of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate during the age of Temür; it also gives him the proverbial last word due to the temporal distance between the original subject and composition of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. After the final extensive quotation from the *Zafarnama*, Mirza Haydar notes that the Timurid military exploits were ultimately unsuccessful: “Amir Temür did not return a sixth time to Moghulistan, so ultimately there was security among

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<sup>31</sup> For the development of ethnohistory as an academic discipline, see: Michael E. Harkin, “Ethnohistory’s Ethnohistory: Creating a Discipline from the Ground Up,” *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 113–128; and, Shepard Krech, III, “The State of Ethnohistory,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20 (1991): 345–375.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example: Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 9.

the Moghuls.”<sup>34</sup> So, whereas Timurid court histories—which, at least in the view of Mirza Haydar, were the major historiographical sources of the period—might treat the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate only as the politically subjugated, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* reverses such a paradigm. Instead, Mirza Haydar emphasizes the sovereignty and political might of the fourteenth-century khanate, presenting the Timurid conquests as a seemingly minor event in the longer history of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house. Thus, the commentary that Mirza Haydar provides on the *Zafarnama* demonstrates the challenges and possibilities that he encountered as a compiler, tasked with writing Chaghatayid-Moghul history with Timurid textual sources.

Mirza Haydar also compiled oral sources, which he cites with varying degrees of specificity. On one end of the spectrum lie oral traditions that the historian does not associate with a particular individual. These sources of history are oftentimes presented rather broadly as coming from the Moghuls, by whom Mirza Haydar invariably means members of the ruling elite (i.e., royals, aristocrats, and Sufi teachers).<sup>35</sup> Early in the narrative of Book One, for example, Mirza Haydar includes such an account:

From the report of the *Zafarnama* it can be learned that the khan [Tughlugh-Temür] died in the year 764 [1362–63]. The Moghuls say that the khan was sixteen years old when Amir Bolaji brought him from the Qalmaqs, as has been mentioned; that he became khan when he was eighteen years old; that he became Muslim at the age of twenty-four; and that he died when he was thirty-four. He would then have been born in the year 730 [1329–30].<sup>36</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar presents a rather barebones chronology of the life and rule of Tughlugh-Temür Khan and, in citing what “the Moghuls say” as the source of the timeline, gives the impression that the Chaghatayid-Moghul elite spoke in one voice on

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<sup>34</sup> *TR-T*, 28.

<sup>35</sup> For the ways in which Mirza Haydar uses the term Moghul, see: Anooshahr, “Mughals, Mongols, and Mongrels,” especially 563–568.

<sup>36</sup> *TR-T*, 14.

the matter. Mirza Haydar usually takes such an approach when introducing more-or-less contextual information—often concerning the broad contours of a khanly reign, as the passage above demonstrates. Especially considering the lack of historiographical sources focused on the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house during the fourteenth century, Mirza Haydar relied on seemingly well-known oral traditions among members of the ruling elite to fill in (the many) gaps in the existing textual record.

Although Mirza Haydar frequently cites oral accounts of events that do not figure into the textual record, he also grapples with tensions between textual and oral sources. One such example comes when Mirza Haydar discusses the rather nebulous period following the death of Tughlugh-Temür Khan. According to the “Moghuls’ oral accounts,” Amir Qamaruddin, a Dughlat who was not part of the lineage of which Mirza Haydar was a member, rebelled against the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate after Tughlugh-Temür Khan died.<sup>37</sup> Here, the dating of the Qamaruddin rebellion differs from that of the textual record. In the words of Mirza Haydar, “according to the *Zafarnama*, it was after the death of Ilyas-Khwaja Khan that he [Amir Qamaruddin] rebelled.”<sup>38</sup> In situating the rebellion of Amir Qamaruddin after the reign of Ilyas-Khwaja Khan, who ruled for a short time after Tughlugh-Temür Khan, the *Zafarnama* suggests a slightly later dating than the Moghul oral accounts.

The way in which Mirza Haydar approaches the different accounts of the Qamaruddin rebellion serves as a representative example of how the Moghul historian approaches contradictions between oral and written sources. After presenting the different accounts of the Qamaruddin rebellion, Mirza Haydar does not offer an explicit

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<sup>37</sup> *TR-T*, 20. For the place of Amir Qamaruddin in the larger Dughlat family, see Appendix Two.

<sup>38</sup> *TR-T*, 20.

judgment on its chronology. Instead, he comments: “In any case, since there was no autonomous khan with power, Amir Qamaruddin manifested the rancor that had gnawed at him inside his breast.”<sup>39</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar accepts the authenticity of the conflicting oral and textual accounts and then draws a larger conclusion from them (i.e., that Qamaruddin rebelled when there was not a khan firmly in control of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate). By emphasizing the shared reality toward which the different accounts seemingly point, Mirza Haydar employs a methodological approach in which textuality and orality are understood as equally reliable sources of history.

In placing contradictory accounts side by side, Mirza Haydar appears to have fit well within larger trends of writing history in Central and South Asia during the sixteenth century. For example, Khwandamir, a leading historian of the Timurid and Safavid dynasties, appears to have used method similar to that of Mirza Haydar in order to handle contradictory source material in the *Habib al-siyar*, or the *Beloved of Biographies*, a universal history written in Persian during the sixteenth century. Although surprisingly little work has been done of the source, Shahzad Bashir has recently demonstrated how the *Habib al-siyar* reflects “perspectivism as a major methodological choice, which we can observe in the way the narrative represents historical investments particular to Sunnī Muslims, Shī‘ī Muslims, upholders of the values of Persian kingship, and the Mongols, all largely on their own terms.”<sup>40</sup> Here, I do not mean to draw a direct parallel between Khwandamir and Mirza Haydar as historians. That being said, both show a certain openness to presenting a multiplicity of historical perspectives, demonstrating how the acknowledgement and validation of contradiction served as a defining feature of early-

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<sup>39</sup> *TR-T*, 20.

<sup>40</sup> Bashir, “A Perso-Islamic universal chronicle in its historical context,” 223.

modern historiography.

While Mirza Haydar appears to have fit in larger trends of history-writing by respecting the contradictions between oral and textual accounts, the historian does not in general provide a similar treatment of competing narratives within the oral tradition. Indeed, Mirza Haydar includes a brief meta-commentary on the ways in which he treats conflicting oral accounts at the conclusion of Book One of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*: “I have recorded what has been heard from reliable accounts, if I have not heard anything to the contrary. [Conflicting traditions have been omitted, since they are] probably fallacious.”<sup>41</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar comments on how he evaluated oral accounts, suggesting that two primary factors influenced his method of source evaluation: consensus and reliability. Concerning the criterion of consensus, Mirza Haydar does not reveal the scope or tenor of the conflicts within the oral record. However, his rather tantalizing meta-commentary affords a possible glimpse into the process of writing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. For example, we might imagine that Mirza Haydar talked with (or perhaps even interviewed) a rather wide segment of the Turko-Mongol elite, which might in part explain why he found it necessary to address different conceptions of the Chaghatayid-Moghul past. Although this analysis cannot be presented with a firm degree of certainty, it does suggest that Mirza Haydar viewed his task of writing history as a highly serious and intentional process with its own underlying logic.

Although much of the process through which Mirza Haydar composed the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* remains obscure, the historian does reveal one set of oral sources from which he draws extensively: members of the Dughlat lineage. For example, at the very outset of the text, Mirza Haydar records what he had heard from his father and paternal uncle, in

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<sup>41</sup> *TR-T*, 78–79. The bracketed text is that of Thackston.

addition to “reliable sources among from the Moghuls,” to reconstruct the early history of Tughlugh-Temür Khan (d. 1362).<sup>42</sup> Drawing from these informants, Mirza Haydar chronicles how Esän-Buqa, who ruled as the Chaghatayid-Moghul khan in the 1320s, could not have children with his chief wife, Satilmish Khatun. Esän-Buqa impregnated a secondary wife, Menglig. However, the jealous Satilmish Khatun gave Menglig to Dukhtui Shiravul, a leading amir, exercising one of her rights as chief wife.<sup>43</sup> Mirza Haydar then comments on the ensuing problems for the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate at large, which are worth quoting at some length:

Soon thereafter Esän-Buqa Khan passed away, and there was no khan among the Moghul nation. Everyone followed his own lead, and chaos made its way among the nation. Amir Bolaji Dughlat, who was my ancestor, decided to locate a khan so that order might return to the kingdom. He dispatched a man named Tash-Temür to locate Dukhtui Shiravul and find out about Menglig and her pregnancy. If she had given birth to a son, Tash-Temür was to steal him away and bring him to Amir Bolaji.<sup>44</sup>

After a rather precarious journey, the details of which are of secondary importance to the discussion here, Tash-Temür found the son, Tughlugh-Temür Khan, whom he brought to Amir Bolaji. Amir Bolaji then “raised Tughlugh-Temür to the khanate, and he secured all Moghulistan, indeed the entire territory of Chaghatay.”<sup>45</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar draws from Dughlat oral tradition in order to situate the aristocratic lineage within the longer history of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house. In fact, Mirza Haydar portrays Amir Bolaji, his Dughlat ancestor, as playing a decisive role in restoring socio-political order to the

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<sup>42</sup> *TR-T*, 6.

<sup>43</sup> *TR-T*, 6.

<sup>44</sup> *TR-T*, 7. The theme of a displaced royal baby who would later become king is a prevalent trope in Turko-Mongol narratives concerning conversions to Islam. The conversion of Özbek Khan (ruler of the Golden Horde during the fourteenth century) to Islam, serves as well-studied case in point. For the trope in early-modern Turkic epics and oral traditions, see: Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), especially chapter six. Thank you to Professor Nurten Kılıç-Schubel for this reference.

<sup>45</sup> *TR-T*, 8.

fourteenth-century khanate. And, not only did Amir Bolaji help to improve the political situation of the khanate during a discrete and dangerous moment; he in effect ensured the continuation of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal lineage—which, as discussed above, was an important part of Chinggisid political legitimation. In considering the early childhood of Tughlugh-Temür Khan, Mirza Haydar relies on oral accounts from his ancestors to place the Dughlat lineage at the center of Chaghatayid-Moghul fortunes, representing the ways in which the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* functions, at least in part, as a family history.

When constructing an historical narrative in which members of the Dughlat lineage play a central role, Mirza Haydar was not forced to rely only on oral accounts that appear to have been passed along his familial line. Rather, he could draw from his own experience because he himself participated in—and sometimes shaped—many of the events that are described in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, especially those of Book Two. Indeed, the very structure of Book Two highlights the interconnection between history and historian. For instance, Mirza Haydar situates the chronological starting point of Book Two as around 1499–1500, the time of his birth.<sup>46</sup> The author then provides a “summary account” of “the rulers of that age, telling where each of them was.”<sup>47</sup> His very life then serves as a temporal scaffolding, which frames and structures the second half of the history. Indeed, the depth to which authorial experience shapes the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* highlights the necessity to examine the work as one of personal history, which situates the author as both eyewitness and participant in the political dynamism of early-modern Central and South Asia.

In the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar plays two, rather separate authorial roles,

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<sup>46</sup> *TR-T*, 90.

<sup>47</sup> *TR-T*, 91.

both of which are related to his personal experience: eyewitness and participant. The different levels of historical agency associated with these roles is of particular significance here, as they influence the way in which Mirza Haydar writes his history. On the one hand, Mirza Haydar can be viewed as an eyewitness when he was present during, but not particularly active in shaping, a historical moment presented in the text. In general, Mirza Haydar plays this role when he did not lay claim to a great deal of agency, oftentimes on account of young age or subordinate position. On the other, Mirza Haydar can be analyzed as a participant in a particular historical event when he seems to have exercised some degree of power, most often as a military commander or political confidant of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal family. Admittedly, the division here is overdrawn. For instance, it is imaginable that an individual was often situated between the positions of eyewitness and participant in a Turko-Mongol milieu replete with a multitude of intersecting hierarchies (e.g., lineage, religious, seniority, etc.). In spite of its myopia, the eyewitness-participant lens helps to bring into focus the different types of experience that Mirza Haydar chronicles in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which shape the form and content of the text.

One of the major episodes in which Mirza Haydar represents himself as an eyewitness comes amid his discussion of Babur. His fortunes very much uncertain following the murder of his father, Mirza Haydar set off to join Babur in Kabul toward the end of 1509.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Mirza Haydar provides a good sense of his journey to Kabul:

There were sixteen men with me as escorts, and we had two horses. Other than that there was nothing, not even enough stuff to lie on at night. Mawlana Muhammad, who was like a father to me, had nothing but a shawl of the type the lowest people in Badakhshan wear. You can imagine then what other baggage we

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<sup>48</sup> For an in-depth examination of the murder, which is of secondary importance here, see Chapter Three.

had!<sup>49</sup>

Painting an image of a heavily escorted—yet scantily supplied—expedition, Mirza Haydar here suggests the extent to which a great sense of desperation marked the journey to find Babur in Kabul. Not only does he create a palpable feeling of fear in the account; he also employs a subtle, albeit significant, shift in tone. Specifically, the historian seems to take a rather conversational style here, perhaps most evident when he addresses the reader in an exclamation about the state of his baggage. Especially in comparison to other portions of the text in which Mirza Haydar serves as a compiler, the tone of the above passage is more personal, affording a valuable look at the human behind the text. On the whole, the description of the Kabul expedition serves a representative example of how he often employs a rather intimate tone when describing moments during which he found himself without much historical agency.

While the instances in which Mirza Haydar adopts a personal tone certainly allow the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* to be read as a compelling work of literature, they also afford a window into the relationship between the historian's self-understanding and historiographical representation. The events following journey to Babur serve as a good example through which to consider this connection. Specifically, Mirza Haydar joined Babur's retinue after reaching Kabul, an association he held for three or four years until 1512–1513.<sup>50</sup> The historian paints a vivid picture of his time with Babur:

Enticing me with promises and threatening me with punishment, he [Babur] encouraged me to acquire learning, and if I showed the slightest bit of accomplishment he rewarded me with great exaggeration, exhibited it to everybody and sought their applause. During that time he was so kind to and solicitous of me that loving parents could not have done more for their child. That

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<sup>49</sup> *TR-T*, 153.

<sup>50</sup> *TR-T*, 154.

difficult time, those days of exile and orphanage, was completely forgotten.<sup>51</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar portrays Babur as an endearingly over-enthusiastic parental figure, an image still readily accessible to many a modern reader. Much as in the description of the journey to Kabul, a very human (and a deeply grateful) Mirza Haydar emerges from the description of his relationship with Babur—a rather unequal relationship in terms of both age and access to kinship relations, with the Moghul historian assuming the lower position on both counts.

Writing of Babur in hindsight, however, allows Mirza Haydar to exercise a degree of agency in the representation of his Kabul years. This fact is perhaps most evident in the underlying narratorial dynamic between eyewitness and analyst, indicative of how Mirza Haydar represents his personal past as history. On the one hand, Mirza Haydar draws from his experience to reconstruct an anecdotal moment that indicates how Babur played a key role in his education. On the other, he stands at a temporal distance to provide a comparatively more abstracted analysis of these years, commenting on how Babur served as a father-like figure who allowed him to forget his “days of exile and orphanage.” On the whole, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* features a number of such episodes in which Mirza Haydar uses creative means to incorporate his personal experience into the text—demonstrating how the text serves as a sensory history of sorts.

The episodes in which Mirza Haydar acts as a participant in the historical narrative differ from those in which he functions more as an eyewitness. Especially as Book Two of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* progresses, he begins to play an ever-larger role as a historical actor. The ways in which Mirza Haydar frames his relationship with Humayun during a rather devastating moment of Timurid-Mughal defeat in 1540 serves as a good

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<sup>51</sup> *TR-T*, 154.

example of this trend:

The emperor [Humayun] discussed his plans in this regard to me, and I said again, “Even now the plan to take Kashmir should be carried out. In any case, let me go ahead, and you follow behind. No matter what, I guarantee you that we will take Kashmir.” Therefore the emperor gave me the reinforcements I needed and permission to depart. I set out for Kashmir with four hundred men.<sup>52</sup>

The dynamics between Mirza Haydar and Humayun are particularly striking here, especially in comparison to the historian’s much earlier description his relationship with Babur. Indeed, Mirza Haydar almost commands the Timurid-Mughal emperor to “follow behind” and even goes as far to “guarantee” a victory in Kashmir, suggesting a degree of confidence in his own abilities. While Mirza Haydar was still dependent on Humayun for troops and “permission to depart,” he exercises considerably more control as historical actor here than in the early portions of the text. That Mirza Haydar portrays himself as playing a rather different role as historical actor can be explained in terms of generational and experiential factors. In particular, Mirza Haydar (b. 1499–1500) was almost ten years older than Humayun (b. 1508) and, as such, held more experience in the ways of war—having spent the formative years of his youth developing strategic military skills in the retinue of the Chaghatayid-Moghul Sultan-Sa‘id Khan, as discussed above. On the whole, the approach that Mirza Haydar takes when describing his interactions with Humayun serves as a representative example of how the historian employs yet another distinct style when situating his own contributions within the larger historical narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

In this way, Mirza Haydar integrated three different methodological roles into the text: complier, eyewitness, and participant. An examination of these roles reveals how Mirza Haydar grappled with different forms of evidence, including oral and written

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<sup>52</sup> *TR-T*, 289. For more on the historical context of this moment, see Chapter Three.

accounts, as well as his experiences and his role in shaping the tumultuous events of sixteenth-century Central and South Asia. Thus, Mirza Haydar appears to have a rather wide understanding of what constitutes history—with written sources, oral accounts, and personal experience each serving as sources with somewhat different modes of representation and interpretation. In order to make Mirza Haydar's historical methodology more intelligible, it is necessary to move from individual text to contemporary literature, that is, from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* to the historiographical landscape in which it was written.

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Mirza Haydar was far from the only historian writing in and about early-modern Central and South Asia. Indeed, the historiographical landscape of the milieu was both rich and varied, with a great number of works written in different genres, languages, and compositional contexts. Here, I take a selective look at major Turkic- and Persian-language works in which Turko-Mongol authors treat the distant past and contemporary moment, much as Mirza Haydar. A brief synthesis of scholarship on the historiographical features of these works reveals the similarities and differences between Mirza Haydar and contemporaneous historians. Specifically, Mirza Haydar appears to have drawn from some existing means of understanding and representing history, as reflected in texts roughly contemporary to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Not only did Mirza Haydar synthesize different historiographical strands into a coherent worldview; he also wrote outside a courtly context, allowing for the connections between competing dynasties to shine through in his text. This was less true in other major sources on early-modern Central and South Asia, particularly Timurid court histories.

The Timurid historiographical tradition was an especially powerful cultural force as Mirza Haydar was writing in the sixteenth century. As the Timurid dynasty slowly, but steadily, lost its historical foothold in Central Asia during the late-fifteenth century, Timurid court historians began to find their way to various post-Timurid dynasties—the Safavids in Iran, the Shibanid-Uzbeks in Central Asia, and the Timurid-Mughals in South Asia.<sup>53</sup> Accordingly, Timurid modes of understanding and representing the past were integrated into the historiographical traditions of these emergent empires during the sixteenth century. Indeed, the lines between the developing historiographical traditions of competing dynasties were blurred, especially as some well-known histories were composed under the patronage of two different dynasties—including the *Habib al-Siyar* of Khwandamir.<sup>54</sup> As new empires were emerging during the sixteenth century, the Timurid historiographical tradition loomed large, serving as one of the major contexts in which historians worked to make intelligible the formation of post-Timurid polities.

Indeed, Mirza Haydar was part and parcel of the trend in which post-Timurid historians incorporated Timurid histories into their own works. For example, as indicated above, Mirza Haydar quotes the *Zafarnama* of Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, perhaps the best-known Timurid history, at some length in his own text. In fact, Mirza Haydar was not alone in doing so; many of his contemporaries who wrote for the Safavid and Timurid-Mughal dynasties did the same.<sup>55</sup> Of course, the *Zafarnama* itself was the product of a complex process of composition, with Yazdi serving as a compiler of textual and oral traditions—much like Mirza Haydar. In examining Yazdi’s work as part of an

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<sup>53</sup> For an overview, see: Quinn, “The Timurid Historiographical Legacy,” 20–23.

<sup>54</sup> Khwandamir began writing the universal history under the Timurid administrator-poet ‘Alishir Nava’i and completed it under the Safavid vizier Khwaja Habibullah Savaji. For which, see: Bashir, “A Perso-Islamic universal chronicle in its historical context,” 212–214.

<sup>55</sup> Quinn, “The Timurid Historiographical Legacy,” 21.

established textual tradition, John Woods has carried out an inter-textual analysis between the *Zafarnama* and earlier Timurid histories. According to Woods, Yazdi's *Zafarnama* "must be considered essentially a reworking" of two other biographies of Temür that date to the first decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Yazdi—who serves as a single, yet prominent, example of the Timurid historiographical tradition—situated his text within the literary traditions of the fifteenth century.

Similar to Mirza Haydar, Yazdi did not rely solely on written sources of history; he also seems to have drawn from oral traditions to provide a look at the life and times of Temür. For instance, Beatrice Forbes Manz has noted how the incorporation of oral traditions into Timurid court histories gradually changed the image of Temür as conqueror and founding dynast. According to Manz, Timurid works produced after the death of Temür (1405), such as Yazdi's *Zafarnama*, tend to place a greater emphasis on the personality of the conqueror and his role as *paterfamilias* than those histories written during his lifetime.<sup>57</sup> Because such accounts are unrecorded in earlier texts, Manz suggests that they "had circulated by word of mouth during Temür's life [and] now found their way into dynastic histories."<sup>58</sup> The incorporation of oral traditions into a written history thus appears to have been fairly common in Timurid historiographical practice. In engaging in a similar sort of practice while writing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar seems to have followed rather well-established norms of history-writing in Turko-Mongol Central Asia.

Much like the compilation of textual and oral traditions, self-representation as a

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<sup>56</sup> Woods, "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography," 102.

<sup>57</sup> Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Family and Ruler in Timurid Historiography," in *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), especially 58–64.

<sup>58</sup> Manz, "Family and Ruler in Timurid Historiography," 64.

historical actor was not a new role for the sixteenth-century historian. One such example, which Mirza Haydar cites in his text, comes in the form of the Persian-language *Tarikh-i-Jahangushay*, or the *History of the World Conqueror*, by Ata-Malik Juvayni (d. 1283).<sup>59</sup> Similar to the aristocrat Mirza Haydar, Juvayni came from a “learned and distinguished family that had served under various and sometimes mutually hostile political regimes from mid-eighth century” until the end of the thirteenth.<sup>60</sup> Serving as a governor under the Ilkhanate, the Mongol dynasty that ruled Iran from the mid-thirteenth to early-fourteenth century, Juvayni functions as a participant-observer in the *Tarikh-i-Jahangushay*, lending a rather unique perspective on early-Mongol history.<sup>61</sup> In the words of one modern scholar, “His [Juvayni’s] position acquainted him with the daily intricacies of administration and enabled him to strike a balance, in his writings, between theory and practice, ideals and reality.”<sup>62</sup> Writing in the sixteenth century, Mirza Haydar looked to historians of centuries past, including Juvayni, who also chronicled their involvements in the contemporary moment.<sup>63</sup>

Whereas Juvayni treats his personal experiences in a rather limited scope, other authors more contemporary to Mirza Haydar situated the self at the center of their compositions. Babur—whose memoir Mirza Haydar uses as a source—stands as a case in

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<sup>59</sup> For an English translation of the *Tarikh-i-Jahangushay*, see: ‘Ala-ad-Din ‘Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

<sup>60</sup> Mohammad Jafar Mahallati, “Biography and the Image of a Medieval Historian: The *Tārīkh-i jahān-goshā* of ‘Atā-Malek Jovaynī,” in *The Rhetoric of Biography: Narrating Lives in Persianate Societies*, ed. Louise Marlow (Boston: Ilex Foundation, 2011), 27.

<sup>61</sup> As Charles Melville comments: “Mainly, however, he [Juvayni] drew on his personal experience, which surfaces occasionally in the narrative [...] It is his own involvement in many of the affairs he describes that lends his work its authority and value.” See: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. “Jahāngosā-ye Jovayni,” by Charles Melville, last accessed February 28, 2019, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jahangosa-ye-jovayni>.

<sup>62</sup> Mahallati, “Biography and the Image of a Medieval Historian,” 37.

<sup>63</sup> See note 75 in the previous chapter for his explicit reference to Juvayni.

point.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, scholars have long focused on the fact that Babur's work "contains remarkably modern autobiographical elements."<sup>65</sup> While historians have warned against reading the *Baburnama* as an autobiography (that is, locating the text within the genre said to have developed later in the eighteenth century), Babur does indeed "convey a vivid and plausible individuality."<sup>66</sup> Similar to Babur, Mirza Haydar gives a sense of his personality, at times representing himself as an able aristocrat-warrior and at others as an aimless child, by way of describing how he experienced and shaped the events at the center of his historical narrative. In this sense, Mirza Haydar followed available means to situate personal experience in his text.

It is clear that Mirza Haydar surveyed the historiographical landscape while writing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and situated his work within it. In addition to the *Zafarnama* of Yazdi, he makes explicit reference to the *Tarikh-i-Jahangushay* of Juvayni, and the *Baburnama* of Babur. Not only did Mirza Haydar adapt these texts into his own; he also seems to have selectively adopted the techniques of their authors. Much like Yazdi, Mirza Haydar worked to incorporate textual sources and oral traditions into the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. And, similar to both Juvayni and Babur, Mirza Haydar experienced and shaped the events about which he writes, thus lending the work a comparatively more personal quality than Yazdi, who was more removed from the subjects he studied. By assuming the roles of compiler and participant-observer, Mirza Haydar drew from and situated himself within a well-established methodology of dealing with the past.

Mirza Haydar differed rather significantly, however, from the three authors

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<sup>64</sup> Mano, "The *Baburnama* and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*," 44–47.

<sup>65</sup> Stephen Frederic Dale, "Steppe Humanism: The Autobiographical Writings of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, 1483–1530," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22, no. 1 (February 1990): 38.

<sup>66</sup> Dale, "Steppe Humanism," 39.

discussed above (and from many of the major historians writing during the period) in that he wrote outside a courtly context. Many well-known Turko-Mongol historical works, including the *Zafarnama*, were imperial commissions. Perhaps unsurprisingly, court historians placed the commissioning dynasty at the analytical focal point of their works. Indeed, such an approach is also evident in non-commissioned royal memoirs, such as the *Baburnama*. Writing as a Timurid royal, Babur centers the text around his own experience and that of his familial line, allowing the memoir to be read as “his own dynastic history,” in the words of one scholar.<sup>67</sup> Unlike the majority of historical sources whose content and techniques Mirza Haydar adapted, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was not a commissioned work. Although the text is dedicated to the Chaghatayid-Moghul Abdul-Rashid Khan (d. 1560), Mirza Haydar was far removed from the Moghul court while writing in Kashmir.<sup>68</sup> This compositional context set Mirza Haydar apart from many of his contemporaries and allowed him to compile a rather innovative vision of history.

Writing outside the borders of empire, Mirza Haydar makes a significant historiographical contribution by demonstrating the connections between competing and interrelated Turko-Mongol royal families in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Especially in Book Two, where his aristocratic experiences play a central role, Mirza Haydar provides a great deal of information on the Chaghatayid-Moghul, Timurid-Mughal, Shibanid-Uzbek royal families—allowing the student of history to engage in an examination of aristocratic and royal politics, much as provided in the above chapter. Not only does Mirza Haydar stand apart from many of his contemporaries by chronicling these different royal houses; he discusses them all within the same historical narrative, rather than

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<sup>67</sup> Dale, “Steppe Humanism,” 50.

<sup>68</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Abdul-Rashid Khan and Mirza Haydar, see Chapter Three.

considering each separately. In this sense, Mirza Haydar provides a much different treatment than historians writing within the influential genre of universal history, in which particular dynasties are divided into discrete chapters.<sup>69</sup> A further examination of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* illustrates how Mirza Haydar integrates various Turko-Mongol dynasties into a cohesive historical narrative.

The connections between competing families are highly evident in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in large part due to the ways in which Mirza Haydar structures the historical narrative. In general, Mirza Haydar provides a rather flowing account of Turko-Mongol history, a cohesive treatment in which discrete moments are oftentimes contextualized in terms of the primary royal and aristocratic families of his day. His treatment of the 1510 death of Shibani Khan serves as case in point. The death of the Uzbek prince was itself a multi-dynastic point of interaction in the sense that Shibani Khan was killed in battle at the hands of Shah Ismail (d. 1524), the founder of the Safavid dynasty in Iran.<sup>70</sup> However, the ways in which Mirza Haydar situates the Safavid-Uzbek conflict highlight his integrative historiographical approach. Specifically, the Moghul historian explains the fatal situation in which Shibani Khan found himself as the result of his treatment of members of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house and Dughlat lineage:

When Shahi-Beg Khan [Shibani Khan] gave the khans and my father the potion of martyrdom to drink—as is said, “Whatever you give to drink you will drink yourself”—since the goblet of his life reached its fill, and the cup of his fortune was overturned, he himself quaffed the dregs of what he had poured down others’

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<sup>69</sup> See, for example, the *Habib al-Siyar* of Khwandamir in addition to the *Jami' al-tawarikh* (*A Compendium of Chronicles*), the influential universal chronicle of the Ilkhan historian Rashid al-Din Tabib (d. 1318).

For English translations, see: Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar, Tome Three: The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994); and, Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami' u't-tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998–99).

<sup>70</sup> *TR-T*, 156.

throats.<sup>71</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar presents an understanding of historical causation as highly connected; the Shibani-Uzbek prince was killed on account of his earlier interactions with Chaghatayid-Moghul royals and Dughlat aristocrats.<sup>72</sup> Although just one example, the ways in which Mirza Haydar situates this episode are representative of his cohesive method of writing history on the whole.<sup>73</sup>

While the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in general provides a flowing account of Turko-Mongol history, the narrative can also be comparatively more fragmented, causing Mirza Haydar to feel the need to explain the flow of the narrative. In general, his meta-commentary underscores the interconnectedness of historical actors from competing families. One example comes toward the beginning of Book Two, as Mirza Haydar chronicles Babur's early political career in Central Asia. After describing how Babur assumed control of Kabul in 1504, Mirza Haydar explains: "Now we have come to the point where the story of the padishah [Babur] that is yet to come depends upon the events that happened to my Sultan-Sa'id Khan and the affairs of my father and his going to Khurasan."<sup>74</sup> Here, the Moghul historian cites the historical connections between the Timurid-Mughal, Chaghatayid-Moghul, and Dughlat families in order to explain the narrative style of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. In doing so, Mirza Haydar further emphasizes the significance of cross-dynastic interactions to his historical methodology.

On the whole, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* presents an integrative vision of Turko-

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<sup>71</sup> *TR-T*, 154.

<sup>72</sup> Mirza Haydar also gives a less poetic analysis: "When he [Shibani Khan] no longer had to worry about the khans and my father, he charged the steed of his fortune in all directions, shooting arrows of punishment in every direction and bending the world to suit himself." For which, see: *TR-T*, 155.

<sup>73</sup> For a further consideration of how Shibani Khan gave Mirza Haydar's father "the potion of martyrdom to drink," see Chapter Three.

<sup>74</sup> *TR-T*, 106.

Mongol history during the early-modern period, setting the work somewhat apart from others, which often take a dynastic-centric view. Here lie the primary challenges and possibilities of the historiographical journey on which Mirza Haydar embarked. Specifically, Mirza Haydar attempts to write “the history of the Moghul khans,” but remains well aware of the rather fleeting quality of the Chaghatayid-Moghul past, as discussed at some length above.<sup>75</sup> As the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate continued to lose political supremacy while the sixteenth century progressed, writing its history increasingly involved reference to competing dynasties—making the analytical scope of the text much wider than Mirza Haydar lets on in his introduction. The implications of such an integrative historical orientation are significant. Perhaps most importantly, Mirza Haydar allows the reader to appreciate the conflict and tension between the leading Turko-Mongol families, in addition to their relative power, by moving beyond the dynastic model of historical writing to treat the various dynasties within the same narrative.

Although this examination of the historiographical terrain onto which Mirza Haydar looked while writing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is admittedly brief, it has been intended to make the historian and history at the center of this study more intelligible. In particular, Mirza Haydar appears to have fit within a much longer historiographical tradition by assuming the roles of compiler and participant-observer in the text. What sets his work apart, however, lies in its composition outside an imperial context. Writing as a Turko-Mongol Muslim aristocrat outside the borders of empire, Mirza Haydar presents a relatively integrated and connected vision of the leading Turko-Mongol families history during the early-modern period, a vision not as clearly reflected in contemporaneous

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<sup>75</sup> *TR-T*, 90.

source material. Accordingly, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* should not be solely read as a product of the Timurid historiographical tradition, as some scholars have suggested.<sup>76</sup> Instead, major political and cultural developments during the sixteenth century—namely a great degree of political dynamism brought by the rise of the Safavid, Shibanid-Uzbek, and Timurid-Mughal Empires—allowed Mirza Haydar to compose a rather innovative text.

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On the whole, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* represents an eclectic blend of various sources of history and styles of historical writing. At times in the text, Mirza Haydar acts as compiler, sifting through textual sources and oral accounts to reconstruct the history of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate during the fourteenth century. At others, he assumes the role of eyewitness, recalling moments in which he experienced the tumultuous events brought by feuding Turko-Mongol royal families. The Moghul historian also functions as a participant, chronicling events that he played a part in shaping. Although rather ill-defined and decidedly etic, these authorial roles help shed light on the broad contours of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a work of history—an important first step in considering the significance of the work as a history, and of its author as an historian.

The three primary authorial poses that Mirza Haydar adopts in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* were well established by the sixteenth century. Indeed, the Moghul historian himself was well aware of Timurid court historians, who used textual and oral sources much like Mirza Haydar. Writing the self, either in context of a historical work or autobiographical memoir, was also not unique to Mirza Haydar. However, writing

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<sup>76</sup> See, for example: Stephen Frederic Dale, “Autobiography and Biography: The Turco-Mongol Case: Bābur, Haydar Mīrzā, Gulbadan Begim and Jahāngīr,” in *The Rhetoric of Biography: Narrating Lives in Persianate Societies*, ed. Louise Marlow (Boston: Ilex Foundation, 2011), 89–105; and, more explicitly, Quinn, “The Timurid Historiographical Legacy,” 19–31.

outside the borders of empire helped the Moghul historian to present an integrative and connected view of Central and South Asia during the early-modern period, allowing his work to be considered rather innovative in comparison to his contemporaries who wrote about and for a court. In order to better understand how Mirza Haydar ended up far from the Chaghatayid-Moghul court, it is necessary to examine the turbulent events of his early years in the next chapter.

### Chapter Three

#### **Mirza Haydar on Sainly Lives and Miracles: Politics, Piety, and Path in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi***

In the midst of a political discussion of Yunus Khan (d. 1487), Mirza Haydar interrupts with an anecdote about “one of the most curious events” of his life. Specifically, he chronicles how his parents “begged” Khwaja Mawlana Muhammad Qazi—a Sufi *pīr*, or spiritual guide—to cure their young son after his illness reached a critical stage. Although Mirza Haydar was in rather dire straits, Khwaja Qazi “ordered no medication, only a strict regime of abstinence, and went on his way.” Some time after examining Mirza Haydar, Mawlana Qazi sent a servant to his parents: “Go give the mirza [prince] and the khanīm [princess] the good news that God has given their child the potion of health and the nutrition of life from the divine pharmacy.” The same day “traces of recovery appeared,” and the illness was never to reappear. That Mawlana Qazi cured Mirza Haydar of a chronic illness, and did so without the aid of any medicine, represents two miracles in the eyes of the Moghul historian. After providing a brief reflection on his relationship with Khwaja Qazi, Mirza Haydar returns to his narrative of Yunus Khan, commenting on the Shibanid-Uzbek invasions of Samarkand and Bukhara.<sup>1</sup>

Although the miraculous narrative outlined above will be analyzed later in this chapter, it serves a representative example of the ways in which Mirza Haydar treats Sufi *karāmāt*, or miracles, in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. As Shahzad Bashir—a leading scholar of religious studies—has recently noted, historians have all-too-often viewed religiously motivated narratives, such as the saintly intervention of Khwaja Qazi in the illness of

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<sup>1</sup> *TR-T*, 93–94.

young Mirza Haydar, as “useless miracle mongering rather than proper history.”<sup>2</sup> In recent years, Bashir and others have rejected empiricist readings of miraculous narratives and instead have turned to use “hagiographical source material” in order to recover the “historical circumstances and the social imagination” of early-modern Muslim authors.<sup>3</sup> With his lengthy descriptions of saintly lives and miracles, Mirza Haydar provides the evidence for historians to explore more deeply the social realities of sixteenth-century Central and South Asia.

In spite of references to miraculous events in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, in general the text is rather different from the genre of Sufi hagiography. While scholars continue to debate its analytical boundaries, Shahzad Bashir has provided a recent reconceptualization of Sufi hagiography as genre. Bashir proposes a particularly helpful paradigm for considering the parallels and dissonances of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* with hagiography. On the one hand, Mirza Haydar seems to translate his illness narrative, for example, from what Bashir calls the hagiographical “narrative fund,” which constitutes the collection of oral traditions concerning Sufi figures and communities in Central Asia.<sup>4</sup> On the other, he did not write the text primarily to make an argument for the sanctity of Sufi *’awliyā’*, or “Friends of God,” which Bashir sees as the defining feature of the genre.<sup>5</sup> Rather, Mirza Haydar is very explicit about his aim to write a history of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate, for without his work “the history of the Moghul khaqans would disappear entirely from the pages of time.”<sup>6</sup> In light of his stated intention, then,

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<sup>2</sup> Shahzad Bashir, “Naqshband’s Lives: Sufi Hagiography between Manuscript and Genre,” in *Sufism in Central Asia: New Perspectives on Sufi Traditions, 15th–21st Centuries*, ed. Devin DeWeese and Jo-Ann Gross (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 76.

<sup>3</sup> Bashir, “Naqshband’s Lives,” 76.

<sup>4</sup> Bashir, “Naqshband’s Lives,” 89–91.

<sup>5</sup> Bashir, “Naqshband’s Lives,” 91.

<sup>6</sup> *TR-T*, 3.

the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* should not be located primarily in the genre of Sufi hagiography.

Nevertheless the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is an inherently multivalent work, speaking to multiple audiences and fulfilling associated goals. A part of this multivocality was Mirza Haydar's identity as a Muslim, which has not been the subject of thorough scholarly analysis. One historian, Thomas Hayoz, perhaps goes too far in claiming the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* serves as a "hagio-historiographic" work, meant to propagate the teachings of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya—the Sufi group with which Mirza Haydar was affiliated.<sup>7</sup> Mirza Haydar does present himself as a pious affiliate of the Naqshbandi order and chronicles the miracles of select Naqshbandi 'awliyā' at some length. However, such arguments over genre undermine a holistic understanding of the text and are often divorced from its historical context. It is instead necessary to examine how Mirza Haydar treats Sufi religiosity in terms of larger social and political trends in sixteenth-century Central and South Asia. A contextualized reading of Sufi themes in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* affords a fuller look at the connections between the Mirza Haydar's historical methodology and the social reality reflected in his text.

In the present chapter, I analyze the ways in which Mirza Haydar treats Sufi themes in terms of two separate, yet interrelated, contexts of his life: the political, and the familial. I begin by discussing the geo-political context in which Mirza Haydar composed his text. Mirza Haydar wrote the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* while ruling in Kashmir, an environment that he found hostile to the worldly involvement of Sufi shaykhs, such as Khwaja Qazi. By critiquing Sufi communities in Kashmir and chronicling the lives and miracles of Naqshbandi shaykhs, Mirza Haydar seemingly attempted to legitimize his

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<sup>7</sup> Hayoz, "Hagiographic Tendencies in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*," 156.

political project. Furthermore, by focusing on Sufi 'awliyā' from a particular branch of the emergent Naqshbandi order, Mirza Haydar appears to have reflected and shaped his religious milieu, of which intense communal rivalries among Sufi factions was a defining feature. On the whole, the ways in which Mirza Haydar discusses members of the 'awliyā' in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* are reflective of the interconnected politics of Turko-Mongol ruler and Sufi shaykh during the early-modern period.

Following a consideration of saintly and princely politics, I consider the connection between the precarious personal journey of Mirza Haydar and the ways in which he represents his Sufi affiliations as a source of personal guidance. By reading his Sufi poetry through the context of his life, I suggest that Mirza Haydar wrote himself back into a Central Asian network of Sufi affectivity during his geographic exile from Moghulistan and social exile from familial networks. In this sense, Mirza Haydar seems to have simultaneously reflected and contributed to changing understandings of kinship, an important feature of the sixteenth-century period. Analyzing the ways in which Mirza Haydar discusses Sufi religiosity allows for a fuller appreciation of politics, kinship, and saintly competition in Central and South Asia during his compositional moment.

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A preliminary examination of the context in which Mirza Haydar crafted the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is helpful in appreciating the ways in which his descriptions of Sufi miracles, such as that of Khwaja Qazi quoted above, were connected to the politics of the early-modern period. As Mirza Haydar notes toward the end of Book Two, he ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1539 on behalf of the Timurid-Mughal Emperor Humayun.<sup>8</sup> Much, if not most, of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* appears to have written as Mirza Haydar was

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<sup>8</sup> *TR-T*, 291.

ruling in Kashmir. For instance, he began composing Book One in 1544–1545 and finished it in 1546, while in the “land of Kashmir.”<sup>9</sup> Mirza Haydar relates comparatively less information concerning when he wrote Book Two. However, the latest event recorded in the latter half of the text is a 1541 Timurid-Mughal victory over a local dynasty in Kashmir.<sup>10</sup> All of this underscores the locational importance of Kashmir to the text.

The religious context of Kashmir was of particular concern for Mirza Haydar during his reign there. Indeed, he forcefully critiques specific Muslim communities—a practice he does not pursue in most portions of the text. Mirza Haydar levels particularly harsh criticism toward the Nurbakhshiyya—a Sufi group initiated by Muhammad Nurbakhsh (d. 1464), which was centered on the messianic message of its eponymous founder. According to Mirza Haydar, “heathen and heretical belief” marked the Nurbakhshiyya in Kashmir.<sup>11</sup> He similarly classifies an unidentified group of Sufi adepts as “nothing but a bunch of heretics, [who] have come under the sway of innumerable ‘imams’ who know nothing of what is licit and illicit, and who think that piety and purity consist of nothing more than staying awake at night and eating little.”<sup>12</sup> Suffice it to say that Mirza Haydar did not view the practices of various Muslim groups in Kashmir in a particularly positive light.

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* records not only how Mirza Haydar felt about local Muslim communities; it also reveals the actions he took to address the supposed malpractice of Islam in Kashmir. After describing the belief systems of various “heretics,” Mirza Haydar

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<sup>9</sup> *TR-T*, 3; 86.

<sup>10</sup> *TR-T*, 292.

<sup>11</sup> *TR-T*, 263.

<sup>12</sup> *TR-T*, 263.

concludes:

At present no one can pronounce such nonsense publicly. Now they all denounce [this sect] absolutely and show themselves to be good Sunnis. My severity has made them aware that if they act openly they will be treated with nothing but the death penalty. It is hoped that this wretchedness will leave their minds over time, with God's help and through my own efforts.<sup>13</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar reveals how he attempted to reshape the religious landscape of Kashmir by imposing the death penalty for Islamic practices perceived to be improper. In addition, he suggests how the eventual goal of seeing proper Sunni religiosity in Kashmir justified his self-described severity toward certain Muslim communities. Such a goal is not self-evident in and of itself. By hoping “those who presently proclaim themselves Muslims externally also come internally to Islam,” Mirza Haydar suggests the motivations underlying his religious policies were at least in part related to belief, to the construction of a particular orthodoxy.<sup>14</sup> While the force of such motivations should not be denied, it is necessary to further examine Mirza Haydar's time in Kashmir in order to better appreciate his harsh reaction to various Muslim communities there.

Although Kashmir was rather far removed from the traditional stronghold of the major Turko-Mongol families, its highly fluid political environment must have felt much like home for Mirza Haydar. In particular, Mirza Haydar had to grapple with frequently shifting alliances among members of the Chak family, a local dynasty in Kashmir. In the early years of his rule, Mirza Haydar was closely allied with Regi Chak—a ruler in the Chak lineage. According to Shahzad Bashir, who has analyzed local histories from Kashmir, Mirza Haydar was initially tolerant of Nurbakhshi beliefs and practices because

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<sup>13</sup> *TR-T*, 263–264. The bracketed text is that of Thackston.

<sup>14</sup> *TR-T*, 264.

the Nurbakhshi Sufis were closely affiliated with Regi Chak.<sup>15</sup> However, the Chak-Dughlat alliance ended due to political circumstances that remain rather unclear, and members of the Chak family became the “foremost enemies” of Mirza Haydar.<sup>16</sup> With a sudden shift in political alliances, the “well-known affiliation between the Chaks and Nūrbakhshī shaykhs either formed the background of Dughlāt’s religious objections or at least added to his hostility toward the group,” in the words of Bashir.<sup>17</sup> A summary examination of the Chak-Dughlat relationship suggests how the vicissitudes of Kashmiri politics influenced, at least in part, the ways in which Mirza Haydar approached religious communities while ruling in South Asia.

While Bashir provides a helpful starting point for examining the connections between Mirza Haydar’s religious policies and political alliances, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* seems to provide a somewhat different, but not altogether contradictory, view. In a particularly telling passage of the text, Mirza Haydar critiques a Nurbakhshi religious treatise, whose author claims: “worldly rule is incompatible with purity and piety.”<sup>18</sup> It is clear that Mirza Haydar found such a belief to be particularly egregious, as he comments: “This is patently false, for some of the great prophets and apostles ruled in addition to being prophets and performed great things, like Joseph, Moses, David, and our Prophet, as well as the saints like the Siddiq [Abu-Bakr], Dhu’l-Qarnayn, and the Murtaza [Ali].”<sup>19</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar critiques the Nurbakhshi treatise by citing spiritually paradigmatic figures—including the Prophet Muhammad and ‘Ali—who were involved

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<sup>15</sup> Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 236–237.

<sup>16</sup> Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions*, 237.

<sup>17</sup> Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions*, 238.

<sup>18</sup> *TR-T*, 263.

<sup>19</sup> *TR-T*, 263. The bracketed text is that of Thackston.

in worldly rule from the earliest years of Islamic history. Not linked explicitly to a larger falling-out with the Chak dynasty, this particular denunciation of the Nurbakhshiyya is significant for its political undertones.

Similar to certain figures from early Islamic history, many of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandi shaykhs whom Mirza Haydar treats were both spiritually adept and societally active. In the miracle story discussed at the opening of the chapter, for instance, Mirza Haydar attributes his recovery from a chronic illness to the spiritual station of Khwaja Qazi.<sup>20</sup> Spiritually powerful, Khwaja Qazi was also involved in the Turko-Mongol political world during the early-modern period. In particular, Khwaja Qazi served as a major political resource for Babur, who discusses the Sufi guide at some length in the *Baburnama*. For example, Babur explains how Khwaja Qazi was responsible for organizing the defense of Andizhan in 1498, a major responsibility considering that the city was a base from which the Timurid-Mughal prince launched attacks on other cities during his early years.<sup>21</sup> One example among countless others, Khwaja Qazi represents how spiritually powerful Sufi guides who engaged in select political activities played an important part in Central and South Asia during the early-modern period.

The dual role of Khwaja Qazi—his political activities and Sufi status—is important in considering the connections between “hagiographical” descriptions of the shaykh and political legitimation in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. As scholar Jo-Ann Gross has noted, affiliates of the Naqshbandiyya often cited the spiritual might of a Sufi guide to legitimize his worldly involvement, which usually came in the form of economic and

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<sup>20</sup> *TR-T*, 93–94.

<sup>21</sup> *BN-T*, 64.

political activities.<sup>22</sup> Providing lengthy discussions of saintly lives and miracles, Mirza Haydar seems to fall into the practice described by Gross. That is to say, Mirza Haydar seemingly propagated the spiritual power and worldly involvements of Khwaja Qazi, at least in part, because some Sufi communities in Kashmir were perceived as being hostile to Naqshbandi understandings of political activism. Discussions of miraculous events can be read as responses to critics of the Naqshbandiyya—members of which were connected to both Mirza Haydar and his Timurid-Mughal political patron. A cursory analysis of religious policy in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* suggests how Mirza Haydar articulated the political legitimacy of his rule in Kashmir by promoting the Naqshbandiyya, with a particular focus on Khwaja Qazi.

Much as members of the Naqshbandiyya played a part in the Turko-Mongol political world, Mirza Haydar supported the Naqshbandiyya in a larger Sufi conflict by writing extensively of saintly lives and miracles. As Devin DeWeese has demonstrated in his many studies of hagiographical literature from various Sufi traditions in Central Asia during the late-medieval and early-modern periods, intensive communal rivalries between competing Sufi groups marked this particular religious environment.<sup>23</sup> With “hagiographical” passages that focus on certain *ʿawliyāʾ* from the emergent Naqshbandi order, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* must be viewed as reflective of and contributing to the crystallization of Sufi orders during the sixteenth century. When considered in light of this competitive environment, that Mirza Haydar wrote about certain Naqshbandi

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<sup>22</sup> Jo-Ann Gross, “The Economic Status of a Timurid Sufi Shaykh: A Matter of Conflict or Perception?” *Iranian Studies* 21, no. 1–2 (1988): 84–104.

<sup>23</sup> See especially: Devin DeWeese, “Khojagānī Origins and Critique of Sufism: The Rhetoric of Communal Uniqueness in the *Manāqib* of Khoja ‘Alī ‘Azīzān Rāmītanī,” in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 492–519; Devin DeWeese, “The *Mashāʾikh-i Turk* and the *Khojagān*: Rethinking the Links Between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi Traditions,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1996): 180–207.

'*awliyā*' in a "hagiographical" mode emerges as a meaningful act in which he advanced both the claims of the Naqshbandiyya and the legitimacy of his political project.

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Politics and family were in many ways inseparable for Mirza Haydar, as was the case for all aristocrats and royals of Turko-Mongol descent—as discussed in Chapter One. Indeed, two separate moments of familial upheaval and subsequent political exile played a major role in shaping his life course: the murders of his father and maternal uncle in 1508, and the killing of his paternal uncle in 1533. Both of these events influenced important aspects of Mirza Haydar's life—perhaps most clearly, as portrayed in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, his political fortunes. Not unrelated to the deaths themselves or their political consequences, however, were the ways in which the loss of these kin connections impacted the affective networks to which Mirza Haydar had access. Significantly, Sufi religiosity replaced for Mirza Haydar some of the functions that might have come from familial relationships, providing the Moghul historian with affection, intimacy, and support.

Chronologically—although, interestingly, not narratively—1508 was the first moment in which Mirza Haydar had to grapple with losing important members of his lineage: Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, his father, and Sultan-Mahmud Khan, his maternal uncle. The Moghul historian provides a brief treatment of the events surrounding the murders: “Outwardly he [Shibani Khan] received my father amiably and gave him permission to go to Herat, but when he reached Herat, Shahi-Beg Khan [Shibani Khan] sent someone on his heels to martyr my father in Khurasan and Sultan-Mahmud Khan in

Khodzhent.”<sup>24</sup> The assassinations of an amir from the powerful Dughlat lineage and a Chinggisid royal undoubtedly came with major political consequences. However, Mirza Haydar does not dwell on their political consequences. Instead, he chronicles the affective and personal implications of the murders at some length. Such a focus is not entirely surprising; Mirza Haydar was only eight years old when his father and maternal uncle were killed, heightening the impact of the tragic event on his life. This moment of personal and familial trauma requires further examination to better understand both how Mirza Haydar wrote the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and the social realities reflected in the text.

The events of 1508 were particularly significant for Mirza Haydar in large part because they shaped the early trajectory of his life. In particular, Shibani Khan confronted Mirza Haydar with rather grim prospects in the immediate wake of the murders: “It had been determined that I would be cast into the river and dispatched after those who had been drowned in Khodzhent.”<sup>25</sup> The murders of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Khan were not isolated in the sense that Shibani Khan wanted to kill only these two prominent political figures. Instead, the Uzbek ruler appears to have targeted aristocratic and royal enemies at large—including young Mirza Haydar. Not only was Mirza Haydar himself sentenced to death; he also could not turn to senior male members of his lineage for support in dealing with this formidable challenge: “An orphan whose father had been killed, whose uncles had been scattered and put to martyrdom, I had neither elder brother to console me nor relative or kinsman to give me solace.”<sup>26</sup> On the whole, Mirza Haydar presents Shibani Khan as the source of his calamities on two separate, yet interrelated, fronts: the individual and the familial.

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<sup>24</sup> *TR-T*, 140.

<sup>25</sup> *TR-T*, 140.

<sup>26</sup> *TR-T*, 141.

While Mirza Haydar may have been without the aid of kin relations during this rather dire moment, he was not left completely alone. On account of his impending death, and undoubtedly concerned about the future of his son, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza arranged for a representative to watch over young Mirza Haydar, who records what his father told him:

Since your teacher, Hafiz Mirim, is a pious and devout man and is not partisan to any of our people, he will be able to take counsel with my supporters and make plans for you if anything happens to me [...] I am turning you over to Mawlana Muhammad. Make sure you listen to everything he says. He is my vicegerent, and his father was my master and teacher, as his ancestors have been for generations [...] I hope that in times of trouble he will think first of you and get you to a place of safety.<sup>27</sup>

As Mirza Haydar relates, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza entrusted the eventual historian to two Naqshbandi Sufi adepts: Hafiz Mirim, who is described earlier as a learned dervish, and Mawlana Muhammad, who laid claim to a similar status.<sup>28</sup> These Sufi figures are portrayed as being above the type of “partisan” dispute that was to blame for the deaths of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and his brother-in-law. While this was probably more true in discourse than in practice, especially considering the many political involvements of Naqshbandi shaykhs, it is important to note how members of competing Turko-Mongol dynasties—the Timurids and Shibanid-Uzbeks, for example—saw Naqshbandi support as necessary to political legitimation by the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza was well warranted in entrusting his son to Naqshbandi Sufis, who had a

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<sup>27</sup> *TR-T*, 140.

<sup>28</sup> *TR-T*, 139.

<sup>29</sup> For a succinct discussion of Timurid and Shibanid-Uzbek connections with the Naqshbandiyya, see: Richard Foltz, “The Central Asian Naqshbandī Connections of the Mughal Emperors,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1996): 229–239.

However, during the early years of Shibanid-Uzbek rule in Central Asia, the descendants of Khwaja Ahrar suffered greatly. For instance, Babur recounts the death of an Ahrari son and two grandsons at the hands of Shibani Khan (*BN-T*, 96). Thank you to Professor Scott Levi of the Ohio State University for drawing these issues to my attention.

much less combative relationship with the Shibaniid-Uzbeks than did any of his Dughlat or Chaghatayid-Moghul relatives.

Young Mirza Haydar was able to benefit from his association with Mawlana Muhammad, specifically, and the Naqshbandi-Ahrariyya, more generally, in a number of ways.<sup>30</sup> Fulfilling the wishes of his patron, Mawlana Muhammad guided Mirza Haydar to safety by accompanying him from Bukhara, the center of Shibani Khan's realm, to the retinue of Mirza Khan, a Chaghatayid-Moghul relation.<sup>31</sup> In this way, Mawlana Muhammad provided Mirza Haydar with *ḥimāyat*, which scholar Jürgen Paul defines as “one of the essential spiritual qualities of a Sufi shaykh, namely, his power to protect his disciples from alien and hostile influences.”<sup>32</sup> However, Mawlana Muhammad decided to escape with his charge only after meeting with Khwaja Qazi, who advised Mawlana Muhammad to take the future historian “and flee, for if you incur any danger, I will guarantee your safety. This is what you must do as a matter of course.”<sup>33</sup> Here, Khwaja Qazi takes a stance in the political conflict between the Dughlat lineage and the Shibaniid-Uzbek royal family by preventing violence directed toward Mirza Haydar, representative of Khwaja Qazi asserting his *walāya*, or saintly authority, vis-à-vis the kingly power of Shibani Khan. By providing Mirza Haydar with *ḥimāyat* by way of Mawlana Muhammad, Khwaja Qazi played a key role in bringing the young prince to safety in an overtly physical way.

Mirza Haydar benefitted not only from the guidance of Mawlana Muhammad

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<sup>30</sup> The “Naqshbandi-Ahrariyya” refers to the branch of the Naqshbandiyya associated with the descendants (both spiritual and lineal) of Khwaja ‘Ubaydullah Ahrar, a particularly influential shaykh in Central Asia during the fifteenth century.

<sup>31</sup> *TR-T*, 141; 146–7.

<sup>32</sup> Jürgen Paul, “Forming a Faction: The *Ḥimāyat* System of Khwaja Ahrar,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23, no. 4 (November 1991): 537.

<sup>33</sup> *TR-T*, 141.

during his escape from Bukhara; he also received spiritual support from Khwaja Qazi during the journey. In particular, Mirza Haydar notes how “spiritual assistance” from Khwaja Qazi “reached me even in Bukhara,” suggesting its strength across the geography of Central Asia.<sup>34</sup> During this initial period of familial exile and personal uncertainty, Mirza Haydar received two separate, yet interrelated, forms of *himāyat* from members of the Naqshbandi-Ahrariyya: physical, in the form of Mawlana Muhammad accompanying him from Bukhara to Badakhshan, and spiritual, with Khwaja Qazi providing esoteric support along the way.<sup>35</sup> In this sense, Sufi figures provided guidance similar to that of familial relations, as well as comparatively more spiritual direction, for Mirza Haydar when the young prince did not have access to Dughlat or Chaghatayid-Moghul kinship networks.

Mirza Haydar experienced a second—and comparatively more devastating—period of familial trauma and subsequent political upheaval in 1533, when his paternal uncle Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza was killed at the hands of Abdul-Rashid Khan, the head of the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house. This event took place as Mirza Haydar was approaching middle age. Accordingly, he discusses it at some length at various points in the text. In Book One, Mirza Haydar provides a short gloss of the events leading up to the death of Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza. Sultan-Sa‘id Khan, the leader of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate who was the father of Abdul-Rashid Khan, died in 1533. Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza went to mourn the death of Sultan-Sa‘id Khan, whom he served as a longtime advisor, at his tomb. According to Mirza Haydar, Abdul-Rashid Khan arrived at the tomb on “the tenth of Muharram 940 [August 1, 1533].” Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza

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<sup>34</sup> *TR-T*, 144.

<sup>35</sup> For a sense of the journey, see Appendix One.

then “went out weeping” to Abdul-Rashid Khan, “who killed him on the spot.”<sup>36</sup>

Although a rather brief event, the murder of Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza was a particularly formative one for Mirza Haydar, with both political and personal consequences on his later life.

After outlining the death of Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza, Mirza Haydar equates the murder of his paternal uncle to an episode from early Islamic history: the Battle of Badr, a conflict between followers of the Prophet Muhammad and members of his tribe—the Quraysh—who had yet to convert to Islam. After the Prophet achieved decisive success in battle, the Quraysh sent one of their members, Abu'l-As, with funds to ransom seventy tribal chiefs from the victor. Upon seeing the Prophet, Abu'l-As proclaimed: “Islam has taken root in my heart. I will go to Mecca. Then I'll come back to become a Muslim.” Members of the Quraysh encouraged Abu'l-As to convert right then and there, as doing so would have allowed him to keep the ransom money for himself. However, Abu'l-As returned the ransom money and then converted to Islam, as originally planned, for he believed: “I would be a bad Muslim if my first act were treachery.”<sup>37</sup> Further examination of the ways in which Mirza Haydar situates the conversion narrative of Abu'l-As is necessary to appreciate its relation to the 1533 murder of Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza.

Upon first glance, the story of Abu'l-As appears rather unrelated to that of Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza. The narratives are geographically, temporally, and thematically unlike. Perhaps aware of these points of discordance, Mirza Haydar explains the place of the early Islamic conversion narrative: “[t]he reason for this story is to say that from the first [Abdul-]Rashid Khan's accession to the throne was marred by

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<sup>36</sup> *TR-T*, 81.

<sup>37</sup> *TR-T*, 82–83.

shedding innocent blood and an unmanly act.”<sup>38</sup> The story of Abu’l-As suggests the significance of initial actions in a new stage of life, an understanding that Mirza Haydar applies to the murder of Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza at the hands of Abdul-Rashid during his early days as head of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate. Significantly, Mirza Haydar here emphasizes the impropriety of Abdul-Rashid Khan and the centrality of the Dughlat lineage by defining the rule of Abdul-Rashid Khan in terms of the murder of his paternal uncle. This one textual episode highlights one of the principal goals of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*: to highlight the significance of Mirza Haydar and his Dughlat lineage as political actors.

At the same time, however, Mirza Haydar is careful not to place too much blame on Abdul-Rashid Khan for killing Sayyid-Muhammad Mirza. Rather, he blames an amir serving the khan: Muhammadi Barlas. This allows Mirza Haydar to conclude: “Abdul-Rashid Khan, in and of himself, supported justice and equity, but among his followers was the damnable Muhammadi,” an amir from the powerful Barlas aristocratic lineage, “whom he did everything to please, and thereby he came within a hair’s breadth of committing the most abominable of acts.”<sup>39</sup> Indeed, Mirza Haydar provides a lengthy treatment of the “improper acts” often attributed to Abdul-Rashid Khan, although “actually done through Muhammadi Barlas’s pernicious influence,” the basis of which the Moghul historian cannot explain.<sup>40</sup> In particular, Abdul-Rashid Khan:

exiled all his aunts, sisters, and step-mothers, including Sultan-Sa‘id Khan’s favorite wife, Zaynab-Sultan Khanim. He also made peace and became friends with the Shaybanid Uzbeks, who were old enemies, as has been mentioned, and he became inimical to and strove to reduce to naught the Uzbek-Kazakhs, who

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<sup>38</sup> *TR-T*, 82–83.

<sup>39</sup> *TR-T*, 84–85.

<sup>40</sup> *TR-T*, 83–84.

were old friends.<sup>41</sup>

According to Mirza Haydar, Muhammadi Barlas influenced Abdul-Rashid Khan to commit rather egregious offences, including the abrogation of time-tested political alliances and the expulsion of maternal familial relations—perhaps the more serious of the two. Mirza Haydar emphasizes the marked sway an amir could hold over the khan, a not entirely surprising portrayal considering how Mirza Haydar served as a longtime amir to Sultan-Sa‘id Khan. Although his position as amir provides a general lens through which to appreciate the historiographical style of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar was motivated to write the text for a very particular set of reasons related to his desire to rejoin the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate.

In particular, Mirza Haydar frames his history as a sort of peace offering to Abdul-Rashid Khan. In the dedication of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, for example, Mirza Haydar references his falling out with Abdul-Rashid and positions the work as intended to restore his connection to the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate:

Although from his [Sultan-Sa‘id’s] sons I have suffered that than which there can be no worse, I reciprocate with this poor effort [i.e. the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*] and, whether it be accepted or not, I dedicate it to the khan’s son [Abdul-Rashid Khan] in order that it may be a memento from me to him.<sup>42</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar suggests that Abdul-Rashid Khan served as one of the primary audiences of the history. Accordingly, the ways in which the Moghul historian portrays the relationship between Abdul-Rashid Khan and Muhammadi Barlas take on additional significance. Perhaps Mirza Haydar does so in attempt to warn Abdul-Rashid Khan about how Muhammadi Barlas undermined his reputation as a just ruler. In addition, Muhammadi was part of the Barlas aristocratic lineage, members of which were

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<sup>41</sup> *TR-T*, 83.

<sup>42</sup> *TR-T*, 5.

competitors against Mirza Haydar's Dughlat line. By placing blame on Muhammadi Barlas, Mirza Haydar not only attacks a rival aristocratic line; he also in effect expiates Abdul-Rashid Khan, providing a framework to make intelligible the seemingly incomprehensible events of 1533. Significantly, such an explanation seems to present the logic through which Mirza Haydar could reenter the retinue of Abdul-Rashid—a major motivation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* on the whole, which requires further consideration.

Related to his motivation to reenter Chaghatayid-Moghul political circles, Mirza Haydar also seems to express his personal merits to Abdul-Rashid Khan by noting how his Dughlat lineage contributed to the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate during the early-modern period. As discussed at some length in Chapter Two, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in large part serves as a familial history by recording oral traditions from the Dughlat line. Such an emphasis perhaps served to remind Abdul-Rashid of the significance of the Dughlat lineage to the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate in general. However, Mirza Haydar also highlights how his kin connections played a major role in the life of Abdul-Rashid himself. As case in point stands Habiba-Sultan Khanish. According to the Moghul historian, “When my sister, Habiba-Sultan Khanish, came from Samarkand and married the khan, he turned Abdul-Rashid Khan over to her, and she raised him like a mother.”<sup>43</sup> Here, Mirza Haydar demonstrates the connection between his family and Abdul-Rashid Khan. Given the stated audience of his history, Mirza Haydar appears to focus on how the Dughlat lineage shaped Abdul-Rashid Khan at least in part due to his aim to restore his political connection with the Chaghatayid-Moghul khan.

While Mirza Haydar certainly experienced political hardships after falling out with Abdul-Rashid Khan, he also suffered comparatively more affective consequences.

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<sup>43</sup> *TR-T*, 79.

Before the events of 1533, the pair shared a very close bond. For instance, Mirza Haydar writes of how Abdul-Rashid Khan “saw my efforts in administering affairs and my love and affection for him as they really were [...] and throughout the period we were not apart for a moment. There was not disagreement between us, and what he did suited me, and what we did pleased him.”<sup>44</sup> Here, the political unity and affection between Mirza Haydar and Abdul-Rashid Khan come to the fore, a presentation of the past as markedly different from the moment in which it was written. Indeed, the “affection, unity, and love” between the pair “reached a degree higher than which cannot be imagined,” causing Mirza Haydar and Abdul-Rashid—who honored Mirza Haydar with the nominal kinship title of “elder brother”—to swear oaths, pledging to support each other when Sultan-Sa‘id Khan died.<sup>45</sup> The relationship between Mirza Haydar and Abdul-Rashid Khan was not one of pure politics; it involved a level of affection that, in some respects, the Moghul historian found beyond description.<sup>46</sup>

With the death of his paternal uncle and subsequent political exile in Kashmir, Mirza Haydar lost access to the Chaghatayid-Moghul network of affectivity exemplified by his close relationship with Abdul-Rashid Khan. Here, “network of affectivity” refers to affective relationships (understood as providing members with different types of support and guidance: emotional, political, spiritual, economic, etc.) that connected people across geographic, political, and familial boundaries.<sup>47</sup> The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*

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<sup>44</sup> *TR-T*, 243.

<sup>45</sup> *TR-T*, 81; 244.

<sup>46</sup> Commenting on his relationship with Abdul-Rashid Khan, Mirza Haydar comments: “If that type of friendship and unity were to be written about, readers who have not witnessed these things would attribute it to rhetorical exaggeration.” Here, he suggests how experience alone, and not the written word, could adequately account for this type of relationship. Interestingly this is not unlike the ways in which many Sufis describe radical unity with the Divine. See: *TR-T*, 81.

<sup>47</sup> Barbara Rosenwein has developed a somewhat similar concept of “emotional communities”: “These are precisely the same as social communities—families, neighborhoods, parliaments, guilds,

serves as a particularly helpful source for the study of such networks. For one, the text is part and parcel of what scholar Nurten Kılıç-Schubel has termed the “emotional turn” in Turko-Mongol source material dating to the sixteenth century, which features more frequent non-normative displays of emotion and increased discussion of feelings about feelings.<sup>48</sup> And then there is the case of Mirza Haydar himself, who was isolated— affectively, politically, and geographically—from Abdul-Rashid Khan and the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate after the murder of his paternal uncle. Who supported Mirza Haydar following the unsettling events of 1533? How did he grapple with such challenges? Further examination of certain “hagiographical” elements in his history suggests an answer may be found in members of the Naqshbandi-Ahrariyya.

By writing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haydar in effect located himself within an *available* Central Asian network of Sufi affectivity through his many descriptions of the lives and miracles of Sufi *’awliyā’*, both living and dead. In particular, Mirza Haydar devotes a great deal of textual space to Khwaja Khawand Shihabuddin Mahmud, a Naqshbandi shaykh, elaborating on his spiritual lineage, his miracles, and his interactions with members of the Turko-Mongol elite. An examination of the ways in which Mirza Haydar writes about Khwaja Mahmud—contextualized in terms of the sense of exile underlying the composition—suggests how select Sufi *’awliyā’* served affective functions

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monasteries, parish church memberships—but the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others’ emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.” For which, see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 842.

Whereas Rosenwein “seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling,” I have a somewhat different goal in mind (i.e., to examine how “affective relationships” shaped and reflected larger sociopolitical changes), which is why I have not adopted her conceptualization. The subtle shift in terminology helps to differentiate my goal and better suits the Turko-Mongol world at the center of this thesis.

<sup>48</sup> Kılıç-Schubel, “Familial Affection, Brotherly Love and the Royal Tears of Grief.”

similar to that of kin relations for the Moghul historian.

Poetic verses about Khwaja Mahmud in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* are a helpful starting point in appreciating the relationship between Mirza Haydar and his Sufi *pīr*, or spiritual guide. In general, Mirza Haydar includes two types of verse in his history, the first of which is well connected to the historical narrative. This first category comprises extensive poetic quotations from Turko-Mongol rulers and prominent Sufi adepts, functioning to drive the events at the center of the narrative. A representative example lies in how Mirza Haydar discusses the process through which Sultan-Sa‘id Khan became a disciple of Khwaja Mahmud. Specifically, he reproduces a few lines of poetry about Khwaja Mahmud from Sultan-Sa‘id, who was not affiliated with a Sufi guide at the time: “*Without you what is to be done with the breath in my chest? In my heart what am I to do with someone other than you?*”<sup>49</sup> These highly affective verses suggest the existential yearning of Sultan-Sa‘id Khan to be affiliated with Khwaja Mahmud, and serve as the underlying cause of his eventual affiliation with the *pīr*, which is confirmed in a few lines of prose.<sup>50</sup> This poetry-prose combination articulates the cause and effect of a discrete historical event, representative of one of the two primary ways in which Mirza Haydar utilizes poetic verse in his history.

While some poetry in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* serves to propel the historical narrative, other verses serve a comparatively more transitional function. For example, Mirza Haydar includes a number of poetic verses—some of which come from ghazals, or lyrical love poems, composed previously, and others of which were composed specifically for his history—within his treatment of Khwaja Mahmud. Poetry of the latter

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<sup>49</sup> *TR-T*, 244. Thackston italicizes poetic verses to differentiate them from the prose portions of the text. I have adhered to this stylistic choice in the present thesis.

<sup>50</sup> *TR-T*, 244.

category, on account of its well-defined relation to the larger text, is of particular significance to a study of affective networks during the sixteenth century. Mirza Haydar includes such verses as part of his discussion of how both Sultan-Sa‘id Khan and Khwaja Mahmud departed for Hindustan to support the Timurid-Mughal house against possible Shibanid-Uzbek incursions circa 1530–1531, leaving the Moghul historian alone in the city of Aksu to manage its affairs.<sup>51</sup> Mirza Haydar then waxes poetic:

*My beloved departed from my sight, and only horns were left in my heart. As a memento of him there remained a hundred scars of regret in my heart. / Although one can have no expectation of the return of past life, for many lifetimes my eyes remained expectantly on the road.*<sup>52</sup>

Here, the speaker describes how exile from the “beloved” brought great emotional pain by referencing a number of different tropes from Sufi literary sources. For instance, the relationship between “lover” and “beloved” has historically been understood in terms of earthly and divine love, as well as the connection between disciple and spiritual guide, in Sufi poetry.<sup>53</sup> Much as separation is a feature of many romantic relationships, exile—often understood in terms of distance from the Divine—marks the Sufi path to which Mirza Haydar perhaps alludes in a reference to training his eyes on a difficult goal while on “the road.”<sup>54</sup> Suffice it to say that Mirza Haydar drew from a well-established set of

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<sup>51</sup> *TR-T*, 240–242.

<sup>52</sup> *TR-T*, 247.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, the articulation of this understanding of Sufi poetry as necessarily ambiguous—which is well established in both primary and secondary literature—provided by Dick Davis in his introduction to *Faces of Love: Hafez and the Poets of Shiraz* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), especially xviii–lxvi.

Although Hafiz, a focal point of Davis’s analysis, was a Persian poet who composed approximately two centuries before Mirza Haydar, his ghazals themselves and the many poets who he influenced were an important part of the religio-cultural context in which and about which Mirza Haydar wrote. As case in point, Mirza Haydar demonstrates the poetic talent of poetic talent of Mir Ali-Shir Nava’i by noting how the poet “compose[d] a ‘reply’ to the divan of Khwaja Hafiz of Shiraz.” For which, see: *TR-T*, 126.

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion of the themes of love and exile along the Sufi path, see: William C. Chittick, *Divine Love: Islamic Literature and the Path to God* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), especially chapter five.

Sufi tropes—such as the lover-beloved relationship and the theme of exile—that were familiar to members of his intended audience.

By chronicling his own experiences throughout the text, Mirza Haydar also provides the student of history an opportunity to examine his poetry through a comparatively more personal framework. Interestingly, Mirza Haydar was not the only Turko-Mongol author writing during the sixteenth century who allows for such an analysis of his poetry. For instance, scholar Stephen Dale has used Babur's largely autobiographical memoir to analyze the poetry of the Timurid-Mughal prince "within the framework of his life."<sup>55</sup> Taking an approach similar to that of Dale, Mirza Haydar's poetry can be read in tandem with his personal narrative "to explore the connection between experience and verse, between prose and poetry."<sup>56</sup> Such a reading allows for the recovery of meanings more particular to Mirza Haydar and provides a richer understanding of the Sufi tropes to which he appeals.

The interrelated themes of exile and affection in the verses quoted at length above allow for a deeper analysis of the ways in which Mirza Haydar coped with moments of political and familial crisis when contextualized in terms of his life. The historian includes the above verses at the narrative moment in which he is isolated from both Khwaja Mahmud and Sultan-Sa'id Khan, who travel together toward Hindustan. As such, when Mirza Haydar writes of being "bereft of the privilege of his company," to whose company he refers is unclear.<sup>57</sup> A similar sense of subjective ambiguity marks his

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<sup>55</sup> Stephen F. Dale, "The Poetry and Autobiography of the Bâbur-nâma," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (August 1996): 636.

<sup>56</sup> Dale, "The Poetry and Autobiography of the Bâbur-nâma," 636.

<sup>57</sup> *TR-T*, 247. Ross provides another reading of the same line, which is helpful in appreciating the finer gradations of its meaning: "I, being in Aksu at the time, was denied participation in this happiness." *TR-R*, 398. Here, we get the sense that Mirza Haydar records his disappointment at being excluded from the meeting of Khwaja Mahmud and Sultan-Sa'id Khan during this narrative moment.

treatment of Sultan-Sa‘id Khan, which often draws from Sufi tropes. Describing the khan’s last days, for example, Mirza Haydar writes of “the scar of separation on my brow and the flames of hopelessness licking at my heart,” imagery exemplative of the themes of exile and affection in Sufi thought and practice.<sup>58</sup> The poetic verses quoted above then might *simultaneously* refer to the isolation Mirza Haydar felt from *both* Khwaja Mahmud and the Chaghatayid-Moghul khan at the particular narrative moment.<sup>59</sup>

The rhetorical similarities between the ways in which Mirza Haydar frames his affiliations with khan and shaykh perhaps reflect the comparably affective functions royal and Sufi adepts served for the Moghul historian. The moment at which Mirza Haydar composed these verses, specifically, and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, more generally, was one of marked geographic, political, and familial isolation. Considered in terms of these personal dynamics, the verses function in part to highlight the close bond between Mirza Haydar and Sultan-Sa‘id Khan. As such, the verses are part and parcel of a larger compositional goal: to highlight the historical connection between the Dughlat lineage and the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal family. On account of his political exile, however, Mirza Haydar could not look to his Chaghatayid-Moghul kin connections for affective support while writing the history. These poetic verses then might highlight his yearning for a close and deeply affective relationship with Abdul-Rashid Khan (or the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal family, more generally), much like the connection between Mirza Haydar and Sultan-Sa‘id Khan of years past.

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<sup>58</sup> *TR-T*, 269–270.

<sup>59</sup> It is important not to assign a singular meaning to Sufi poetry. As the late-Shahab Ahmed has demonstrated, ambiguity was a defining feature of the intellectual world in which Mirza Haydar was writing. For Ahmed’s discussion of this point, which in large part relies on a thorough reading of Sufi poetic sources, see his *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), especially chapter five.

When their subject is read as Khwaja Mahmud, however, these verses assume a comparatively different function, seeming to articulate the ways in which Mirza Haydar appealed to *available* Sufi networks of affection. While writing in exile, Mirza Haydar was still able to appeal to Khwaja Mahmud and similar Sufi figures, who—although often affiliated in some way with royals—laid claim to authority of their own. The *walāya*, or saintly authority, available to Sufi adepts gave them an additional level of agency vis-à-vis members of the Turko-Mongol aristocracy, such as Mirza Haydar, who were in large part dependent on royal families for political support. The discussion presented here is admittedly a cursory one. However, discussions of Khwaja Mahmud in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* suggest how Mirza Haydar wrote himself back into a Central Asian network of Sufi affectivity—a network to which he had access during his rather uncertain moment of composition.

That Mirza Haydar situates himself within a Central Asian network of Sufi affectivity was a necessarily meaningful act, one well connected to the political dynamics of the post-Timurid period. As Nurten Kılıç-Schubel has recently argued, the sixteenth century saw a larger shift in political culture from loyalty-based legitimacy to rule predicated on “familial bonds of affection,” a shift most evident in the “emotion turn” found in the sources.<sup>60</sup> The reasons for such a transition largely lie in the “restoration of the Chinggisid dispensation,” which refers to the shift in rule from non-Chinggisid lineages to Chinggisid royal houses in Central Asia beginning around the sixteenth century.<sup>61</sup> The movement of imperial power toward the Chinggisid royalty reflected and shaped more constrictive understandings of kinship. As case in point stands Mirza

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<sup>60</sup> Kılıç-Schubel, “Familial Affection, Brotherly Love and the Royal Tears of Grief.”

<sup>61</sup> For a helpful overview, see: McChesney, “The Chinggisid Restoration in Central Asia,” 277–302.

Haydar, a non-Chinggisid who found his affective connection to the Chaghatayid-Moghul royal house strained in comparison to the traditional closeness of his Dughlat line to the khanate.<sup>62</sup> That Mirza Haydar appeals to members of the Naqshbandiyya might suggest how Sufi networks provided support and guidance to select members of the Turko-Mongol elite who faced affective challenges as understandings of kinship changed during the sixteenth century.<sup>63</sup> On the whole, the networks of affectivity to which Mirza Haydar belonged played an important part in shaping the Turko-Mongol world during the sixteenth century, and remain an area for further research.

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Miracle stories, such as that with which the present chapter began, are an important aspect of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. By discussing Sufi *'awliyā'* at some length, Mirza Haydar allows the student of history to explore defining aspects of the sixteenth-century during which and about which the Moghul historian wrote. A contextualized reading of Mirza Haydar suggests that he attempted to support the Timurid-Mughal political project in Kashmir by chronicling the life and miracles of Khwaja Qazi, specifically, and members of the Naqshbandiyya, more generally. Much as infighting marked the Turko-Mongol ruling elite, intense rivalries defined Sufi communities during this moment. By writing extensively of *'awliyā'* in a “hagiographical” mode, Mirza Haydar, an aristocratic author, reflects the crystallization of Sufi orders, a larger trend to which he seemingly contributed to both discursively and experientially. A consideration

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<sup>62</sup> Kılıç-Schubel, “Familial Affection, Brotherly Love and the Royal Tears of Grief.”

<sup>63</sup> Here, I have focused on how members of the emergent Naqshbandiyya served as emotional and political resources for Mirza Haydar. An equally important function lies in the economic activities of such networks of affectivity. For a recent treatment, see: Ali Gibran Siddiqui, “The Sufi *Tarīqa* as an Exchange Network: The Aḥrārīs in Timūrid Central Asia” (master’s thesis, The Ohio State University, 2012), [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=osu1338309336](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=osu1338309336).

of Sufi themes in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* sheds light on the politics of the Turko-Mongol and Sufi elite during the sixteenth century.

Saintly and princely politics did not, however, exist in an imaginary space divorced from human agency and emotion. With extensive discussions of his personal circumstances, Mirza Haydar provides a look at affective networks in sixteenth-century Central Asia, which in no small part defined the overlapping social spaces of prince and *pīr*. A contextualized reading of his highly emotive poetry suggests how Mirza Haydar wrote himself into a Central Asian network of Sufi affectivity during his familial and political exile in Kashmir. That Mirza Haydar looked to his Sufi connections during moments of exile might suggest how Sufi adepts played a role in changing conceptions of kinship, a larger sixteenth-century trend. The preliminary discussion presented here highlights the possibilities of using miracle narratives and mystical poetry—relatively understudied aspects of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, in particular, and early-modern Islamicate historiography, more generally—to recover the social worlds of Turko-Mongol Central and South Asia during the sixteenth century.

## Epilogue

### **The Afterlives of Mirza Haydar: Modern Connections and Parallels to an Early-Modern Historian**

This thesis has attempted to recover the ways in which history was imagined, constructed, and practiced in early-modern Central and South Asia by using the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat as a case study. Chapter One functioned as a contextual exercise, which located Mirza Haydar in terms of the familial, geographical, and political landscapes of his early-modern milieu. Necessary to orient the reader to Mirza Haydar and his world, the context in which and about which the Moghul historian wrote was not divorced from his methods as a historian, which was taken up in Chapter Two. In particular, Chapter Two examined the ways in which Mirza Haydar both draws and deviates from well-noted trends in Turko-Mongol history-writing. Chapter Three demonstrated the connections between the previous two chapters, between the life and historical methodology of Mirza Haydar, by examining the ways in which his access to Sufi and familial networks shape the text. In each of these body chapters, Mirza Haydar's lived experiences as a member of the Turko-Mongol aristocracy served as a primary lens through which the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was analyzed as a work of history.

The application of such a biographical lens has helped to bring the complexities of the composition of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* to the fore. However, both the text and its author are to some extent living entities, each laying claim to a rich historical legacy. Here, I briefly examine the ways in which Central and South Asian historians who wrote in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries remembered Mirza Haydar as a ruler in Kashmir after his 1551 death. Not only did later authors remember Mirza Haydar as a

political actor; they also looked to him as a historian. In particular, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was the subject of a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century translations (from the original Persian to Turkic) and reinterpretations in former Chaghatayid-Moghul lands, which I consider at some length. This examination of the afterlives of both the historian and his history helps to demonstrate the lasting significance of both from the sixteenth and into the nineteenth centuries.

After considering the ways in which Mirza Haydar and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* have been remembered and reimagined after the mid-sixteenth century, I then explore the modern parallels to the text. In particular, I examine two developments in modern history-writing, which have evolved in earnest over the last forty years: (1) an increasing awareness to the subjectivity of the modern historian, with some going so far as to explicitly incorporate their own experiences in their scholarly work; and (2) a changing attitude toward typical ways in which areas of historical inquiry have been demarcated, with a great focus on how to conceptualize global history before the advent of modernity. Here, I do not mean to establish a causal link between Mirza Haydar and these positions in modern historiographical theory. However, I do aim to demonstrate the similarities between his methodology and those of more modern historians, demonstrating the creativity of his work by putting it in broader (and more accessible) terms. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* thus emerges not only as a source of information on Turko-Mongol Central and South Asia, but also as a historiographical model, from which the student of history can learn about the practice and theory of the craft more generally. However, it is first necessary to consider the ways in which his contemporaries remembered the Moghul historian.

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The narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* ends in 1543, almost ten years before the death of its author in 1551 during an ill-fated night attack against a collation of rebelling leaders in Kashmir. Although Mirza Haydar does not describe his experiences after 1543, these events are not lost to the pages of time, as a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians discuss his final years in Kashmir. Indeed, the Moghul historian has found a place in a number of significant historiographical sources, helping to ensure his lasting legacy as both political actor and historian.<sup>1</sup> Although later historians certainly did not paint with the same brushstroke on the subject of Mirza Haydar, many emphasize similar aspects of his rule and fall in Kashmir. An overview of how Mirza Haydar is presented in major Persian-language histories composed during or around the reign of the Timurid-Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) allows for his legacies to come to the fore.

Many historians who wrote about Mirza Haydar during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries provide a mixed look at his time in Kashmir, describing both his successes and failures as a ruler. Typical in this regard is Abu'l Fazl ibn Mubarak (d. 1602), the official chronicler for Akbar. On the one hand, Abu'l Fazl describes how Mirza Haydar “zealously applied himself to its [Kashmir’s] administration and clothed that charming land, but of desolated appearance, with cities and civilization” by patronizing artists and musicians. On the other, Abu'l Fazl also notes how Mirza Haydar—with his “frigid and insipid bigotries,” a reference to his religious policies, discussed in Chapter Three—caused continued ill-will toward the Moghul historian

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview, see: Haidar, *Mirza Haidar Dughlat as Depicted in Persian Sources*, especially 78–136.

himself, as well as the Timurid-Mughal royal house.<sup>2</sup> While Abu'l Fazl certainly had his own motivations in framing Mirza Haydar as being rather unforgiving on the subject of religion, he treats the Moghul historian much as contemporary authors did.<sup>3</sup> Lauded for his cultural patronage and derided for his religious intolerance, Mirza Haydar left a mixed legacy in Kashmir.

Mirza Haydar is not, however, remembered solely (or even primarily) for his campaigns in and governance of northern India. Rather, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* ensured that Mirza Haydar was to be best known as a historian, even shortly after his death in 1551. Indeed, many early-modern authors comment on the popular reception of his history. The Persian-language encyclopedia, the *Haft Iqlim (Seven Climes)*, written by Amin Ahmad Razi in the late-sixteenth century serves as a case in point. In his well-known work, Razi notes how the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* “is famous throughout the world” in a biographical entry devoted to its author.<sup>4</sup> The biographer leaves the reader in want of great detail, particularly on how the history’s fame manifested itself. However, Razi himself used the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a key source, suggesting its influence on later histories.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Razi, a

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<sup>2</sup> Abu'l Fazl ibn Mubarak, *The Akbar-nāmā*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907), 1: 404–405.

In the same section, Abu'l Fazl goes on to describe how his patron Akbar aimed to implement a comparatively more tolerant approach to religion in Kashmir. Such a representation should be read in terms of religious developments under Akbar, including the well-known *Din-i Ilahi* (Religion of God). For the ways in which Abu'l Fazl propagated this universalistic worldview, see: S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1975), especially chapters nine and ten.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Narayan Kaul 'Ajez, a seventeenth-century historian from Kashmir, describes how Mirza Haydar “grew to be an orthodox rather bigoted (*gamzan-i maslaki taasub gardida*) man” in his *Tarikh-i Kashmir*. For the translation, see: Mansura Haidar, trans., “Mirza Haidar Dughlat in *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*,” in *Mirza Haidar Dughlat as Depicted in Persian Sources*, 132.

<sup>4</sup> Mansura Haidar, trans., “Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat in *Haft Iqlim*,” in *Mirza Haidar Dughlat as Depicted in Persian Sources*, 100.

<sup>5</sup> As Yuri Bregel comments, “The *Tārīḳ-e Rašīdī* enjoyed a great popularity in Central Asia and India, and it was used extensively by Amin b. Aḥmad Rāzī in his *Haft eqlim*.” See: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. “Historiography xii. Central Asia,” by Yuri Bregel, last accessed March 19, 2019, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/historiography-xii>.

prominent early-modern author, speaks both explicitly and implicitly to the renown of Mirza Haydar as a historian within a generation of his death.

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was popular not only in the early-modern period, but also well into the nineteenth century. Indeed, the text has been the subject of a number of modern translations and reinterpretations. As the literary culture of former Chaghatayid-Moghul lands (to which some scholars refer as East Turkestan) shifted away from Persian and toward Turkic during the eighteenth century, an extensive translation movement developed to accommodate changing tastes.<sup>6</sup> Part and parcel of this trend, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* can be found in a number of Turkic versions, dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in post-Soviet archives. A synthesis of scholarship on these Turkic manuscripts, with a particular emphasis on their compositional circumstances and literary features, can be helpful in appreciating the role of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in shaping Central Asian historiography and culture into the modern period.

One Turkic translation of the text, which is helpful in considering its eighteenth-century reception, is that of Muhammad Sadiq Kashgari. Although the finer details of his biography remain obscure, Sadiq left a rather extensive corpus of Turkic translations, as well as independent works.<sup>7</sup> He seems to have completed an early translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* from the original Persian to Turkic sometime during “the last third of the eighteenth century,” in the view of one scholar.<sup>8</sup> While the singular extant manuscript of the Sadiq translation does not assign a precise date to its completion, it does reveal the

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<sup>6</sup> T. I. Sultanov, “Medieval Historiography in Manuscripts from East Turkestan,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 2, no. 1 (March 1996): 27.

<sup>7</sup> T. I. Sultanov, “Turkic Versions of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 3, no. 4 (December 1997): 21.

<sup>8</sup> Sultanov, “Turkic Versions of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” 22.

compositional circumstances responsible for bringing the text into being. In particular, Iskandar Wang—a Muslim noble in Kashgar, who served the Qing dynasty of China—commissioned Sadiq to translate the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* such that its content could become “accessible to all the people” of Moghulistan.<sup>9</sup> In spite of these aims, the “reasonably accurate” translation was not widely known.<sup>10</sup> However, the early Turkic translation of Sadiq stands as a testament to modern interest in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* outside the Turko-Mongol context in which and about which Mirza Haydar wrote.

As the eighteenth century turned to the nineteenth, interest in translating the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* appears to have increased. As case in point, the nineteenth-century Turkic rendering of one Muhammad Niyaz can be found in ten manuscript versions in European and post-Soviet archives, speaking to interest in the original text as well as the popularity of its elegant translation.<sup>11</sup> The translations of Niyaz and Sadiq share a number of parallels, the most suggestive of which pertain to the circumstances of their composition. One major similarity between the two translations lies in their function as imperial commissions by Muslim nobles serving the Qing dynasty. In particular, Niyaz translated the text at the order of Muhammad ‘Aziz Wang—the regional governor of Khotan, who held a similar position as Sadiq’s patron.<sup>12</sup> That the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was the subject of a larger court-backed translation project “reflects a degree of self-confidence on the part of the *wangs* [Muslim nobles in Eastern Turkestan] that they

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<sup>9</sup> Sultanov, “Turkic Versions of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” 22.

For the dynasty of which Iskandar Wang was part, see: David Brophy, “The Kings of Xinjiang: Muslim Elites and the Qing Empire,” *Études Orientales* 25 (2008): especially 76–81.

<sup>10</sup> Sultanov, “Turkic Versions of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” 23–24.

<sup>11</sup> Sultanov, “Turkic Versions of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” 25–26.

<sup>12</sup> Sultanov, “Turkic Versions of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” 27–28.

For the activities of Muhammad ‘Aziz Wang and his father, see: L. J. Newby, “The Begg of Xinjiang: Between Two Worlds,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61, no. 2 (1998): 288–289.

actively promoted knowledge of the royal traditions of the region,” as one scholar has noted in passing.<sup>13</sup> Although certainly an area for further research, which has been considered only in brief here, the similar projects of Sadiq and Niyaz demonstrate the degree to which interest in the contents of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* continued to develop as the text encountered modernity.

While Muhammad Sadiq and Muhammad Niyaz brought a degree of creativity to the necessarily interpretive act of translation, some modern translators exercised a comparatively greater level of historical imagination while encountering the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The Turkic translation of the text by Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, which dates to the mid-nineteenth century and exists in a singular manuscript copy, serves as a case in point. Khwaja Sharif translated the history for his patron, Zuhur al-Din—the regional governor of Kashgar and the grandson of Iskandar Wang, who commissioned the eighteenth-century translation discussed above.<sup>14</sup> Much like Sadiq and Niyaz, Sharif presents a Turkic rendering of the history. However, his work is set apart by its addendum, in which the translator functions as historian by providing a treatment of “events up to the 1840s,” picking up where Mirza Haydar concluded the historical narrative.<sup>15</sup> There is much to be said on the appended translation, especially concerning its historiographical features, which cannot be presented here due to spatial constraints.<sup>16</sup> Even the most cursory consideration of this work suggests how the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*

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<sup>13</sup> David Brophy, “The Kings of Xinjiang,” 83.

<sup>14</sup> Amanbek Jalilov and Shinmen Yasushi, “Addendum to the Turkic Translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharif,” in *Studies on Xinjiang Historical Sources in the 17–20th Centuries*, ed. James A. Millward, Shinmen Yasushi, and Sugawara Jun (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2010), 32.

<sup>15</sup> Jalilov and Shinmen, “Addendum to the Turkic Translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” 32.

<sup>16</sup> For a consideration of Khwaja Sharif as a historian, see: Jalilov and Shinmen, “Addendum to the Turkic Translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,” especially 37–44.

served as not only a source of the past, but a means to explicitly engage with the contemporary moment for certain modern authors, such as Khwaja Sharif.<sup>17</sup>

Suffice it to say that Mirza Haydar and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* experienced rich afterlives from the sixteenth and well into the nineteenth century. Later authors remembered Mirza Haydar as a ruler in Kashmir and a historian of the Chaghatayid-Moghul khanate. Of course, the historian was to be best known as such on account of the history that he left behind, which itself lays claim to a complex textual history. In addition to serving as a source for major Timurid-Mughal historians, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was translated into Turkic as part of a well-developed imperial project. These Turkic translations connect the history with the Qing dynasty and suggest its cross-dynastic journey, not unlike that of Mirza Haydar himself. Needless to say, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* lays claim to a rich historical legacy. However, the text should not be located solely as an object of interpretation for later authors. Rather, as a product of the history-writing process, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* can provide reflections on the challenges and possibilities of conceptualizing the past for the modern student of history.

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While grappling with the challenges of historical writing, it is all-too-easy to imagine the process as something of a lonely one. Especially when analyzing an understudied source, the student of history can fall into a dreaded bout of self-doubt on the validity of their research. However, there is always hope to be found in the work of earlier historians, who almost necessarily encountered similar anxieties on how to properly represent the past. Indeed, the writing of this thesis has involved finding solace

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<sup>17</sup> The works of Sadiq and Niyaz were also necessarily connected to the contemporary moments of each translator. However, Sharif records the events of his own period, making his engagement comparatively more explicit.

in knowing that Mirza Haydar, the oft subject of my worry, experienced similar feelings on his own historiographical journey. Interested in how the Moghul historian continues to speak long after his sixteenth-century death, I provide a brief reflection on the modern resonances of his text. Reading the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in terms of recent trends in historical writing as conceptualized and practiced in the Euro-American academy—namely developments in historical subjectivity and global history—is doubly instructive. Such an examination allows for Mirza Haydar to be considered in broader terms, and further highlights his creativity as a historian who wrote long before late-twentieth century developments in literary and historical theory.

Although the relationship between postmodern theory and history as an academic discipline remains complex, the meeting of the two has encouraged historians to reconsider how the past is remembered. In the wake of these theoretical developments, some scholars have viewed their source material through a post-modern lens by considering the connections between its content and form, an approach that has become standard in the study of pre-modern historiography.<sup>18</sup> As historians began to apply the insights of post-modern theory to historiographical analysis, some began to engage in a critical examination of disciplinary ways of representing the past. Indeed, the discipline has seen a marked diversification of the epistemic and formal genres through which scholars interpret and present history during the past twenty years, with genres such as film and graphic narrative gaining prominence as academic means to engage with the past.<sup>19</sup> Although a major subject in its own right, this increasing openness to different

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<sup>18</sup> For an early example, see: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative,” *History and Theory* 22, no. 1 (February 1983): 43–53.

<sup>19</sup> For a thoughtful reflection on the epistemic and formal genres of history-writing, which differ from thematic or methodological divisions (e.g., political, social, Marxian, feminist), see: Jaume Aurell,

ways of interpreting history requires further consideration on one particular point to help make Mirza Haydar more intelligible in a modern historiographical context: the growing engagement with historical subjectivity.

One of the areas in which theory on historical subjectivity has been most developed lies in contemporary history. Traditionally, Euro-American historians have tried in earnest to maintain an authorial pose of objectivity. However, some writing contemporary history, especially in the period following World War Two, have embraced their own “connection to, and distance from, the past.”<sup>20</sup> The historian as an individual actor is present at all steps of engagement with the past, including “the process of learning history, of training to become a historian, of conducting research, in writing, in reviewing, in simply thinking about the past, in being historically conscious,” as one leading scholar of collective memory has suggested.<sup>21</sup> As such, recent historians have addressed their own subjectivity in a wide variety of ways, not just limited to the authorship of professional memoir or the use of a self-referential style.<sup>22</sup> As case in point, some have incorporated their affective responses to objects of historical inquiry into scholarship on the subject.<sup>23</sup> While members of the academy do not speak with one voice on the matter, more and more have come to appreciate the ways in which historians attuned to their own subjectivity:

are not “biased”: they are uniquely positioned to provide insights into historical processes that have shaped their lives [...] If all histories are but pieces of the

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“Rethinking historical genres in the twenty-first century,” *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 19, no. 2 (2015): especially 151–155. The articles in this issue illustrate the diversification of historical genres.

<sup>20</sup> Susan A. Crane, “Historical Subjectivity: A Review Essay,” *Journal of Modern History* 78 (June 2006): 434.

<sup>21</sup> Crane, “Historical Subjectivity,” 439.

<sup>22</sup> For an example of the former, see: Laura Lee Downs and Stéphane Gerson, eds., *Why France? American Historians Reflect on an Enduring Fascination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Crane, “Historical Subjectivity,” 451–454.

shattered unity that was the past, these subjectively framed pieces are no more and no less essential than the others.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, recent practitioners of contemporary history have turned to consider the personal aspects of encountering, practicing, and writing history.

The recent increase in subjectively oriented contemporary histories within the Euro-American academy shares enticing parallels to the ways in which early-modern historians treated their own periods. Recording his own experiences in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* long before the advent of postmodern theory, Mirza Haydar serves as an appropriate case in point. As I have attempted to demonstrate in this thesis, the lived experiences of Mirza Haydar as a member of the Turko-Mongol aristocracy played a central role in shaping the tenor of his text. Indeed, the particularities of his life afford the student of history a rich look at the historical forces responsible for shaping the early-modern period—a valuable perspective that would not be available had the Moghul historian attempted to mask his individuality. For example, by discussing the deaths of his father and maternal uncle, Mirza Haydar allows for an examination of affective networks in Central Asia, as discussed in Chapter Three. Indeed, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* serves as a key historical source in large part because its author provides such personal insights. Writing well outside the confines of the Euro-American academy, Mirza Haydar serves as an early-modern precursor to recent developments in writing contemporary history, suggesting his creativity and the continued import of his text.

Much as scholars of contemporary history have been interested in exploring the connections between history and historian, others working recently have re-envisioned the relationships between traditionally demarcated areas of historical inquiry. Whereas

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<sup>24</sup> Crane, “Historical Subjectivity,” 456.

historical scholarship of generations past tended to focus on discrete geographical areas, oftentimes designated by continent, more recent work has reevaluated these received analytical frameworks. Indeed, the last thirty years have seen a verified explosion of “global history” in both practice and theory, a development in which scholars of Eurasia have played a central role. The well-known works of Joseph Fletcher and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, both of whom have laid the theoretical groundwork for similar conceptualizations of global history on the basis of Eurasian source material, serve as cases in point. A brief examination of the ways in which Fletcher and Subrahmanyam envision global history, paired with a discussion of how Mirza Haydar writes history in a somewhat similar vein, will help to make the creativity of his historical methodology more intelligible.

Writing at the emergence of global history as a major methodological development, Joseph Fletcher proposed the theory of “integrative history” as a means to highlight the role of non-European societies in early-modern history, defined roughly as the period from 1500 to 1800.<sup>25</sup> According to Fletcher, “integrative history” challenges the student to “look underneath the surface of political and institutional history and examine developments in the economies, societies, and cultures of the early modern world.”<sup>26</sup> Putting this approach in action, Fletcher surveys horizontal “parallelisms” across Eurasia, such as population growth and religious revival movements, which speak to the integrated nature of the early-modern world.<sup>27</sup> Probing these areas of inquiry at a time in which scholarship was not particularly oriented toward global history, Fletcher

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<sup>25</sup> Fletcher, “Integrative History,” 37–57.

<sup>26</sup> Fletcher, “Integrative History,” 38.

<sup>27</sup> Fletcher, “Integrative History,” 41–46; 51–53.

himself notes the difficulties of identifying the causes of early-modern parallelisms.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless, Fletcher presents a compelling framework through which historical continuities across space serve as a defining feature of early-modernity, an important theoretical development that paved the way for further scholarship on the subject of global history.

Indeed, the influence of “integrative history” is well reflected in the comparatively more recent notion of “connected history,” the means through which leading historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam conceptualizes global history.<sup>29</sup> Much like Fletcher, Subrahmanyam highlights some cross-cultural trends that suggest the connectedness of early-modernity, although he locates the beginning of the period slightly earlier—around 1350.<sup>30</sup> Writing in critique of “comparative history” and “area studies,” Subrahmanyam follows Fletcher by probing the connections between micro- and macro-level historical developments, a defining feature of the early-modern period.<sup>31</sup> Like any good scholar trained originally in economic history, Subrahmanyam acknowledges the materialist factors (e.g., trade, technology, military) that reveal the supra-local connections between different cultures; however, he shifts attention toward the comparatively neglected realm of ideology in order to provide a fuller look at his understanding of global history.<sup>32</sup> For instance, Subrahmanyam provides a close look at sixteenth-century millenarian and messianic movements across Eurasia, aided by a rich

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<sup>28</sup> Fletcher, “Integrative History,” 56–57.

<sup>29</sup> Subrahmanyam has noted how the concept of “integrated history” influenced his own “connected history.” For which, see: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “One Asia, or Many? Reflections from connected history,” *Modern Asian Studies* 50, no. 1 (2016): 24.

<sup>30</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (July 1997):736.

<sup>31</sup> Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories,” 745.

<sup>32</sup> Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories,” 747–748.

corpus of literature published after Fletcher outlined his theory of global history.<sup>33</sup>

Building on the theoretical groundwork of Fletcher, Subrahmanyam demonstrates the fruitfulness of considering the ways in which the early-modern world was connected not only by materialist or environmental factors, but also by intellectual and religious trends.

Although writing outside the modern context in which global history was conceptualized, Mirza Haydar makes some similar methodological choices as Fletcher and Subrahmanyam. As discussed in Chapter Two, Mirza Haydar in many ways eschews dominant forms of historical writing, namely dynastic and universal histories. In general, these means of envisioning the past produce narratives in which either one dynasty takes center stage or multiple dynasties are presented as fragmented in separate books of a larger historiographical work. Mirza Haydar, on the other hand, presents the Chaghatayid-Moghul, Timurid-Mughal, and Shibanid-Uzbek royal houses in a cohesive historical narrative. That is not to say, however, that Mirza Haydar functioned as a global historian, at least in the modern sense. Although it demonstrates the connections between Central and South Asia, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* cannot be described as global in its scope.<sup>34</sup> However, the narrative style through which Mirza Haydar constructs his history calls to mind a vision of history in which dynasties and regions are understood as integrated or connected, further highlighting the creative contributions of the Moghul historian.

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On the whole, I have attempted to take Mirza Haydar seriously as a practitioner of history by considering the ways in which the Moghul historian treats the medieval and contemporary periods, in addition to the modern connections and parallels of his *Tarikh-*

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<sup>33</sup> Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 746–754.

<sup>34</sup> Subrahmanyam has looked to the content of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as evidence for the connectedness of early-modern Eurasia, for which see his "One Asia, or Many?" 27–32.

*i-Rashidi*. As such, it is appropriate to end with a word from the historian himself. At the conclusion of Book One, Mirza Haydar writes:

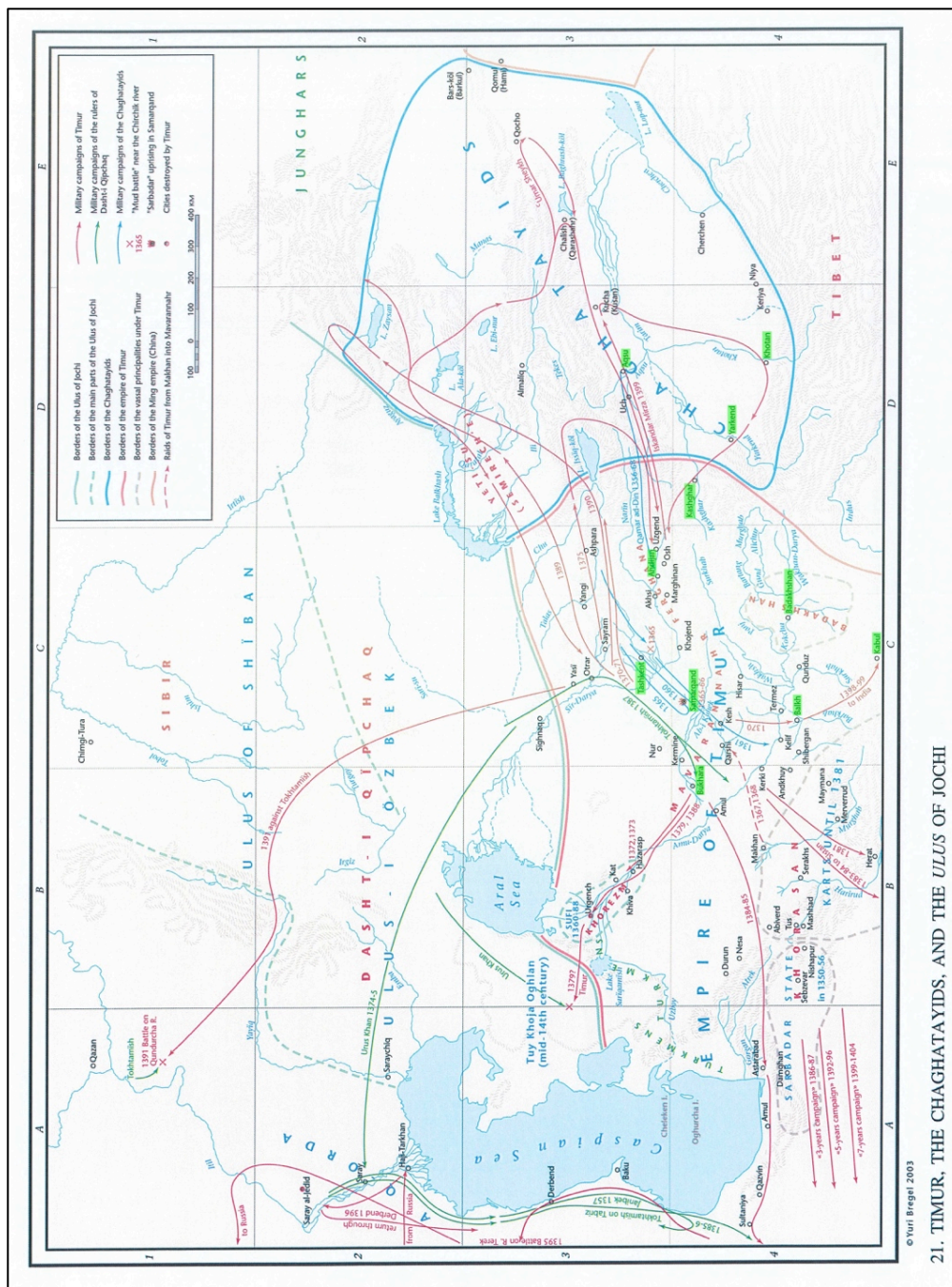
No one other than a Moghul will derive any benefit from these words and what they convey. It is for that reason that I realized it would be burdensome to impose the composition on a literary person. I did not, however, let my own lack of talent and ability detain me, and insofar as it was possible I ran my untalented pen across the pages of inability.<sup>35</sup>

Here, Mirza Haydar assumes an authorial pose of humility, a generic convention of contemporaneous literature, and downplays his contributions as a historian. Given the tendency for early-modern historians to self-represent as untalented, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which he understood his role as historian in such a way. Regardless of how Mirza Haydar conceptualized his historiographical journey, I have attempted to demonstrate how the “benefit” of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is accessible not only to “a Moghul” and how Mirza Haydar is far from an “untalented” historian. Indeed, Mirza Haydar provides a truly invaluable look at late-medieval and early-modern history, and his text lays claim to a rich modern legacy; both continue to speak into the contemporary moment.

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<sup>35</sup> *TR-T*, 85.

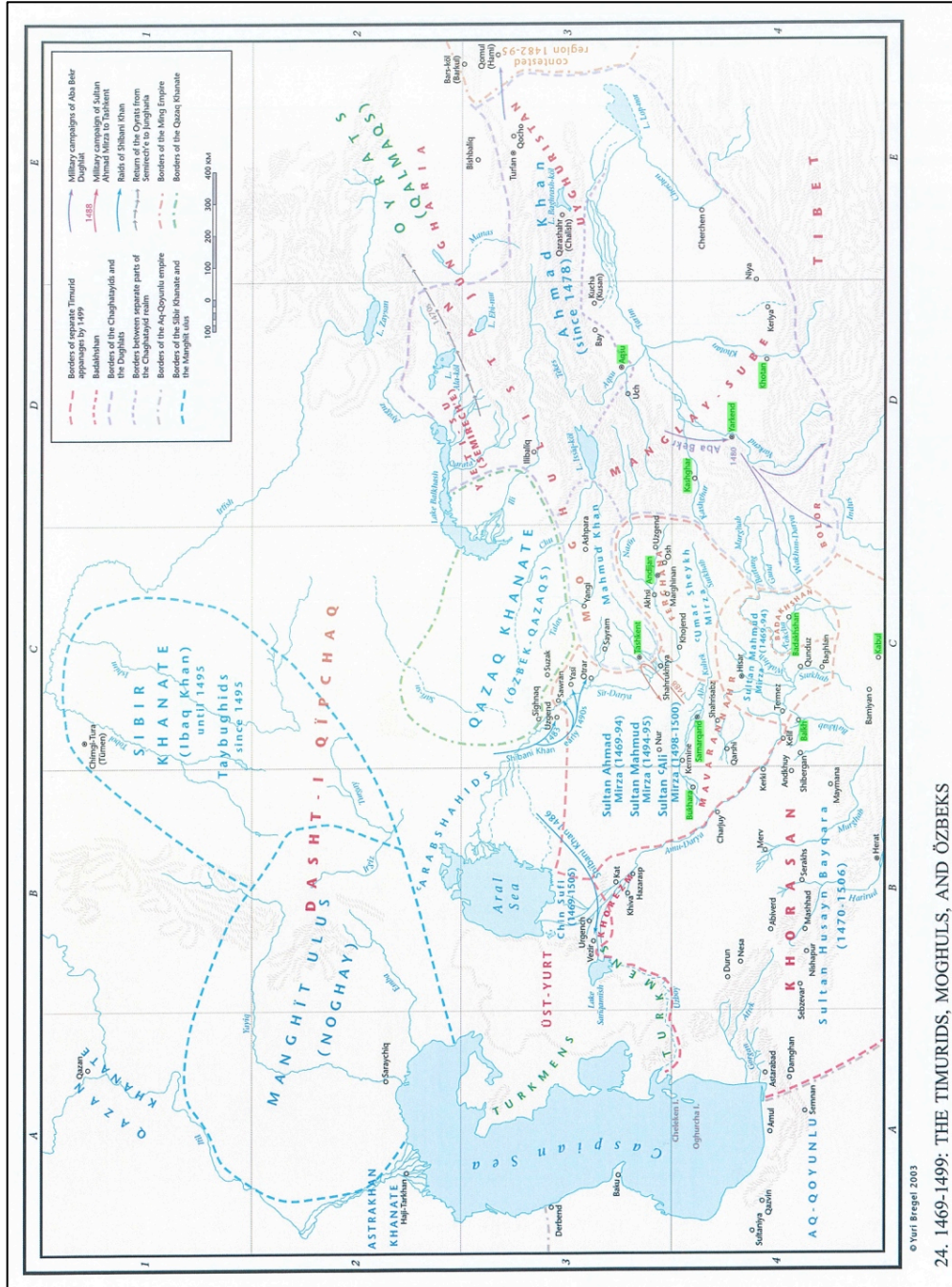
Appendix One: Maps of Central and South Asia<sup>1</sup>



21. TIMUR, THE CHAGHATAYIDS, AND THE ULUS OF JOCHI  
**Fig. 1:** "Timur, the Chaghatayids, and the Uluks of Jochi" in Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 43, map no. 21.

<sup>1</sup> The maps included here, as well as the genealogical tables in the subsequent section, are adapted from the original version, which is cited below each figure. I have highlighted some of the places and persons that play a significant role in this thesis to help the reader better appreciate the geographical and familial landscapes of Mirza Haydar's world. Thank you to Professor Ruth Dunnell for this suggestion.





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24. 1469-1499: THE TIMURIDS, MOGHULS, AND ÖZBEKS

**Fig. 3:** “1469–1499: The Timurids, Moghuls, and Özbeks” in Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, 49, map no. 24.



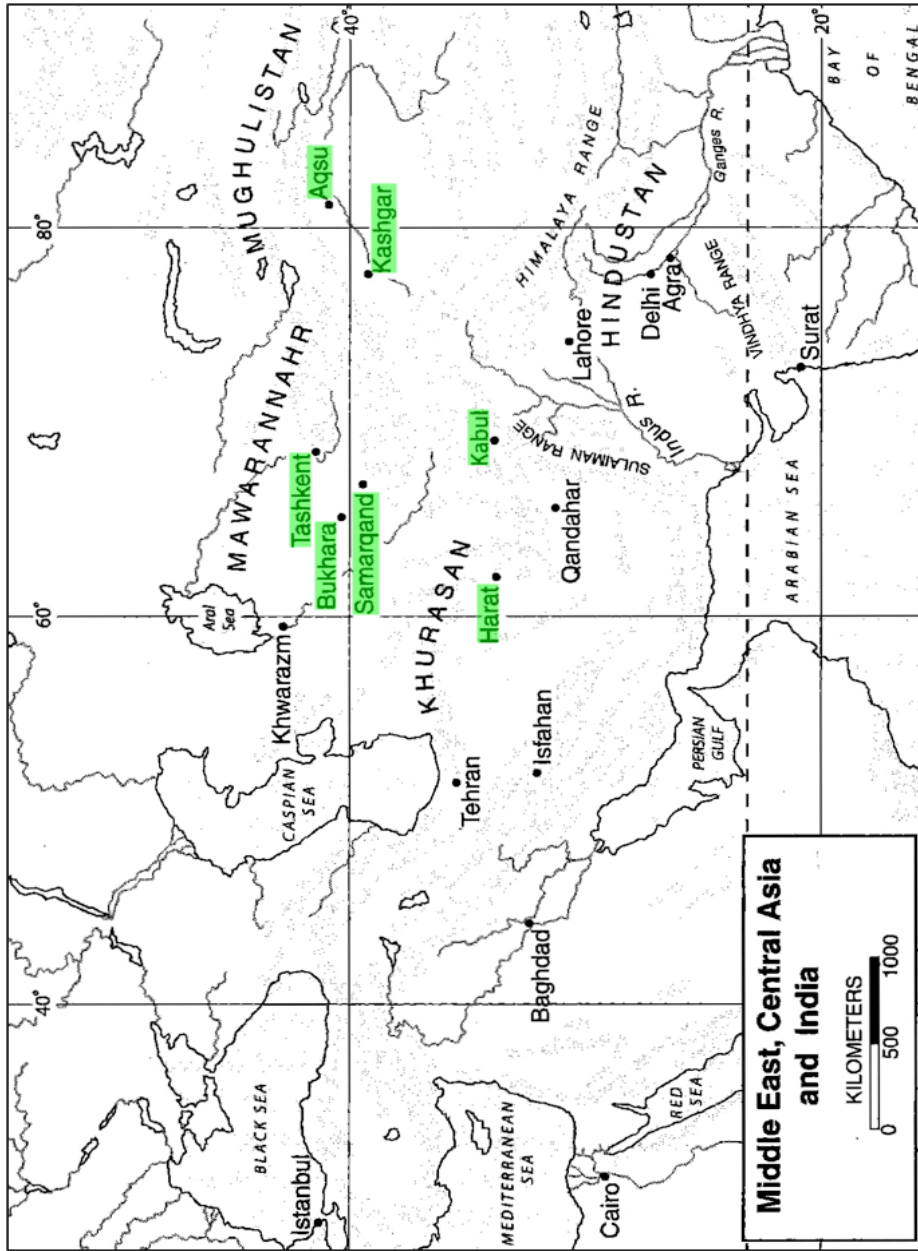
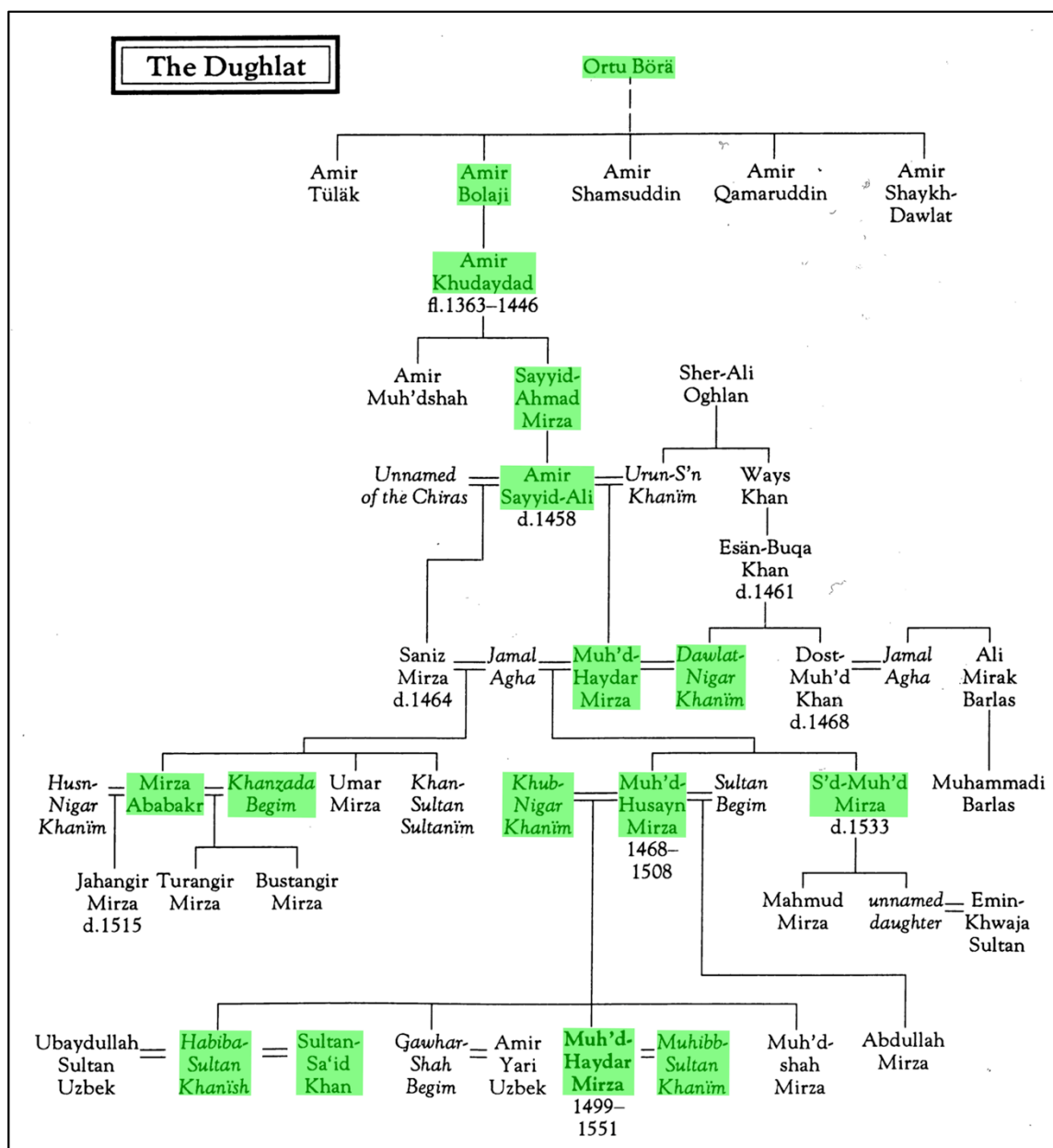
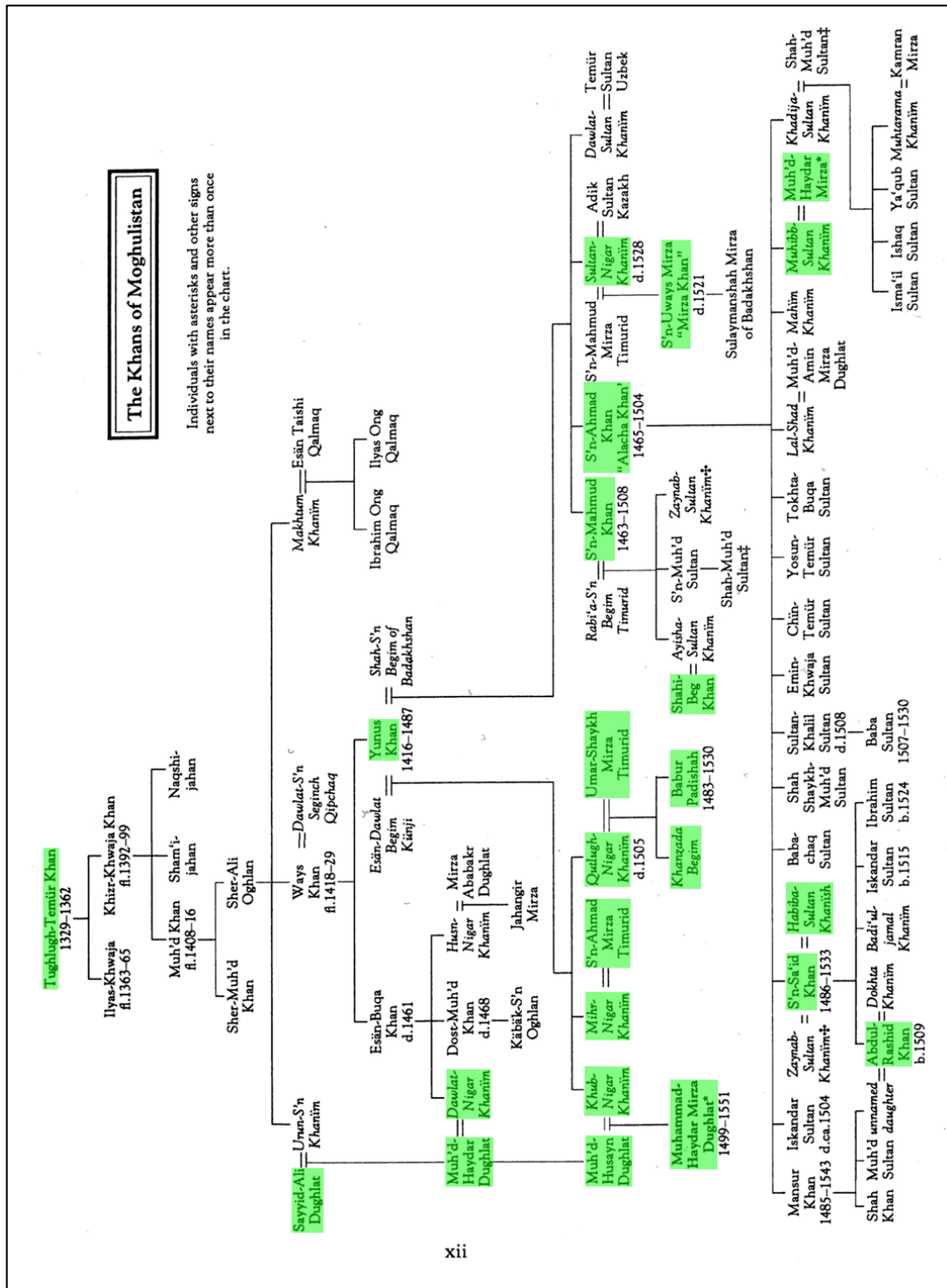


Fig. 5: "Middle East, Central Asia, Afghanistan and India" in Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradieses*, 77, map no. 1.

## Appendix Two: Turko-Mongol Genealogical Charts

Fig. 1: "The Dughlat" in *TR-T*, xiii.





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