

# Khwandamir

## *Habib al-siyar*

Composed in 929–30/1523–24, the third volume of Khwandamir's universal history, *Habib al-siyar fi akhbar afrad al-bashar* (Beloved of careers, on the history of human individuals), represents a distillation of the major histories and chronicles of the Timurid era, particularly his grandfather Mirkhwand's *Rawdat al-safa*, Abdul-Razzaq Samarqandi's *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, and the two *Zafarnamas* by Shami and Yazdi. He also quotes extensively from Jami's *Nafahat al-uns* for Sufis and Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i's *Majalis al-nafayis* for poets. Since he used the major sources of the period and also had the advantage of hindsight through his own lifetime, Khwandamir's work is certainly the best near-contemporary account of the Timurid dynasty—indeed it is practically the only history that includes Sultan-Husayn's reign and an eyewitness account of the Uzbek invasion of Herat, during which time the author was in Badi'uzzaman Mirza's employ.



### ON THE LINEAGE OF THE SPLENDID SAHIB-QIRAN, AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS AUSPICIOUS BIRTH IN THE PLEASANT CITY OF KISH

Although the Sahib-Qiran's person is so noble, his magnificence so great and his ambition so exalted that there is no necessity to recount his noble forefathers' excellences or to publish his mighty ancestors' virtues, nonetheless, since the Mughuls have always maintained genealogical records—in accordance with the Koranic verse, "We have distributed you into nations and tribes that ye might know one another"<sup>1</sup>—inculcated them to their glorious offspring and preserved them in writing in the bosom of leaves and ledgers, let it be here stated that the Sahib-

Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän's lineage has been thus recorded by historians.

The Axis of the Sultanate and Caliphate Amir Timur Kürägän was the son of Amir Taraghay son of Amir Bürkül son of Elängir Noyan son of Amir Ejil son of Qarachar Noyan son of Amir Sughujäjän son of Erdämchi son of Qachulay Bahadur son of Tumina[y] Khan son of Baysunghur Khan son of Dutummänän Khan son of Buqa Khan son of Bodhanchar Qa'an son of Alanqoa. As was recorded truly in the first section of this volume, [393] Alanqoa was of the lineage of Qayan, whose descent stems from Japheth the son of Noah.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Koran 49:13.

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<sup>2</sup>The readings of Timur's ancestors' names are based upon the spelling in Arabic script and the Uighur-script genealogy (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2152, various pages misfoliated

Since something of Amir Elängir and his fathers and forefathers has already been reported under the rubric of the khans of Turkistan and the Genghisids, and there is no profit in repeating the same, let it be written that Amir Bürkül was a man who sought well being. Of his own accord he retired from military command, and "aside from the region of Kish in no other place would he reside." By the breeze of divine favor two flowers blossomed in Amir Bürkül's garden—Amir Taraghay and Amir Bültä. Amir Taraghay, who was the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran's father,

Was a world of generosity and a sea of  
liberality, beneficent, devout and handsome.

He always attended the noble assemblies of Shaykh Shamsuddin Kulal and was devoted to and a disciple of all pious men.

He always sat with the people of devotion, and  
in the end he attained felicity. His head, which  
was never lowered to the azure sphere, was  
humbly bowed to the *mihrab*.

In the year 736 [A.D. 1336], when Sultan Abu-Sa'id Bahadur Khan died, the era of the Genghisid sultans' fortune and independence came to an end in Iran. In accordance with the miraculous words, "Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause thee to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it,"<sup>3</sup> Amir Timur Kürägän was born, in the province of Turan, of Täkinä Khatun, who dwelt in marriage with Amir Taraghay according to the most noble *shari'a*, for in Rabi' I of the above-mentioned year occurred the death of the felicitous padishah Sultan Abu-Sa'id, and on Tuesday eve the 25th of Sha'ban 736 [April 8, 1336] the Sahib-Qiran was born in Kish.

If one passes away, another takes his place: the  
world cannot remain without a head.

When that sun rose, shedding rays of felicity, the truth of Qachulay Bahadur's dream and the interpretation given by Tuminay Khan became clear, as was reported in the first section of this volume.<sup>4</sup> Since the scribes of the divan of earthly

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<sup>4</sup>"It is recorded in reliable books that during Tuminay's lifetime Qachulay had a dream one night in which he saw three stars in succession rise from Qabul's collar and then set. A fourth, very bright star rose from his collar and illuminated the world from horizon to horizon. From that star several other stars were produced, and each one shed its rays upon a realm. When the bright star set, the ends of the earth remained illuminated. After waking, he pondered the meaning of his dream for a moment and then fell asleep again. This time he saw seven stars rising in succession from his own collar and then setting. The eighth star that rose was enormous and illuminated the ends of the earth. Several other stars appeared from it, each one shedding its light upon a region. When the great star set, its offspring retained their brightness. Then Qachulay woke up and saw that it was morning. That very instant he went to Tuminay Khan and told him of his two dreams. When Tuminay heard he rejoiced, summoned Qabul and spoke thus in interpretation of the two dreams: 'The first dream indicates that from among Qabul's progeny three persons in succession will occupy the khan's throne. Then one of his descendants will occupy the imperial throne and bring most of the inhabited quarter of the globe under his subjugation. He will divide the regions of the world among his sons, and when that world-conquering khan passes away the rule will remain among his sons and grandsons for a time. The second dream indicates that from among Qachulay's offspring seven individuals will rule in suzerainty. One of his descendants in the eighth degree will set out upon world conquest and will bring most of the regions of the earth under his control. He will have sons, each of whom will rule a region.' When Tuminay Khan had finished his interpretation, the brothers, at their father's suggestion, made a pact with each other that the khanid throne would be occupied by Qabul and his offspring from generation to generation, while Qachulay and his progeny would lead the army. To this effect a document was written and sealed by Tuminay Khan's red seal" (Khwandamir, *HS*, III, 14).

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from 32 through 43), made most likely for Khalil-Sultan. See p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup>Koran 2:106.

regency had decorated the rescript of divine favor for the fortune of that felicitous child with the most noble emblem of sovereignty over the world,<sup>5</sup> from the very first days of childhood the aroma of sultanate and world rule wafted from the gardens of his good qualities like the perfume of herbage on the breeze of heroism, and from his subtle speech the brilliance of magnitude and success was as apparent as the glistening of lightning from March clouds.

Yea, at dawn the sun's light of fortune appears on the celestial sphere's brow. When a sapling sprouts at the edge of the meadow, it is unquestionably apparent from its form that one day the heart's desire will be borne as fruit.

In the bloom of youth His Highness the Sahib-Qiran was inclined to horsemanship and hunting and concentrated his attention upon the skills of warfare and battle until the time when he mounted the throne of the sultanate, as will be reported both in brief and in detail, God willing. [394]

#### A SHORT REPORT OF THE SAHIB-QIRAN'S EXALTED CAREER, AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS CONQUESTS OF SOME REGIONS AND REALMS

The world-conquering Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kūrāgān spent the days of his youth in happiness and pleasure in Kish, which is also called Shahr-i Sabz, and passed his days and nights in the company of the Barlas amirs, his kinfolk.

Once during that time he went with three or four of his relatives to the assembly of Shaykh Shamsuddin Kulal. That day the shaykh emerged from a trance and said, "There is today in our company a person who will reach the exalted rank of padishah."

Each of the amirs present, who were proud of their great magnificence and

power, thought to himself, "I will rise to the rank of sultan."

What occurred to the Sahib-Qiran's infallibly enlightened mind, however, was this: "With these mighty *noyans* and [my] relative destitution, how could such fortune come to me?"

Once again the shaykh spoke, saying, "When the rumor of the imminent appearance of the great vicegerent, i.e., Adam, reverberated under the turquoise-stalactited dome of the celestial sphere, the regal import of God's words, 'I am going to place a substitute on earth,'<sup>6</sup> reached the ears of the inhabitants of the upper and lower worlds through the breeze of divine creative favor. [The elements] fire, air and water—a group that can be described as lacking wisdom—thought to themselves that they would be the leaven of the dough of caliphal majesty, and so thinking, the vapor of vanity rose to their brains, the fire of desire flamed in the brazier of their hearts, and each set forth idle reasons for his own preference and superiority. Thus they opened the gates of strife and contention with each other.

"However, the pure earth that would be Adam spoke meekly and humbly and said to itself, 'Who am I? Who would speak of me? With such lowliness, how could such exaltedness come to me? I am so negligible and dependent, how could the existence of the Creator's vicegerent come from me?'

"But the earth's humility was acceptable in the Creator's sight, and in accordance with the *hadith*, 'He who is humble before God will be raised by God,' Adam was created from the earth.

Be like the earth in order that flowers may grow, for only from the dust do flowers appear.

<sup>5</sup>The sentence incorporates three Koranic quotations, 10:14, 12:56 and 38:26.

<sup>6</sup>Koran 2:30.

Even today all who speak of poverty and deprivation in our assembly will attain the status of ruler.”

Be always like the dust so that you may be as potent over everyone as the air. Like water, be of benefit to all so that, like fire, you may attain superiority over the world.

Hearing these words, Amir Sahib-Qiran became hopeful that his star of majesty and might would rise from the constellation of nobility and fortune, and he engaged with all his might in the preliminaries to world conquest. By divine favor he attained his every desire. [395] Since fortune smiled upon him in the fastest time possible, one would say that his every limb was a mind given form and every hair on his body an armor-piercing army. When his world-adorning mind shone on the dark night of contention, it illuminated the arena of the world like the full moon; and everywhere the brilliance of his mighty sword shed its rays during the daytime of battle, the sun of victory rose over the horizon of fulfillment. In a short time a mightily equipped army, of numbers beyond counting, had gathered in the shade of his invincible banner, and with his dagger-wielding arm and infallible mind he had rolled up the carpet of the might of the rulers of the age.

In the year 771 [1369–70] in the Dome of Islam Balkh, with the approval of the great sayyids and dignitaries and the unanimity of the *grandees* and *noyans*, this successful padishah placed his foot upon the throne of rule, and the hand of divine destiny placed the keys to the realm of the inhabited quarter of the globe in his hands. The finial of his invincible banner rose from the orient of might, and the sun of action cast its rays to the farthest reaches of the west. The luminary of his world-conquering mind cast its light from the horizons of majesty, extinguishing the rulers of the east and west like stars and reducing them to nought.

When the sun removes the veil from its face,  
the stars are eclipsed.

From the beginning of his fortunate time until the end of his life this prince's armies never experienced defeat in any battle, and through his great fortune and might the servants of his retinue continually achieved victory and triumph. Fortresses and castles so high that the tips of their spires rubbed against heaven and the globe of the earth seemed less than a dust-mote from the heights of their walls were conquered and subjugated by his warriors' wrath, and from every kingdom that came under his control the ulema, learned men, builders and artisans were marched out to join the glory of Transoxiana.

After ascending the throne of success, His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran first turned to conquering the lands and realms of Turkistan, Mughulistan, Khwarazm and their dependencies. When the garden of those kingdoms had been cleared of the thorns and thistles of opponents and corruptors' rebellion and revolt, toward the end of 782 [1380–81] he went from Turan to Iran, subjugating in 783 [1381–82] all the realm of Khurasan. In 785 [1383–84] he led his army to Sistan and Qandahar and annexed them to the protected realm. In 786 [1384–85] he defeated Amir Wali and raised the standard of success in Astarabad. In 788 [1386–87] he went to Iraq, Fars and Azerbaijan and concentrated his attention upon the conquest of those regions. When he returned from that trek, which is known as the Three-Year Campaign, he hastened to the Qipchaq Steppe, and on Monday the 15th of Rajab 793 [June 18, 1391] he did battle at Qandurcha with Toqtamiish Khan, whom he defeated. [396] Among the Jochid nation he killed, plundered, took prisoner and pillaged.

In the middle of Rajab 794 [June 7, 1392] he once again set out from Turan for Iran on his Five-Year Campaign. During this campaign he dealt with the



rulers of Mazanderan, the Muzaffarid dynasty and the rest of the rulers of the two Iraqs and Diyar Bakr. In Jumada I 797 [March–April 1395] he headed to the Qipchaq Steppe via Darband and once again fought Toqtamish Khan, whom he reduced to extremities. At the beginning of spring 798 [1396] he retraced his steps to Azerbaijan and assigned Mirza Miran-shah to that province. Then he hastened to Samarqand, and in the year 799 [1396–97] he entrusted the regions of Khurasan to Prince Shahrukh.

In 800 [1398] he set forth for holy war, leading his army to Hindustan. On Tuesday the 7th of Rabi' II 801 [December 17, 1398] he reached the outskirts of Delhi, and between His Highness and the rulers of those regions, Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan, a great battle took place, during which the breeze of victory and triumph blew through his banners. Thereafter he turned his reins back to the residence of the throne of nobility, arriving under the ægis of divine protection at Samarqand on Tuesday the 21st of Sha'ban [April 28, 1399].

On the 8th of Muharram 802 [September 10, 1399] he placed his blessed foot in the stirrup of victory for his Seven-Year Campaign and headed from Turan to Iran. In the middle of Jumada I 803 [January 1401] he arrived outside of Damascus and did battle with the padishah of Egypt, Malik Faraj, whom he defeated, thus bringing all the realm of Syria within the compass of his subjugation. From Damascus he headed to Baghdad and snatched by force that realm from Faraj, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's governor. On the 7th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 803 [June 20, 1401] he gave an order for a general massacre, and after devastating the city the mighty padishah hastened to Iran and Azerbaijan.

On the 13th of Rajab 804 [February 16, 1402] he set out to do battle with the cæsar of Anatolia, Ildirîm Bayezid, and on Friday the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that

same year [July 20, 1402], a battle took place in the vicinity of Engüriye between His Highness and the cæsar in which the army of Samarqand defeated the Anatolian forces. The cæsar, taken prisoner by the clutches of fate, was shown favor by the Sahib-Qiran; however, the hand of destiny rolled up the carpet of security from that region. Amir Timur thought to give the reins of government back to Ildirîm Bayezid that he might once again raise the banner of puissance and power in the region, but Ildirîm Bayezid passed away in Sha'ban 805 [February 1403], and His Highness the Sahib-Qiran entrusted the realm to [Bayezid's] son and returned to Azerbaijan.

In 806 [1403–4] he went to Georgia and took many of the infidels' fortresses and cities by the sword and spear. Gurgin [Giorgi], who was ruling in that region, accepted to pay the poll-tax and enter into suzerainty. At the beginning of spring, when the king of the fixed stars and planets entered his own house of nobility, the Sahib-Qiran returned to paradisiacal Samarqand, arriving in Muharram 807 [July 1404].

In short, over a period of thirty-six years the Sahib-Qiran reigned autonomously from the borders of Cathay to the farthest reaches of Syria and from distant India to the Frankish realms and subjugated many powerful rulers, [397] rendering the mightiest of the age and the emperors of the time obedient to his will, either peacefully or by force.

*When the world-conquering amir of exalted lineage placed his foot upon the throne of governance, he seized by divine grace from the borders of China to the farthest reaches of Syria—nay, I am mistaken—he seized the entire inhabited quarter of the globe, betimes by truce and betimes by war. The sultans of Iran and Turan land, the rulers of Damascus and the great of China came humbly to his court, ennobled by his favor.*

During his reign His Highness the Sahib-Qiran laid down principles of ad-

ministration and revenue that abrogated the rules and regulations of the most intelligent of viziers and the guidelines of experienced governors. When battles took place, when setting out on campaigns and when going to war he maintained the custom of consultation with his officers, counselors and *noyans*, in accordance with the Koranic stipulation, "Consult them in the affair,"<sup>7</sup> although most of the time he based his decisions upon his own infallible opinion, and with the dictum, "After thou hast deliberated, trust in God,"<sup>8</sup> engraved upon the forefront of his mind, he turned his reins to right action.

He endeavored to honor sayyids and the ulema and to ennoble the learned and pious, and he strove as much as possible to strengthen the pillars of the obvious religion and manifest the precepts of the mighty religious law.

When he sat upon the throne of rule he unfurled the banners of the promotion of religion. He honored sayyids and rewarded them greatly. He was generous to the people of learning and accomplishment and to the wise and eloquent.

While traveling and when in residence he always kept a group of that exalted class with him, and in royal assemblies he engaged in learned debate and made inquiry into religious questions.

He was greatly inclined in favor of the learned, and much he learned from them.

During his days of power this generous padishah settled favors and grants upon great men of religion and was concerned to pay the stipends and reward his officers, *sadrs*, viziers, cavalry, attendants and servants with fiefs and estates. He put forth great effort to have *madrasas*, *khanaqâhs*, caravanserais and mosques constructed, and of his own personal es-

tates and villages he endowed charitable institutions.

His punishment was indeed so effective that if during his glorious days a woman were to put a pot filled with gold on her head and go from the east to the west, no one would have dared to molest her. For this reason merchants sailing the seas and traders from every land brought precious wares and goods from every place, making great profits and realizing much gain.

His Highness the Sahib-Qiran was very fond of playing chess, in which art he exhibited great expertise, and in every realm he conquered he first summoned the chess players and rewarded the experts in this field with favor and beneficence. When he himself played chess in an assembly he was aware of every move made by the other players too.

Sometimes learned discussion and study of scripture are means to perfect oneself, and sometimes backgammon, chess and storytelling drive away boredom. It is God alone whose peerless self is unalterable. [398]

Since every perfection is destined to pass away, and every spring has its autumn, on the eve of the 17th of Sha'ban 807 [February 18, 1405] the Sahib-Qiran went to God's mercy in Utrar. The life span of this sun of the sphere of success was seventy-one years, and he ruled for thirty-six years.

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

Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi and Mawlana Ubaydullah were superintendents of endowments during his reign. Khwaja Mahmud Shihab, Khwaja Yahya Simnani, Khwaja Imaduddin Mas'ud Simnani, Jalal al-Islam, Khwaja Ali Simnani and Khwaja Sayfuddin Tuni were the Sahib-Qiran's viziers....

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<sup>7</sup>Koran 3:159.

<sup>8</sup>Koran 3:159.

## THE NAMES OF THE LATE SAHIB-QIRAN'S WIVES AND CONCUBINES

The ambergris-scented pen gives a whiff from the genealogy that was composed during the reign of His Imperial Majesty Shahrukh that the Sahib-Qiran had, during his entire life, eighteen wives in lawful marriage. [542] Their names are as follows: (1) Öljäy Tärkän Agha, daughter of Amir Musla b. Amir Qazaghan, who was the mother of Sultan Bakht Begim; (2) the chaste *khanzada* Saray Malik Khanim, daughter of Qazan Sultan Khan; (3) Turmish Agha, the mother of Mirza Jahangir and Äkä Begi; (4) Dilshad Agha Dughlat, by whom His Majesty had a daughter named Sultan; (5) Tughdi Bey, daughter of Aq Sufi Qongqirat; (6) Tüman Agha, daughter of Amir Musa Taychiut; (7) Tükäl Khanim, daughter of Khizr Khwaja Khan; (8) Dawlat Tärkän Agha; (9) Sultan Agha; (10) Burhan Agha; (11) Ulus Agha, daughter of Amir Buyan Sulduz; (12) Jani Beg Agha; (13) Munduz Agha; (14) Cholpan Malik Agha; (15) Bakht Sultan [Agha]; (16) [Sultan]-aray Agha Nüküz; (17) Nawroz Agha; (18) [Islam Agha].

Of His Majesty's concubines, twenty-two names have been seen: (1) Taghay Tärkän Agha of the Qara Khitay, mother of Shahrukh; (2) Jahanbakht Agha; (3) Nigar [Agha]; (4) Ruhparwar Agha; (5) Dil Beg Agha; (6) Tinī Beg Agha; (7) Durr Sultan Agha; (8) Dilshad Agha; (9) Murad Beg Agha; (10) Pirozbakht Agha; (11) Khoshkeldi Agha; (12) Dilkhosh Agha; (13) Barat [Bey] Agha; (14) Sevinch Malik Agha; (15) Arzu Bey Agha; (16) Mengli Beg Agha Jäüni-Qorbani, the mother of Prince Miranshah; (17) [Khan Malik]; (18) Yadgar Sultan Agha; (19) Khudadad Agha; (20) Tolun Agha, the mother of Mirza Umar-Shaykh; (21)

Bakht Nigar Agha; (22) Malikan Shah Agha Filuni.<sup>9</sup>

## SOME OF THE SAYYIDS, SHAYKHS, ULEMA AND GREAT MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE SAHIB-QIRAN

It is obvious to those who know history that during the felicitous time of the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän, Iran and Turan were ennobled by a vast number of men of exalted station. Since information about them can easily be had in history books, only the few who are known to the present writer will be mentioned.

*Mawlana Jalaluddin Mahmud Zahid Murghabi* was a pupil of Mawlana Nizamuddin Harawi in the exoteric sciences. In following the path of the prophet he made great strides, and his piety reached perfection. He was constantly engaged in acts of obedience and piety. His death occurred in Dhu'l-Hijja 778 [April 1377], and he was buried in Murghab, Herat, where he had lived.

*Amir Sayyid Ali b. Shihab b. Muhammad al-Hamadani* encompassed exoteric and esoteric knowledge and united external and internal virtues. In his youth he became a disciple of Shaykh Sharafuddin Mahmud b. Abdullah al-Mazdiqani, but he acquired the accoutrements of his order from Shaykh Taqiyuddin Ali al-Dosti. After Shaykh Taqiyuddin's death he returned to Shaykh Sharafuddin Mahmud and asked, "What would you command me?" [543] The shaykh turned to him and said, "It is ordained that you wander to the farthest reaches of the earth." In obedience Amir Sayyid Ali traversed the inhabited quarter of the globe three times and met 1,400 saints, 400 hundred of them in one assembly.

<sup>9</sup>In *Mu'izz al-ansab* (folio 97) the names of 24 concubines are given; it adds Qutlu Bey Agha and another Nigar Agha.

Amir Sayyid Ali's works, such as *As-rar al-nuqat*, his commentaries on the names of God, [Ibn 'Arabi's] *Fusus al-hikam* and Ibn al-Farid's *Khamriyya*, and his *Dhakhirat al-muluk*, are well known among mystics. He died on the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja 786 [January 19, 1385] and is buried in Khuttalan.

*Baba Sangu* was a eccentric dervish who effected many miracles and preternatural events. In 782 when the Sahib-Qiran set out to conquer Khurasan, he crossed the Oxus and met Baba Sangu in Andkhud. As one of his acts of eccentricity he threw a breast of meat at Amir Timur Kürägän. The Sahib-Qiran took this as a good omen and said, "God has given us a breast flat on the ground, and that is Khurasan." And that is exactly what happened. Baba Sangu died in Andkhud, and his tomb is there.

*Mawlana Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr Tayabadi* united both outward and inner perfection. In the exoteric sciences he was the pupil of Mawlana Nizamuddin Hara-wi. As recorded in the *Nafahat*,<sup>10</sup> Mawlana Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr was a true Uwaysi and received training in spirituality from [the spirit of] Shaykh al-Islam Ahmad Jami. When Amir Timur Kürägän set out to conquer Herat he met with him in Tayabad. The mawlana spoke to His Majesty and gave him good advice. It is related that during their conversation the Sahib-Qiran asked the master, "Why did you never caution Malik Ghiyathuddin Pir Ali to cease his discreditable actions?"

"I did so advise him," Mawlana Zaynuddin said, "but he never listened to me. Therefore God has set you over him. If you too do not conduct yourself on the path of justice towards God's servants, he will set another over you."

Amir Timur Kürägän said, "Who is the person he will give dominion over me?"

"Azrael, the angel of death," replied the mawlana.

The Sahib-Qiran took these words as a good omen and said, "Then he will not make any sultan victorious over me, and I shall depart this vale of tears of natural causes."

Mawlana Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr died at noon on Thursday the last day of Muharram 791 [January 29, 1389]. Malik Imaduddin Zawzani composed the following chronogram on his death:

In the year one and ninety after seven hundred,  
on the last of Muharram, it was midday  
Thursday when the great mawlana's pure soul  
departed for paradise eternal, and the angels all  
said, "Blessed be his arrival."

His grave is in Tayabad.

*Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband*, whose name was Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, was adopted by Khwaja Muhammad Baba Samasi and learned the etiquette of the order from Sayyid Amir Kulal. It is recorded in the *Nafahat* that Khwaja Baha'uddin was truly an Uwaysi and [544] acquired spirituality from Khwaja Abdul-Khaliq Ghijduwani.<sup>11</sup> Someone once asked him whether his dervishhood was inherited or acquired. He replied, "I attained this felicity in accordance with the dictum, 'One tug from God is equivalent to the force of the whole world.'" Another time he was asked whether the silent *dhikr*, solitary retreat and music were allowed in his order. "They are not," he replied. "Then upon what is your order based?" he was asked. He answered, "Solitude in a crowd—externally with people but internally with God."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 384f.

<sup>12</sup>One of the distinguishing features of the Naqshbandi Order was their concept of *khalwat dar anjuman* (solitude in the midst of a crowd).

<sup>10</sup>Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 498.

Be outwardly acquainted but inwardly like a stranger. Such beautiful conduct is rarely found in the world.

Khwaja Baha'uddin's death occurred on Monday eve the 3rd of Rabi' I 791 [March 2, 1389], and in order to fix the date a learned person composed this verse:

The great Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband, whose perfect band is known throughout the realm—since his abode of retreat was the castle of mystics, the date of his departure is CASTLE OF GNOSIS.<sup>13</sup>

*Khwaja Ala'uddin Attar.* Named Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, he was among Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband's companions, and during his lifetime the khwaja turned over the training of some aspirants to him and often said, "Ala'uddin has lightened our load." Khwaja Ala'uddin died on Wednesday eve the 30th of Rajab 802 [March 28, 1400]. His grave is in Naw village in Chaghaniyan.

*Mawlana Sa'duddin Mas'ud b. Umar al-Taftazani.* The blessed birth of this great divine occurred in the month of Safar 722 [February 1322] in the village of al-Rijal al-Taftazan in Nasa district. When he left infancy and reached the age of boyhood he began to study the sciences and attain perfection in the physical and intellectual arts. In a short time he had surpassed the ancients and moderns in learning, and the brilliance of his mind lent fertility to the meadows of hope for those who borrow from the illumination of perfection. At age sixteen he began to write and composed a commentary on Zanjani's *Sarf*. Next he wrote the *Mutawwal* and dedicated it to Mu'izzuddin Husayn Kart. Then, at Khwarazm, which was the seat of learning in the world at that time, he wrote a compendium on the *Talkhis* dedicated to Jani Beg Khan.

Without fear of exaggeration it can be said that in his writings graceful composition and eloquent exposition, clarification of difficulties and resolution of obscurities reached their pinnacle with his critical mind.

When Amir Timur Kürägän set out on his Khwarazm campaign, Malik Muhammad Sarakhsi, the younger son of Malik Mu'izzuddin Husayn, sent a message to his nephew Malik Pir Muhammad b. Malik Ghiyathuddin Pir Ali, who was accompanying the royal train on that expedition, saying, "When Khwarazm is conquered, request permission from His Majesty to sent Mawlana Sa'duddin to Sarakhs." When the Sahib-Qiran's world-conquering sword had brought that area under domination, and he ordered the people of note and lords to migrate thence, Malik Pir Muhammad knelt and requested His Majesty to allow Mawlana Sad'uddin to go to Sarakhs. [545] Amir Timur granted the young *malik's* request, and the mawlana went to Sarakhs. When the Sahib-Qiran returned to Samarqand, the ulema and shaykhs of Transoxiana said to him, "Although the slaves of the sultan's threshold were able to subdue Khwarazm, the kingdom really belongs to Malik Muhammad Sarakhsi." When he asked for an explanation of this statement, they said, "Now the leader of the ulema of the world, the prime erudite of mankind, is Mawlana Sa'duddin Mas'ud al-Taftazani, by the brilliance of whose eloquent writings the world is illuminated. The breaths of his books are like spring breezes that bestow fertility and verdure upon the north and south of the face of the earth.

The appearance of his writing has so seized the world that the sun is but a dust-mote when it appears....

An order was issued summoning the mawlana from Sarakhs. First Mawlana Sa'duddin used his intention to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca as a pretext not to

<sup>13</sup>*Qaṣr-i 'irfān* = 791.

obey the summons, but when the Sahib-Qiran's order was repeated a second time, he set out for Samarqand, where he lived in glory for several years, leaving a number of important works as mementos upon the pages of time. Amir Timur was extravagant in honoring that emperor of learned men and prince of the wise and used to make room for him on his own *tōshāk* in his assemblies and escort him back to his quarters.

Mawlana Sa'duddin's death occurred in 797 [1394–95], and he is buried in Sarakhs. His works are so famous that they need no elaboration. He had one son named Mawlana Muhammad, who was also among the learned and for a time served Amir Timur. The Shaykh al-Islam Sayfuddin Ahmad...was heard to say, "When Mawlana [Sa'duddin] was in Samarqand, my grandfather Mawlana Muhammad lived in Herat. News reached the ascetics of Murghab and some other pious persons that Mawlana Sa'duddin ate some food of uncertain licitness in the Sahib-Qiran's assembly, and they loosed their tongues in censure of the mawlana, asking how the chief of the ulema of the age dared to eat a suspect morsel. When Mawlana Muhammad heard this, he flared up and wrote a letter to his father, demanding that he not partake of any food in the Sahib-Qiran's assemblies. He gave the letter to a courier who was going from Herat to Transoxiana, and the courier put it in his pouch with the rest of his letters. [546] When he reached Samarqand he gave the pouch to Amir Timur. While reading his correspondence the Sahib-Qiran's eye fell on Mawlana Muhammad's letter. Apprising himself of the contents, he said nothing and did not show the letter to Mawlana Sa'duddin. After some time had passed, Mawlana Muhammad came to Samarqand and joined the Sahib-Qiran's retinue. His Majesty honored the young mawlana and showed him great favor. At the end of the assembly he told Khwaja Mahmud Shi-

hab, who held the post of vizier, to give the young mawlana five thousand Kepeki dinars to spend on his provisions. As he had been coached by the amir, Khwaja Mahmud said, "We don't have so much in cash in the treasury, but if you so order I can write him a voucher on the farmers of the province."

Amir Timur said, "It will take time to collect so much from the farmers, and we don't want the young mawlana to be inconvenienced in this city."

"I could collect the sum in two days from the sales tax," the khwaja said, "and if you so order I can make it payable to the young mawlana as maintenance."

The Sahib-Qiran said, "Write out a voucher at once and give it to him." At that very assembly Khwaja Mahmud wrote a voucher against the sales tax of Samarqand and placed it before him. Mawlana Muhammad recited the *Fatiha*, picked up the voucher and strutted out of court. As he was putting his foot in his stirrup, the Sahib-Qiran sent somebody to bring him back into court. Smiling, Amir Timur said, "My young mawlana, how can a person who accepts a gift from me from the sales tax, which is the most illicit source possible, presume to forbid such a father, who in all the world has no equal in learning and knowledge, to eat Timur's food?"

When he heard this chastisement, the mawlana was ashamed and said, "I had an inner calling to send the voucher back to Khwaja Mahmud."

"If that were true," the Sahib-Qiran said, "some trace of distaste would have shown on your face when the voucher was written out, whereas you accepted it with glee." Then he ordered the voucher to be taken from the mawlana and five thousand dinars in cash paid from the treasury.

After the Sahib-Qiran's death Mawlana Muhammad lived in Herat, where he died of the plague in 838 [1434–35].

*Amir Sayyid Sharifuddin Ali al-Jurjani* was born in 740 [1339–40] in the village of Taghu, a dependency of Astarabad, and the whole world was ennobled by his advent. When he reached the age of maturity and discrimination he began to study, and in a short time he had become the chief scholar of the age. It is recorded in the *Rawdat al-safa* that in the year 779 [1377–78], when Shah Shuja' b. Muhammad Muzaffar was residing in Qasr-i Zard, Amir Sayyid Sharifuddin approached the camp, desirous of meeting the padishah and having himself proclaimed a scholar without anyone's intermediary. Just then he saw Mawlana Sa'duddin Mas'ud Unsi on his way to the padishah. He presented himself to Mawlana Sa'duddin in military garb and said, "I am a stranger, an archer from Mazanderan, and I have come in hopes of proving my ability in archery to Shah Shuja'. I hope that when you have a chance you will convey my request to him." And he walked next to Mawlana Sa'duddin's horse all the way to the gate of the court. [547]

"Wait here," the mawlana said, "until I get you permission to enter." When the mawlana met the padishah he told him of the strange archer. Shah Shuja' summoned him at once, and Amir Sayyid Sharif entered the court. When Shah Shuja' asked him about archery he pulled out of his pocket a pamphlet he had written in refutation of other authors and handed it to Shah Shuja', who was delighted by what he read. So Sharif was proclaimed a scholar and was showered with honor and favor. He then accompanied the padishah to Shiraz, where he was appointed to a teaching post in the king's hospital. Sayyid Sharif spent ten years in Fars. In 789 [1387], when Amir Timur Kürägän took Shiraz, he ordered him to go to Samarqand, where he remained until the Sahib-Qiran's death. During that time there were many deliberations held between him and

Mawlana Sa'duddin Taftazani, and usually Amir Sayyid Sharif bested the mawlana with his keen intellect.

God, who created high and low, created an  
underling for every hand.

When Amir Timur Kürägän passed away that excellent sayyid left Transoxiana for Shiraz, where he died in 816 [1413–14]. Amir Sayyid Sharif's works are many and very well known. He has glosses on most books by the ancients and moderns in the curriculum. Indeed from his own time until the present no lesson is given without the benefit of his glosses and studies. He lived for seventy-six years.

*Mawlana Abdullah b. Mawlana Lisanuddin Muhammad* was the most excellent metaphysician of his time and the most learned astronomer of the age. His astrological predictions were never wrong.... The Sahib-Qiran greatly patronized this peerless erudite, and he was constant and faithful in his service.

*Mawlana Nizamuddin Shami* is also called Shambighazani. Most of the Sahib-Qiran's exploits and career has been taken from this learned man's history. It is recorded in *Matla'-i sa'dayn* that Mawlana Nizamuddin said, "The first time Amir Timur led his army to Baghdad and defeated Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, I was the first of the Baghdadis to go to the court of world refuge. His Majesty looked upon me with favor and said, 'May God have mercy upon you, for you are the first of your countrymen to come before us.' And he patronized me." It is also mentioned in that book that when Aleppo was being besieged Mawlana Nizamuddin was residing in that city. After it was conquered Amir Jalal al-Islam took him before the commander-in-chief of humanity, where he was received with favor. Well, it is no secret that it is difficult to reconcile these two statements, which are both recorded in one book.

[548] At any rate, in this writer's opinion it is certainly true that after Mawlana Nizamuddin joined the Sahib-Qiran's service, he constantly enjoyed the patronage and favor of the court and wrote a history of Timur's exploits.

*Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Jazari* was the leader of the exalted *muhaddiths* and learned men. He was known for his asceticism and piety. In the *Zafarnama* and *Matla'-'i sa'dayn* it is mentioned that when Amir Timur Kürägän captured Ildirim Bayezid, he sent Mirza Muhammad-Sultan and Amir Shaykh Nuruddin to Bursa. A number of people fled before them toward the sea, but the Invincible Army pursued and caught most of them. Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Jazari, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhari and Mawlana Shamsuddin Fanari were among them. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin took Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad to the foot of the exalted throne, and he met the Sahib-Qiran in Kütahya. He was shown favor and sent to Samarqand. He lived in Transoxiana until Amir Timur died, and there he composed his *Tashih al-masabih*. After His Majesty's death he went to Herat. He died in Shiraz during Mirza Shahrugh's reign on the 5th of Rabi' I 833 [December 2, 1429].

*Qazi Qutbuddin Abdullah al-Imami* was the most outstanding and exceptional of all the grandees and prominent men of Khurasan, where he long held the post of chief *cadi* with the utmost impartiality. The trusteeship of provincial endowments was also under his jurisdiction for a time, and he sat firmly until the end of his days upon the seat of status and dignity and made his judgments in trustworthiness and faithfulness. His noble lineage goes back to Abu-Bakr Siddiq, and in view of that connection he used to sign himself simply "Abdullah."

*Sayyid Burhanuddin Ashraf b. Mubarakshah* was among the great sayyids, ulema, teachers and muftis. In 803 [1400-1] he set forth on the journey to the afterlife.

*Mawlana Kamal Khujandi* was among the greatest of the shaykhs and ascetics of the age. He constantly spent his time in spiritual exercises and acts of devotion. Occasionally he deigned to compose poetry. In the *Nafahat* it is recorded that the reason for Shaykh Kamal's outward occupation with poetry was so that his outer aspect not be overwhelmed by his inner spirituality....<sup>14</sup>

It is related that Khwaja Ubaydullah said, "Shaykh Kamal lived for a time in Shash [Tashkent]. During that time he showed no appetite at all for meat. Once my father said, 'What would happen if you were to eat some food that contained meat?' As a joke he answered, 'When you kill your cow, we will eat meat.' Now my father had an extremely fat cow. [549] As soon as he heard this, he slaughtered the cow, had the meat cooked and set it before the shaykh. For my father's sake the shaykh had a bit of the meat."<sup>15</sup>

His Excellency Mawlana Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami says in the *Baharistan* that Shaykh Kamal reached a degree of refinement and precision in poetry that had not previously been imagined possible—of course he has exaggerated the worth of Shaykh Kamal's poetry beyond the borders of credibility. Stylistically he followed Khwaja Hasan of Delhi, but the delicate meanings contained in his poetry are not to be found in Hasan's. It is due to his imitation of Hasan that some accused him of plagiarism. In some copies of his *divan* the following verse is found:

<sup>14</sup>Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 611.

<sup>15</sup>A similar version of the story is given by Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 612.



No one has discovered a flaw in my work: no one will know if I have stolen from Hasan.

I heard from my late father that Mirza Miranshah was particularly devoted to Shaykh Kamal. One day he went to the shaykh and placed before him a jewel-studded belt as an offering. Contrary to his custom, the shaykh picked it up and took it to another room. A moment later he returned and found his companions incommoded. "Friends," he asked, "why are you all out of sorts?" One of those present said, "They have backaches."<sup>16</sup> The shaykh smiled and said, "Bring the belt and distribute it [to the poor]." Shaykh Kamal's death occurred in 803 [1400-1], and his grave is in Tabriz. The following verse is inscribed on his tombstone:

Kamal, you went from the Ka'ba to your beloved's door. Well done, a thousand times well done: it was courageous of you so to go.

*Mawlana Muhammad Shirin*, who was known as *Maghribi*, was a disciple of Shaykh Isma'il Sisi, who was a companion of Shaykh Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Isfarayini. Shaykh Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman was one of the greatest shaykhs of his time and lived in Baghdad. In the year 795 [1393] he was sent by Sultan Ahmad [Jalayir] as an envoy to Amir Timur Kūrāgān and, honorably received by His Majesty, he was graciously permitted to withdraw. *Mawlana Muhammad Shirin* and Shaykh Kamal Khujandi were contemporaries and constantly in each other's company. *Mawlana Muhammad's* divan is well known,

<sup>16</sup>The point of this story is not apparent in English. "Backache" in Persian is euphemistically called "waist ache," the same word as belt (*kamar*). Because he did not immediately distribute the worth of the belt to the poor and deserving, as a sufi should do when he receives a gift, his companions were stricken.

and the following verse from one of his *ghazals* is included in the *Nafahat*:<sup>17</sup>

We saw your sun and passed beyond its motes. We pursued its essence beyond all qualifications.

He died in 809 [1406-7] at the age of sixty.

*Mawlana Safiyuddin Khuttalani* was among the learned men of Transoxiana. He wrote accounts of some of the Sahib-Qiran's exploits in Turkish.

*Shaykh Mahmud Zangi Ajami Kirmani* was a man characterized by excellence and delicacy of nature. In conversation he usually spoke in verse. It is said that the first time he accompanied Shaykh-Ali Turk to the Sahib-Qiran's presence, His Majesty asked them who they were, to which he replied:

We are two broken-down old men, Ali Turk and Mahmud Zangi Ajam.

Shaykh Mahmud versified many of the Sahib-Qiran's exploits and entitled the work *Josh u khurosh*. In 806 [1403-4], when the Sahib-Qiran returned from the Anatolian Campaign and was occupied with holy war, a group of grandees from Kerman, like *Mawlana Ziya'uddin Sarraj*, Shaykh Sadruddin [550] the *cadi* of Kerman, and Sayyid Hamza, set out for the capital. Shaykh Mahmud too accompanied that group in order to present his *Josh u khurosh* and thus re-establish himself in favor. However, as fate would have it, when he was crossing a bridge that had been constructed at Tiflis he fell into the water, and the fire of his life was extinguished. May his soul be always inundated by the sea of mercy. Shaykh Mahmud's son, *Mawlana Qutbuddin*, presented the manuscript and was generously rewarded. This line is from one of Shaykh Mahmud's *ghazals*:

<sup>17</sup>Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 613.



Campaign, he appointed Mirza Umar b. Mirza Miranshah to the throne of Hülägü Khan, and his elder brother Mirza Aba-Bakr he confirmed as governor of Baghdad, stipulating that Mirza Miranshah was to live in Baghdad and that Mirza Aba-Bakr was to be at Mirza Umar's beck and call, not to transgress his authority. However, when the news of Amir Timur Kürägän's death reached Azerbaijan, Mirza Umar, taking no account of his father or elder brother, not only had the *khutba* read and coinage issued in his own name but also assumed autonomous control of fiscal affairs.

After verifying Amir Timur's death, Amir Jahanshah Chäkü, Mirza Umar's *amir al-umara*, instigated by a group of corruptors, decided to kill Mirza Umar's most important *nökärs*. On the morning of the 22nd of Ramadan [807 = March 24, 1405] he attacked the court and put to the sword Mawlana Qutbuddin Awbihi, Darab Fushanji, Shaykh-Muhammad Tovachï, Abdul-Khaliq son of Temür Shükürchi, and several other innocents. This done, he set out for the royal enclosure, dreaming of independence. Mirza Umar stood firm and sent in a group of his *inaqs* and household slaves, fully armed, to fight Amir Jahanshah. Moment by moment the prince's men increased in number while the amir's followers decreased. Realizing this, Amir Jahanshah fled, but Umar Taban pursued him with a group of his men. They caught up with him at noon that day and killed him on the spot. Mirza Umar, contrary to expectations, punished Umar Taban and rewarded those who remained of Amir Jahanshah's men. [561]

Concurrently Mirza Aba-Bakr, tired of the heat in Baghdad, set out for the summer pastures of Hamadan, and to obtain permission he sent an emissary to his brother. Mirza Umar welcomed the emissary and gave him the following message: "It is hoped that my brother will hasten hither as quickly as possible in order that

we may make decisions with one another on matters administrative and financial." Trusting in this message, Mirza Aba-Bakr and two hundred mounted men joined Mirza Umar. However, he was seized that very day and imprisoned in Qahqaha Fortress. When Mirza Miranshah learned of Mirza Aba-Bakr's imprisonment, he set out for Khurasan, riding without halt as far as Kalyus, Astarabad. After his brother had been imprisoned and his father had fled, Mirza Umar conciliated the army and citizenry at his leisure.

During that time a dervish named Begi Baba appeared in Maragha and performed miracles and caused preternatural events. Mirza Umar ordered the dervish to be killed. As he was about to set out for the next world Baba said, "Our lot was thus. However, he shall learn henceforth what strife will occur." Three days after Baba's execution, on the 7th of Muharram 808 [July 5, 1405], news spread abroad that Mirza Aba-Bakr had escaped, and this came about as follows.

After a short stay in prison Mirza Aba-Bakr won over a group of the fortress guards and agreed with them to end the lives of Adil Khizanachi, Isa Qorchï and Shaykh Hajji, who were among his wardens. He took over the fort at Sultaniyya, thus gaining control of the treasury and armory. The money and arms he distributed among his retinue and set out for Khurasan. Joining his father at Kalyus, Astarabad, he then headed back. However, after hearing of this, Mirza Umar went to Sultaniyya, entrusted the town to a group of men loyal to him and set out via Sijas and Saray Abaqa. Concurrently, Shaykh Khusrawshahi arrived from Samarqand and undertook to replace in a short time all that Mirza Aba-Bakr had taken from the Sultaniyya treasury. He enlisted the tax collectors for an expropriation and imposed exorbitant assessments upon the rich of Tabriz. Mirza Umar, in order to get hold of Amir Bis-

tam Chakir, who was acting hypocritically with him, set out for his city. Bistam joined Amir Shaykh Ibrahim Shirwani at Qara Bagh. Therefore the fire of contention between Mirza Umar and Amir Shaykh Ibrahim blazed up, and each hastened with his soldiers to the banks of the Kura River, where they camped opposite each other. After a week news reached Mirza Umar's camp that Mirza Miranshah and Mirza Aba-Bakr had taken control of the Sultaniyya fort, taking prisoner everyone they saw there and plundering all they could find. Therefore, Mirza Umar made a truce with Amir Shaykh Ibrahim and withdrew. After reaching the Miyana station, Umar Taban, Sultan-Sanjar, Hajji Sayfuddin, Abdul-Razzaq Khudadad, Amir Buyan Qauchin, and Shaykh Khusrawshahi deserted him and joined Mirza Aba-Bakr and Mirza Miranshah. Mirza Aba-Bakr received Umar Taban and his sons with favor, but he had executed the tyrannical shaykh and all the others who had deserted. Then, acting upon the advice of some of those who steered his course of action, he had a golden throne made upon which he seated Mirza Miranshah and proclaimed him padishah. [562]

A few days passed in celebration, and after the army was dispersed Mirza Umar went to Maragha via Gav Rud to request the assistance of Amir Khaliq the Turcoman, Sayiq Barlas and a band of the Sulduz. Then he headed toward Tabriz. Alika b. Khaliq had gone before to Tabriz and begun an aggressive reign of tyranny, as a consequence of which the populace at large had attacked and put to death Khwaja Pir-Ali, who had amassed a fortune in the amount of one hundred thousand dinars. They had also driven the Turcomans from the city and secured the gates. Mirza Umar gave the Turcomans permission to fight, but just then news of the imminent arrival of Mirza Aba-Bakr was ascertained, and since Mirza Umar did not have the force to resist, he re-

treated to Isfahan. The governor there, Mirza Rustam, went out to greet him and treated him with honor, giving regal banquets and neglecting not the minutest detail of hospitality. Then the two brave padishahs attacked Mirza Aba-Bakr's *agruq*, which was camped unawares in Suq Balan. Having amassed much matériel and riches, they returned to Isfahan.

Mirza Rustam stayed in his splendid residence while Mirza Umar went to Shiraz. Mirza Pir-Muhammad escorted him with all honors and dignity into the city and gave princely banquets, showering him with trays full of regal gifts. Mirza Umar spent that winter luxuriating in Shiraz, returning in early spring to Isfahan accompanied by Mirza Pir-Muhammad. Mirza Iskandar also moved from Yazd and joined them.

Meanwhile, several days after proclaiming his father padishah, Mirza Aba-Bakr removed his father from office and took the throne himself. At the end of Jumada II of that year [December 1405] he hastened to Tabriz, where his soldiers entered the homes of the citizens and created much havoc among the old and infirm. When news of Mirza Umar-Shaykh's sons' *entente* with Mirza Umar reached Mirza Aba-Bakr's hearing, he set out for Isfahan. Upon reaching Jurbadiqan he heard that Amir Bistam Chakir had taken Tabriz but withdrew, thinking that Azerbaijan was more important than a campaign against Isfahan. When Mirza Umar-Shaykh's sons and Mirza Umar heard this news, they hastened out of Isfahan and galloped without halt in pursuit of Mirza Aba-Bakr. Mirza Aba-Bakr learned of this while in Qurun Arghun, conciliated his soldiers and returned to do battle. In the vicinity of Dargazin the sultans clashed, and from both sides brave warriors hurled themselves into the battlefield. From dawn to dusk they dispatched each other to nonexistence. That day nearly four thousand cavalymen and footsoldiers from

both sides were killed. At eventide each side withdrew to their camp and kept watch throughout the night.

The next day, when the Jamshid of the sun charged with his glittering golden sword amongst the hosts of stars, once again battle cries arose on both sides and the spark of battle burst into flame. Mirza Muzaffaruddin Aba-Bakr, with seven hundred cavalry, charged the center of the opposing army, where Mirza Pir-Muhammad was. [The center] having been removed, the right and left flanks could not stand, and the Isfahanis, holed up in the city, were put to siege by Mirza Aba-Bakr. [563] When Isfahan was near to falling, Mirza Aba-Bakr heard that Amir Shaykh Ibrahim and Amir Bistam Chakir were comfortably in charge of Tabriz, while Shaykh Hajji Iraqi was besieging Sultaniyya. He therefore made a truce with the Isfahanis and returned to Azerbaijan. Mirza Umar, realizing that Mirza Umar-Shaykh's sons were no longer able to withstand Mirza Aba-Bakr, separated himself from them and went to the world-receiving court of the Emperor Shahrukh.

On the first of Rabi' I 809 [August 16, 1406] in the summer pastures of Baylaqan, in a place called Khwaja Qambar, he attained the felicity of kissing the imperial hand and was warmly and favorably received. All his retainers and servants were honored to receive robes and Arabian horses. Concurrently, Mengli Temür, who had gone as emissary to Berk Padishah, returned with an unfavorable message. Therefore, the emperor set out from the Baylaqan summer pasture to conquer Jurjan.

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR DOES  
BATTLE WITH BERK PADISHAH AND  
TRANSFERS THE RULE OF ASTARABAD  
TO MIRZA UMAR B. MIRANSHAH

In early fall, when the cold foe began to plunder and pillage around the fringes of the garden and orchard and, as the frigid

winds of the autumnal army began to blow, the warmth of the summer air turned to retreat, the emperor entered the plains of Mazanderan with divine assistance. When Siyah Bilad was selected as a camp site, Berk Padishah, along with Sayyid Khwaja, Abdul-Samad, Hajji Sayfuddin and Shamsuddin Uch-Qara, with center and flanks arrayed, emerged like rapacious lions from the forests of Mazanderan. The imperial army stood opposite the enemy, the right flank commanded by Mirza Ulughbeg, Amir Shah Malik and Amir Musaka, and the left by Mirza Umar, Amir Yusuf Khalil and Amir Jahanmalik. The emperor took his place in the center with the Tarkhan amirs, and the two armies clashed like two blue seas churned by the wind of attacking warriors, the dust of the fray rose, and gleaming, fiery swords cast the heads of champions into the dust of humiliation.

The earth became a tulip garden with the blood of heroes; in every direction flowed oceans of blood. By the blood-raining sword of every hero of renown there fell countless heads severed from their bodies.

Finally the breeze of divine favor blew through the banners of the exalted emperor, and Berk Padishah and his minions, all blue of lip, pale of countenance, and red of tear, stepped into the valley of flight. Berk Padishah escaped to Khwarazm, Sayyid Khwaja and Abdul-Samad took the long road to Shiraz, and Shamsuddin Uch-Qara and Sayyid Husam, the nephew of Sayyid Khwaja, sought refuge and found favor at the court of world refuge. The entire region of Jurjan entered the dominion of the world-conquering emperor, and Sayyid Izzuddin Hazarjaribi sent his brother to court with appropriate tribute. [564] The *khutba* was read in the imperial name, and levies and taxes were imposed. The governor of Sari, Sayyid Murtaza, also paid fealty, opening the gates of devotion and obedience.

The mighty emperor gave the province of Astarabad to Mirza Umar, assigning him the implements of rule, and then set forth for Herat. Along the way he appointed Mirza Ulughbeg to the governorship of Tus, Khabushan, Kalat, Abiward, Nasa, Yarz, Sabzawar and Nishapur. On the 4th of Jumada II [November 16, 1406] he reached the capital under divine protection.

MIRZA PIR-MUHAMMAD B. JAHANGIR IS  
MARTYRED BY DIVINE DECREE

Mirza Pir-Muhammad Jahangir, an equanimous, mild-mannered prince and a noble and just padishah, turned over the reins of his administration to Pir-Ali Taz and spent most of his time quaffing fire-colored liquid and listening to the sound of the lute and harp. The enchanting voice of the reed told the tale of the passing of his rule, and the exhilarating melody of the rebec struck a dirge while he was unconscious from pure wine, as has been said:

When the sultan's head nods from wine, he  
does not realize that the royal crown is falling  
from his head.

Consequently, as Pir-Ali's dominance increased, dreams of autonomy began to fill his head. In Ramadan 809 [February 1407], while Mirza Pir-Muhammad was inwardly lighting the lamp of penitence and the candle of repentance, the villain Pir-Ali and a band of ruffians surrounded the royal enclosure and martyred the hapless prince on the 14th of the month [February 22, 1407].

From Sirghan Mirza Sayyid-Ahmad "Mirak," fearing for his life on account of this event, hastened like the wind to Herat and reported Pir-Ali's iniquity to the emperor, who was grieved to hear the sad news. He assigned Amir Mizrab, Amir Hasan Sufi Tarkhan and Amir Nushirwan to escort Mirza Sayyid-Ahmad "Mirak" to Balkh. The emperor had

wanted to follow them himself, but suddenly the news of Mirza Umar's rebellion caused a tremor to reverberate throughout the realm of Khurasan.

MIRZA UMAR REBELS AGAINST HIS  
MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND IS KILLED  
BY DIVINE DESTINY

When Mirza Umar raised the banner of dominion in Jurjan, he sent a detachment of warriors to Rayy and forced a thousand Mughul households who were there with Mirza Aba-Bakr's *ağruq* to migrate to Mazanderan. Thereupon Mirza Umar's power began to wax, and a fantasy of independence began to evolve within him. Concurrently Shaykh Hasan Mihaffachī and a band of Amir Shah Malik's retainers fled to Jurjan, saying, "The Khurasan army is discontent with Amir Shah Malik. Whenever your invincible banners are raised in that direction, most will hasten to join you." Mirza Umar believed these words and put on the shelf of oblivion the ledger of the obligations he owed the emperor and with the speed of lightning and wind raced from Astarabad to Khurasan. When Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur heard this, he met Mirza Umar on the 18th of Shawwal [March 28, 1407]. On Monday the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [April 17, 1407], in the vicinity of the village of Bardawayh in the province of Jam, the Jurjan and the Khurasan armies met. Jäkä Tovachī, one of Umar Taban's elite, turned his back on Mirza Umar—as luck and fortune were also doing—and joined the imperial court. Seeing that, the other amirs and soldiers fled in all directions, "and the victory that was the key to security came to be."

Mirza Umar fled before the oncoming dagger of fate to Marv Rud, but he was captured by a band of Amir Mizrab's *nökärs* on the banks of the river and taken, wounded in the head and chains on his feet, to the imperial camp at Amrudak. The emperor had compassion on him and

ordered a litter and appointed a physician and surgeon to accompany him to Herat.

On the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [May 3, 1407] Mirza Umar departed this life at Toquz Ribat and was buried in the cemetery of Imam Fakhruddin Razi.

On the first of Dhu'l-Hijja [May 9] the imperial train reached Herat. The middle of that month the emperor set out to summer in Badghis.

PIR-ALI'S INIQUITY IS REPULSED BY THE  
EMPEROR'S FELICITOUS ATTENTION

When the triumphant emperor's mind was at ease concerning Mirza Umar, he turned his attention to repulsing Pir-Ali Taz. On the 19th of Muharram 810 [June 26, 1407] the victory-emblazoned banners set out from the Badghis summer pasture for Balkh, the Dome of Islam, arriving in Andkhud the beginning of Safar. Pir-Ali Taz had audaciously advanced as far as Sar-i Pul, but when the imperial train reached Khwaja Dugah, Pir-Ali retreated into the badlands. The emperor dispatched Mirza Sidi-Ahmad with Amir Yadgarshah, Amir Nushirwan and Hasan Sufi Tarkhan in pursuit of him. The amirs reached Pir-Ali and seized his baggage, though he escaped with a few men to Yäkä Öläng. The amirs returned and joined the imperial train in Balkh.

While the magnificent emperor was camped in Balkh, he turned his attention to repairing the Hinduan Citadel, which had lain in ruins from the time of Amir Timur Kürägän's triumph over Amir Husayn. Within a short while the citadel was made strong and most impregnable. [566] Mirza Qaydu, son of Mirza Pir-Muhammad, was then appointed as governor of Balkh, and the imperial standards moved back to Herat.

Once again Pir-Ali Taz gathered an army and approached Balkh, but he was defeated by the imperial army, and during the retreat a group of his senior officers said to each other, "If this bald ingrate

remains our leader, we will suffer the consequences of his raids and rebellions against crowned heads." Therefore of one accord they severed the head of that chief of discord from his body and sent it to Herat, thus delivering the people from further disturbances and strife.

THE EMPEROR GOES TO JURJAN A  
SECOND TIME, AND AMIR JAHANMALIK  
REBELS BECAUSE OF KHWAJA GHIYA-  
THUDDIN SALAR SIMNANI'S AUDIT

When, under divine protection, the imperial train had reached Herat from Balkh, a messenger came from Mirza Ulughbeg to report that Berk Padishah had gathered a large band of Jäüni-Qorbani hoodlums and Tükäl rogues and gone to Mazanderan and put Shamsuddin Ali Jamshid Qaran, the warden of the Astarabad Fort, into dangerous and dire straits. Therefore, the emperor left Abu'l-Fath Ibrahim-Sultan in power in Herat, and on the 18th of Jumada II 810 [November 20, 1407] the imperial banners set out for Jurjan. At the Turuq station Amir Shahmalik arrived; Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän joined the retinue in Jurjan and presented tribute. When Khwaja Qambar became the object of jealousy of the celestial sphere by the arrival of the imperial parasol, Abu-Muslim son of Uch-Qara came from Mazanderan and reported that when Berk Padishah had heard of the approach of the imperial train he had fled to Rustamdar.

The emperor then went to Astarabad and spent the winter in Mazanderan. Sayyid Izzuddin Hazarjaribi hastened to the imperial court and received much favor. The region of Damghan was given him in fief, and the province of Astarabad was given to Mirza Ulughbeg. The world-conquering reins were then turned toward Khurasan, and on the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [April 6, 1408] the emperor entered Herat like a spirit entering a body.

Concurrently, Jahanmalik and some other high-ranking amirs rebelled and

paid the price for their actions. The details are as follows.

That year Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Salar Simnani, who held the post of *sahib-divan*, began an audit. He made a ledger [567] and listed by name what the officeholders had acquired from every source. Not only that, but he weighed every molehill like a mountain, every straw like a haystack and every *dâng* like a dinar. Since the prices of goods were then very inflated, some of the amirs thought that when the ledger was shown to the emperor they would be charged for everything they had acquired above and beyond their salaries—without taking inflation into account—and for that reason they would not escape without retribution. Amir Jahanmalik, who was from the Qochi tribe, had served in the imperial retinue for a long time with great power and dignity. He, Amir Hasan Jandar and his son Yusuf Khalil, Sa'adat Temürtash and his brother Bahlul Buyan Temür, Sultan-Bayazid Uthman and Namadak agreed to rebel. They left the city without warning and stopped in Jaz' Öläng. The emperor immediately placed his foot in the stirrup of victory, but Amir Mizrab reached the rebels first and was wounded in a pitched battle. When the phoenix of the imperial parasol spread its wing of fortune over the air of Jaz' Öläng, Amir Jahanmalik and his followers crossed back over the Kard River and took up a defensive position. The emperor stood on the riverbank while the invincible army, troop by troop, joined the imperial train. The rebels fled in all directions in fear.

Wretched Sa'adat, his brother Ahmad and Aq Buqa were captured in Badghis by the men of Hasan Sufi Tarkhan's company and brought back. [Sa'adat] was executed, but his brother Ahmad and Aq Buqa were set free. Jahanmalik and Namadak were captured by Amir Charkas in Makhan and sent back in chains to Herat; they were killed in Chihil Dukhtaran. Hasan Jandar and his son

Yusuf Khalil went across the Tabas desert to Mirza Rustam in Isfahan. Sultan-Bayazid was captured in Jam, but he was saved through Mirza Ibrahim's intercession....

ON SOME EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN  
IRAQ AND AZERBAIJAN IN RELATION TO  
THE EMERGENCE OF SULTAN AHMAD  
JALAYIR AND QARA YUSUF THE  
TURCOMAN

As has been seen, one of the results of Amir Timur Kürägän's seven-year campaign was that Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and Amir Qara Yusuf went to Egypt when His Majesty headed for Anatolia. Since at that time Malik Faraj<sup>20</sup> pretended love and affection for the Sahib-Qiran, he seized these two rulers and kept them imprisoned in a fortress tower, although they were not prevented from keeping company with each other. There in that citadel a son was born to Qara Yusuf, and Sultan [Ahmad], bouncing the child on his knee, accepted him as his own son and kept him near himself. It was then that pacts and pledges were sealed between Sultan Ahmad and Qara Yusuf to the effect that if they escaped their bondage and once again gained power, they would act in unity and accord, with Baghdad belonging to Sultan Ahmad and Qara Yusuf ruling from Tabriz. One night Qara Yusuf dreamed that Amir Timur Kürägän took a ring [568] from his hand and put it on Qara Yusuf's finger. The next morning he told Sultan Ahmad of his dream, and the sultan said, "The rule of one of the Sahib-Qiran's dominions will be yours."

After these two kings had spent some time in prison, the news of Amir Timur's death reached Egypt, and Malik Faraj showed them favor and ordered that each one be allowed to have five hundred retainers, for which he gave them the nec-

<sup>20</sup>al-Malik al-Nasir Nasiruddin Faraj, ruled in Egypt 801–815/1399–1412.



essary horses, arms, gold, cash and goods. Of Sultan Ahmad's retainers there were only his personal slaves and body servants in Egypt, so he gave them what he got from the Egyptians. Amir Qara Yusuf's retainers, however, consisted of a large horde of warriors, and he quickly filled his complement of five hundred men. Every day when he rode out that group was at his side magnificently caparisoned, but the Turcomans' splendor stuck in the Egyptians' throats, and they determined to bring them down. One day when the padishah of Egypt came out with his elite corps to play polo, Qara Yusuf and his retainers came out as opponents to Malik Faraj. The Egyptians were not pleased by the Turcomans' exaggerated show and told Qara Yusuf's retainers to dismount and sweep the gravel from the field. They refused to obey this order, and Qara Yusuf rode warily over to the sultan of Egypt and said, "We are foreigners in this country. The padishah has withheld no favor from us, but now, with your permission, we will return to our own region." So saying, he turned his reins and left the field with all his retainers. Hastening at once to his quarters, he took his womenfolk and children and set out for Diyar Bakr.

The amirs of Egypt said to Malik Faraj, "For this group to leave like this is a blow to the honor of the sultanate. With your permission we will pursue them."

The padishah answered, "The Turcomans are very impetuous and reckless. They are ready to sacrifice their lives at a moment's notice. It is not wise for anyone to attempt to pursue them. Let them go to their homeland."

From the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates, Qara Yusuf challenged and fought a hundred and eighty times with the wardens of the fortresses he encountered along the way, and in all those encounters he was victorious. When he reached Diyar Bakr, there was harmony and agreement between him and Malik

Shamsuddin, the governor of Khlat and Bitlis who married Qara Yusuf's daughter. At Malik Shamsuddin's instigation Amir Qara Yusuf led his forces to Van and Vastan and swept clean that region of flocks, herds and property with the broom of plunder and pillage. With the entire Turcoman nation at his side he brought Avnik Fort under his domination.

Sultan Ahmad, on the other hand, fell from grace in Egypt after Qara Yusuf left, and since he had neither the force nor the capacity in that region to leave as Qara Yusuf had, he set out for Syria with a shepherd's cloak on his back and accompanied by a handful of ragtags. From there he went to Diyar Bakr and from there to Hilla, where he sat in a corner while some belligerent ruffians in his service made petty raids. When Sultan Ahmad's arrival was learned of in Arab Iraq, so many false rumors spread abroad in Baghdad that the governor, Dawlat Khwaja Inaq, could no longer remain there. He abandoned his post and [569] went to Mirza Umar's camp. A week after Dawlat Khwaja left, Sultan Ahmad returned to his homeland and once again sat upon the throne in splendor.

At the end of 808 [1406], when Mirza Aba-Bakr was occupied with the siege of Isfahan, and Amir Shaykh Ibrahim Shirwani had come to Tabriz to repel the evil of the tyrants and transgressors, Sultan Ahmad gathered a large group of rabble and collected the Turcoman tribes and clans and set out for Tabriz. In Muharram of 809 [June 1406] the news reached Amir Shaykh Ibrahim, who advised his amirs, saying, "For many years Azerbaijan has belonged to the throne of Sultan Ahmad's fathers and forefathers, and we have trod the path of affection and harmony with this dynasty. We came here to unloose the grasp of tyrants from the throat of the subjects. Now that the lord of the realm has returned home, we too

should return to our land." So saying, Amir Shaykh Ibrahim retired to Shirwan.

Toward the end of that same month Sultan Ahmad Jalayir encamped in Tabriz. The citizens decorated the city and made their joy manifest. They imagined that since the sultan had endured the trial of exile for so long and had experienced so many vicissitudes, he would have abandoned his wicked ways. However, he had not changed his ways at all, and while he was in Tabriz he spread the carpet of revelry and pleasure and spent most of his time playing with doves and in the company of smooth-cheeked boys. Consequently his amirs and the dignitaries of the kingdom were inclined to Mirza Aba-Bakr, who had then made a truce with the Isfahanis and was headed in vengeance to Tabriz. When the sultan heard of the mirza's approach, he flew into a rage and set out for Baghdad.

That year many reversals of fortune afflicted the Tabrizis. Since the pestilence had come, the people had dispersed, and when Mirza Aba-Bakr entered the city on the 8th of Rabi' I [August 23, 1406] he found no one there. He established justice and sent letters of conciliation to the surrounding countryside, ordering that no one, for any reason whatsoever, was to harass the subjects. Meanwhile he heard that Qara Yusuf had taken Avnik Fort from Walad Dulday and that many Turcomans had joined him with all their abundant possessions. Mirza Aba-Bakr then decided to make war on Qara Yusuf and set out to find him. When the two sides met there were hostilities for three consecutive days. On the third day Mirza Aba-Bakr fled without apparent cause, and the Turcomans took booty beyond reckoning. Mirza Aba-Bakr did not stop until he reached Marand, where his army pillaged everything they could find. Then he went to Tabriz and put it to plunder. That night Shaykh Qassab, who had fled from the city with a large number of Tabrizis, ordered many fires to be kindled

in the plain. When Mirza Aba-Bakr's men saw the fires, they thought the Turcomans had come in pursuit of them. The next morning Mirza Aba-Bakr abandoned Tabriz and headed for Sultaniyya.

Amir Qara Yusuf went to Nakhichevan, and Khwaja Sidi-Muhammad Kechächi, a scion of a great shaykhly family, went there to report the calamities that had befallen the Tabrizis. Receiving an escort and a safe pass, he withdrew, having successfully accomplished his mission. [570] Amir Qara Yusuf spent that winter in the vicinity of Marand, and in Jumada II 809 [November 1406] Amir Bistam Chakir came to him and received the post of commander in chief. Other commanders too joined him, and he assigned them all appropriate stipends according to their ranks.

MIRZA ABA-BAKR DOES BATTLE A SECOND TIME WITH AMIR QARA YUSUF THE TURCOMAN; MIRZA MU'IZZUDDIN MIRANSHAH KÜRÄGÄN IS KILLED

When Mirza Aba-Bakr abandoned Tabriz, he went to the Sultaniyya Fort. With troops from Hamadan, Dargazin and Qazwin, he set out in vengeance for Tabriz. Amir Qara Yusuf, with Amir Bistam Chakir and a large group of commanders of Azerbaijan, prepared for battle, and on the 24th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 809 [May 2, 1407],<sup>21</sup> at Sard Rud, the two sides clashed. With left, right and center arrayed, both sides charged the battlefield. First, from Amir Qara Yusuf's side Amir Bistam charged Mirza Aba-Bakr's forces and annihilated two men. Pir-Umar, Bayram Beg and Jalaluddin Khalifa also wounded several and forced them to flee. When Mirza Aba-Bakr saw the agility of the enemy, he charged the field like a lion after a gazelle. He unhorsed the clever

<sup>21</sup>There seems to be some confusion as to the year of this battle. Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 179), Mirkhwand (*RS*, VI, 559) and Abdul-Razzaq (*Matla'*, II, 67) give 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da 810.

Jalaluddin and routed the Turcomans who had come forward. Then both armies clashed.

From Tabriz up to the foot of Sard Rud the blood of soldiers flowed like a river.

Mirza Aba-Bakr set out in pursuit of Berk and his brother Yadgarshah from Qara Yusuf's right flank and did not draw his reins until he had Berk's head on the end of his spear. However, during his absence, the Turcomans had broken the center, which was under Mirza Miranshah's command. A young Turcoman, not realizing who he was, wounded Mirza Miranshah and unhorsed him. He appropriated his weapons and clothes and severed his head from his body. After three sidereal hours Mirza Aba-Bakr returned from chasing Berk and found not a living soul of his army on the battlefield. Consequently he fled, and the victory went to Amir Qara Yusuf.

Qara Yusuf ordered the murderer of Mirza Miranshah killed and said, "If he had brought him to me alive, I would have given him the greatest reward possible." The veiled ladies of Mirza Aba-Bakr's harem who fell captive into the hands of the soldiers he sent under his protection to join his own ladies. He also commanded the prince's head and body to be buried with royal honors in Surkhab. After a time Shamsuddin Ghuri took the body to Transoxiana, where it was entombed in Kish. [571]

MIRZA ABA-BAKR GOES TO KERMAN,  
AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE END OF THE  
UNFORTUNATE PRINCE

When Mirza Aba-Bakr escaped the clutches of Amir Qara Yusuf's army, he stepped into the valley of flight and turned his reins toward Kerman. Just then Amir Edigü Barlas, who had long held the jurisdiction of that area under Amir Timur Kürägän, died, and his son Sultan-Uways took over the rule in his stead.

When Sultan-Uways learned of Mirza Aba-Bakr's approach, he went out to greet him as was proper. Entering Kerman, Mirza Aba-Bakr found Sultan-Uways ruling independently as a king; as flames of jealousy flared up within him, he determined to exterminate Sultan-Uways. For his part, Sultan-Uways thought of imprisoning the prince, and in the end he beat the drums of war and surrounded Mirza Aba-Bakr's palace. When the peacemakers intervened, it was decided that the Kermanis would not offend Mirza Aba-Bakr's dignity by an attack if he would leave the city without inflicting injury and go to another place. Mirza Aba-Bakr left Kerman for Sistan, where he got along well with the governor, Shah Qutbuddin. This finally resulted in Shahrukh's having to lead the army to Farah and Sistan and subdue the area with both peaceful persuasion and violence.

Once again Mirza Aba-Bakr went to Kerman, and toward the end of Jumada II 811 [November 1408] he camped in Bam. Sultan-Uways was stunned at this news, and just at that time the army he had sent to Garmser arrived. Thus reinforced, he moved toward Bam on the 4th of Rajab [November 23, 1408], and several skirmishes took place between him and Mirza Aba-Bakr. Sometimes Mirza Aba-Bakr was gladdened by the sight of victory, and sometimes Sultan-Uways beheld the countenance of triumph. Finally the prince was decisively defeated and received a mortal wound of which he died.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MIRZA PIR-  
MUHAMMAD, MIRZA RUSTAM AND  
MIRZA ISKANDAR AFTER THE DEATH OF  
THE MIGHTY SAHIB-QIRAN

When the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän died, Mirza Pir-Muhammad son of Umar-Shaykh held sway in Shiraz. His brother Mirza Rustam was ruling in Isfahan, and his

other brother Mirza Iskandar was in Hamadan. When the grievous news reached Fars, Mirza Pir-Muhammad took counsel and, based upon the fact that his mother Malikat Agha, the daughter of Khizr Oghlan, [572] was among the emperor [Shahrukh]'s wives,<sup>22</sup> he had the *khutba* read and coins struck in Shahrukh's name, and in order to show his allegiance he sent an envoy to Khurasan with the following line of poetry:

We are all slaves who worship Shahrukh: I,  
Rustam, Iskandar and everyone else.

The emperor received his envoy most graciously and gave him permission to return.

When Mirza Umar killed Amir Jahanshah and imprisoned Mirza Aba-Bakr, Mirza Iskandar fled in fear from Hamadan to Shiraz. Mirza Pir-Muhammad received him warmly and transferred the province of Yazd to him. For a long time there was harmony among the brothers—until 809 [1406–7], when the harmony was shattered by some mischief makers, and Mirza Pir-Muhammad seized Mirza Iskandar and sent him in shackles to Khurasan. However, Iskandar broke his bonds at the Tabas crossroads, escaped his jailers and went to Isfahan, where Mirza Rustam welcomed him, and the two brothers set out together for Shiraz. Mirza Pir-Muhammad determined to oppose them and sent a company of great amirs and *noyans* as a vanguard, cautioning them to guard well the river crossings between the two sides. When the Isfahanis reached the river and saw that it was secure against crossing, they were at a loss, but finally one rainy night Mirza Iskandar crossed by a secret ford. When

the guards of the other crossings learned that he had made it across, they lost their nerve and fled toward Shiraz, joining Mirza Pir-Muhammad and making ready for siege in the city. Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar encircled Shiraz and besieged the city for forty days. When the Isfahanis realized that they were unlikely to subdue the city, they plundered the cultivated areas of Fars and returned to Isfahan.

In 810 [1408] Mirza Pir-Muhammad gathered a huge army and set out, intent upon doing battle with Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar. Because of the outbreak of an epidemic, Mirza Rustam had left Isfahan and was staying in Kunduman. When the news of the approach of the Fars army was heard, some of his supporters advised him to sue for peace, but he replied, "Rest assured that the Shiraz caravan is bringing us gifts and presents." When the Shirazis drew near, the two armies were arrayed. Mirza Rustam first attacked the Fars army, but Mirza Pir-Muhammad repelled the attack with the champions of Shiraz. Then the two armies clashed, and after a heated battle the Isfahanis suffered defeat. Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar took flight and headed for Khurasan. In the flush of victory Mirza Pir-Muhammad ordered that the soldiers were to harass no one in Isfahan but give quarter to all. When the people of Isfahan heard this good news, they rushed hopefully in throngs to Mirza Pir-Muhammad's court to praise the noble and generous prince. He remained in Shahrak Meadow and Kunduman for a few days to fatten up his horses before bringing Kashan, Jurbadiqan and the other dependencies of Isfahan [573] under his control. Although the sun was then in Virgo,<sup>23</sup> the crops of Isfahan had not been reaped because of the epidemic. However, when Mirza Pir-Muhammad again entered the city, the plague and epi-

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<sup>22</sup>Malikat Agha, the mother of Pir-Muhammad, Iskandar, Ahmad and Bayqara, had been married first to Mirza Umar-Shaykh; after Umar-Shaykh's death in 796/1394 she was married to Shahrukh, by whom she bore Soyurghatmish.

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<sup>23</sup>Virgo: August 21–September 21.

demic died down and Isfahan flourished once again. Mirza Pir-Muhammad gave the governorship of the province to his son Mirza Umar-Shaykh, and the fiscal divan was assigned to Khwaja Muzaffaruddin Nazari. When Mirza Pir-Muhammad's mind was at ease with regard to such matters, he withdrew in state to Shiraz.

MIRZA RUSTAM GOES TO THE  
EMPEROR'S THRESHOLD, AND MIRZA  
ISKANDAR RETURNS TO SHIRAZ

When Mirza Rustam and Mirza Iskandar headed for Khurasan after the Battle of Kunduman, Mirza Rustam relied upon the emperor's good will and went to Herat, where he was honored and favorably received. Mirza Iskandar stayed some days in the village of Ahmad, which lies between Tun and Tabas, but when his whereabouts were discovered, he lit out in the middle of the night, taking the back roads to Balkh and Shuburghan, where he was joined by a group of his men. Mirza Qaydu, the governor of Balkh, set out in pursuit. Mirza Iskandar, unable to withstand an attack, withdrew toward the Oxus and from there entered Andkhud. The governor of that province, Sidi-Ahmad Tarkhan, gave him an appropriate place to stay and reported the situation to the emperor, who magnanimously wrote suggesting that Mirza Iskandar be sent to Mirza Pir-Muhammad. To Sidi-Ahmad Tarkhan he sent a message instructing him to hand the letter to Mirza Iskandar and let him go free. With the arrival of the letter, Mirza Iskandar set out for Fars.

On the evening of the 26th<sup>24</sup> of Ramadan 811 [February 12, 1409] he entered Shiraz on foot. Learning of his brother's arrival, Mirza Pir-Muhammad left his dinner and had him brought that very

hour, receiving him warmly and affectionately to reassure him of his good will.

MIRZA PIR-MUHAMMAD IS MARTYRED  
BY HUSAYN SHARBATDAR'S TREACHEROUS  
SWORD, AND MIRZA ISKANDAR  
TAKES HIS BROTHER'S PLACE

In the year 812 Mirza Pir-Muhammad set out accompanied by Mirza Iskandar to conquer Kerman. When they reached a place called Duchaha, the wretched Husayn Sharbatdar, who had been promoted by the padishah's patronage from physician to the rank of amir, [574] headed a conspiracy of evil men who surrounded Mirza Pir-Muhammad's tent and forced the prince to taste the potion (*sharbat*) of martyrdom. The instant Mirza Iskandar learned of this event, he set out with two companions and reached Shiraz in two days. Going straight to the house of Amir Temür Khwaja, who had ruled Shiraz for the late padishah [Timur], he explained what had taken place. Temür Khwaja and the other nobles of Shiraz first suspected that Mirza Iskandar was behind his brother's murder, but when other men arrived from the camp and reported what had happened, the amirs and nobles made obeisance to Mirza Iskandar.

After pouring the draught of martyrdom into the cup of Mirza Pir-Muhammad's life, Husayn Sharbatdar sent his brother Khwaja Ali to give Mirza Iskandar a taste of the same mortal poison. However, he had "flown on wings of wind" to Shiraz, just as Amir Abdul-Samad had fled to Yazd. The rest of the amirs submitted to Husayn, who hastened with unbelievable pomp to Shiraz. Mirza Iskandar made fast the city against him, and the next day the two sides fired arrows and stones at each other from dawn to dusk. As darkness settled, the amirs and soldiers paid homage to Iskandar, and the next day the ill-starred traitor fled to Kerman. Along the way he ran into Mirza Pir-Muhammad's amirs who had gone on an advance raid and were on their way back from Ker-

<sup>24</sup>Misprinted in figures in the text as 29; see Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 190.

man. Amir Siddiq seized him and brought him to Shiraz. At the shrine of Shaykh Muslihuddin Sa'di they shaved some of his moustache and beard, smeared his face with rouge, put a dunce-cap on his head, mounted him on a cow and took him in this state to Mirza Iskandar.

"Why did you kill my brother?" the prince asked him.

"If I did kill him," he replied, "you weren't sorry."

Iskandar flew into a rage at this reply and wrenched that accursed one's eye from its socket with his own hand. He then ordered him to be clubbed to death. His evil head was sent to Isfahan and his vile body was thrown into the fire two days later.

**SULTAN MU'TASIM REBELS AND IS  
KILLED DURING THE ONSLAUGHT OF  
MIRZA ISKANDAR'S ARMY; MIRZA  
RUSTAM TAKES OVER THE GOVER-  
NANCE OF ISFAHAN A SECOND TIME**

When the noble Sultan Zaynul-Abidin b. Shah-Shuja' b. Amir Muhammad the Muzaffarid was exiled to Transoxiana, his son Sultan Mu'tasim fled to Syria. [575] During the time of the aforementioned affairs, he went to Azerbaijan, where he enjoyed Amir Qara Yusuf's favor. After spending a few luxurious days in Tabriz, he set out for Isfahan accompanied by Amir Bistam Chakir and led by Qazi Ahmad Sa'idi. When Mirza Pir-Muhammad's son Mirza Umar-Shaykh, Amir Sa'id Barlas and Amir Cholpanshah, all of whom were in Isfahan, learned of his approach, they went out of the city, intent on battle. However, without entering the battlefield, they turned aside toward Yazd because the prefect there was speaking about Mirza Iskandar's rebellion. Amir Fazil chose to separate himself from Mirza Umar-Shaykh and reported the situation to Mirza Iskandar in Qasr-i Zard. Although Iskandar was on his way to Yazd, he thought it more worthwhile to tend to Isfahan, so he

headed there. Amir Siddiq, Amir Gayomarth and Amir Buyan were sent after Mirza Umar-Shaykh and his henchmen. The two groups clashed near Yazd, and the Iskandarids were victorious. Amir Cholpanshah joined them, and the others took the road to Khurasan. When they arrived they induced Mirza Rustam to seek permission from the emperor and go to Isfahan. However, when Mirza Iskandar arrived near Isfahan, Sultan Mu'tasim met Iskandar's train, and a battle erupted between the two armies near Atashkada. While the battle was raging, some of the officers of Fars joined Sultan Mu'tasim. With that the Isfahanis took courage and charged up to Mirza Iskandar's center. However, in the end the breeze of victory and superiority blew through the Iskandarid banners, and the supporters of the Muzaffarid house took flight. Most of the leaders of the army of Iraq and Azerbaijan were taken prisoner. While fleeing in rout Sultan Mu'tasim reached the bank of a river and wanted to make his horse jump across. Being a large man, he was unable to maintain his seat and landed on his back. One of the Shiraz soldiers reached him and snuffed out the flame of his life right there on the riverbank.

Nonetheless, Qazi Nizamuddin Ahmad Sa'idi, the band of rebellion bound across his forehead, refused to open the city gates to Mirza Iskandar. Therefore massive destruction was wrought outside the city, and while it was going on Mirza Rustam arrived in the vicinity. Qazi Ahmad and the other leaders of Iraq met him and brought him into the city. After hearing the news, Mirza Iskandar went to Shiraz. At the same time, his amirs who had gone to besiege Yazd conquered that city, and he sent Amir Yusuf Khalil as governor. He also sent a report to the emperor in which, while manifesting his allegiance and obedience, he entreated the emperor to send as reinforcement whichever of his brothers he saw fit. The emperor received his emissary favorably and

dispatched Mirza Bayqara b. Mirza Umar-Shaykh with drums, standards and retinue to Mirza Iskandar, to whom he wrote, "In view of the dictum, 'Your help is in your brother,' we have sent you your brother, in whom the signs of greatness are manifest. It is incumbent upon you to treat him with brotherliness and affection so that the bond [576] of family ties may be maintained and the breaches of that area may be healed."

AN ACCOUNT OF AMIR QARA YUSUF  
AND SULTAN AHMAD OF BAGHDAD, AND  
HOW SULTAN AHMAD WAS VENGEFULLY  
AND UNJUSTLY KILLED IN TABRIZ

After the martyrdom of Mirza Miran-shah Kürägän and the flight of Mirza Aba-Bakr to Kerman, Amir Qara Yusuf brought all of the region of Azerbaijan and Arran under his control and established justice and equity. On the pretext that Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, to whom Azerbaijan belonged by heredity and acquisition, called Qara Yusuf's son Pir-Budaq "son," he set him on the throne and had the *khutba* read and coinage in the whole realm issued in his name. He ordered that the superscription of his edicts and orders be written thus: *Pir-Budaq Bahadur Khan yarlığ'ın Abu'l-Nasr Yusuf Bahadur sözüimiz* (By the authority vested by Pir-Budaq Bahadur Khan in Abu'l-Nasr Yusuf Bahadur: our word).<sup>25</sup> Whenever Pir-Budaq came into the assembly Qara Yusuf took him by the hand and sat him on the throne while he himself knelt politely below him.

When this news reached the kings and rulers of the surrounding areas, they sent emissaries with presents and gifts to Amir Qara Yusuf's court to offer congratulations. Amir Qara Yusuf sent a messenger to Sultan Ahmad with this

message: "Since His Majesty accepted Pir-Budaq as a son, we have elevated that dear son to the throne and are ourselves ready to lead the army to repel any opposition. Let this be clear to you." Sultan Ahmad received Qara Yusuf's emissary graciously and sent Pir-Budaq a parasol and other regal paraphernalia. For some time things went well between Sultan Ahmad and Amir Qara Yusuf, but finally the basis of their friendship was shattered for the following reason.

Sultan Ahmad's son Ala'uddawla escaped from prison in Samarqand and hastened to Azerbaijan. Amir Qara Yusuf was favorable toward him for a few days, but in the end he gave him permission to go to his father. Ala'uddawla, who was a ne'er-do-well, turned aside along the way and, while Amir Qara Yusuf was in Khoy, entered Tabriz and gathered a band of ruffians.<sup>26</sup> When Qara Yusuf heard this, he sent someone to have Hajji Küchük Rikabdar, his governor in Tabriz, arrest Ala'uddawla and imprison him in the Adiljevaz Fort. When Sultan Ahmad heard this he made fast the towers and ramparts of Baghdad and sent a message to Amir Qara Yusuf and Pir-Budaq Khan that due to his weak constitution and the extreme heat of Baghdad he would go to the Hamadan meadows for the spring. Of Ala'uddawla's imprisonment he said nothing. Qara Yusuf was angered by the message and by the lack of respect and so paid scant attention to the sultan's emissaries.

<sup>25</sup>For an example of such a document, in this case an order by Miran Shah through the authority vested by Sultan-Mahmud Khan, see Fekete, *Einführung*, plate 1.

<sup>26</sup>Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 191) narrates the story of Ala'uddawla in which there is no mention of Samarqand. According to him, Ala'uddawla quarreled with his father and went to Qara Yusuf in Azerbaijan, who received him warmly but then advised him to return to his father. When he reached Khoy, the governor Malik Izzuddin Sher entertained him for some time, but Qara Yusuf wrote that it was better not to detain him. Ala'uddawla started for Ardabil to become a Sufi but was captured by Turcomans who turned him over to Qara Yusuf, who imprisoned him in Adiljevaz.

That spring Qara Yusuf went to the Ala Tagh summer pasture and occupied himself with consolidating those regions as far as Erjish and Adiljevaz. From the other direction Sultan [577] Ahmad proceeded with all pomp and ceremony to the Hamadan summer pasture. Bistam Chakir's men who were in that province holed up in fear in the fort. Sultan Ahmad spent the summer in Hamadan and set out that autumn for Sultaniyya. Bistam Chakir's brother Ma'sum, who was ruling there, secured the outskirts of the city while the sultan besieged the fort for eighteen days, although he was unable to make any headway. Then he heard that in Baghdad somebody named Uways had gathered a band of ruffians and was claiming to be his son. Therefore he set out for Baghdad. Upon his arrival he seized Uways and executed some troublesome men.

Amir Qara Yusuf spent that winter in Tabriz. At the beginning of the spring he went to Azerbaijan to help Walad Tahartan the governor against Amir Qara Uthman's predations, installing his own son Shah Muhammad as viceroy in Azerbaijan. Sultan Ahmad seized the opportunity and set out from Baghdad for Tabriz with a large army in Muharram 813 [May 1410]. Shah Muhammad fled to Khoy, and at the beginning of Rabi' I the sultan entered Tabriz with all pomp and circumstance. After Qara Yusuf conquered Erzinjan and installed his deputy Pir-Umar as his governor, he headed back to Tabriz as soon as he heard of the arrival of the sultan's train. When the sultan learned of his return he prepared for war. On Friday the 28th of Rabi' II 813 [August 30, 1410], near Shamb-i Ghazan, a fierce battle broke out. Amir Qara Yusuf was the victor, and the sultan fled toward the city. A Turcoman, not knowing who he was, unhorsed him with two blows of the sword, took his clothes and weapons and left him there.

The sultan crept into a garden through the water conduit. An old cobbler recognized him and rushed to help him. "Sultan of the world," he said, "what has happened?"

"Be quiet!" the sultan said. "Don't give me away. There are many of our men in this city. When it is night we'll go and get gold and horses and everything we need from them. We will reward you. When I reach Baghdad I will give you the Ba'quba District as a fief." The old cobbler agreed and went home.

Now he had an old wife who could tell the future and make predictions. The old man told his wife what had happened and asked her, "What should be done?" The old woman set about casting a prediction, and when she was finished she said to her husband, "There is a great distance between us and Ba'quba, and no profit will come to us across it. It is likely that by the time night falls there will be so many men around the sultan that you won't have a chance to meet with him, and such a prey will escape your net. You should go before the hour to Qara Yusuf, tell him everything and get a reward from him."

This seemed reasonable to the old man, so he went to Qara Yusuf and told him where the sultan was. Amir Qara Yusuf sent his henchmen [Satilmish and Tängribermish<sup>27</sup>] to seize the king. They put an old cloak over his shoulders and a tattered cap on his head and brought him to court. Amir Qara Yusuf rose to honor the sultan, but as he seated him next to himself he spoke roughly to him and chastised him for breaking his pact. Then [578] he dismissed that padishah, who had never lowered his head even to the revolving celestial spheres, from his side and sent him to the least honorable end of the room. Half jokingly and half in seriousness, he ordered him to write in gold ink with his own hand an order transferring

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<sup>27</sup>Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 202.



the province of Azerbaijan to Pir-Budaq Khan and another edict giving the rulership of Baghdad to Shah Muhammad, who proceeded straight from that assembly to Baghdad.

Qara Yusuf did not want to harm the sultan, but the amirs of Baghdad urged him to put an end to the sultan's life, and finally Amir Qara Yusuf was forced to agree. Satilmish took Sultan Ahmad to the Qazi Shaykh Ali Madrasa, where he was executed by Khwaja Ja'far Tabrizi and a bloodthirsty band. He was buried at the foot of his brother Sultan Husayn, whom he had treacherously killed. Some of Sultan Ahmad's sons who had been taken captive in the battle and Ala'ud-dawla, who was held prisoner in the Adiljevaz Fort, also tasted the same potion.

It is related that when the news of Sultan Ahmad's martyrdom reached Herat, Mirza Shahrukh addressed Khwaja Abdul-Qadir, the musician who had been Sultan Ahmad's companion for many years, and asked him, "What have you composed for your friend?" Khwaja Abdul-Qadir recited the following quatrain, which he had inserted into a musical composition:

Abdul-Qadir, shed bloody tears every moment.  
 With the revolution of the spheres there is no  
 chance for your revenge.  
 The date of the untimely death of the sun of  
 the princely sphere is ASSASSINATION IN  
 TABRIZ.<sup>28</sup>

By the time Qara Yusuf's son Shah Muhammad reached Baghdad, Sultan Ahmad's young sons had entrenched themselves within the city. After a year and a half of siege, the beleaguered ones boarded ships and fled. Shah Muhammad took Baghdad and all of Arab Iraq and had the *khutba* read and coins issued in his own name. He never went before his

father again, and Qara Yusuf made no objection to what he did.

SOME OF THE EVENTS THAT TRAN-  
 SPIRED IN TRANSOXIANA, WHICH  
 PROVINCE ENTERS THE EMPEROR'S  
 DOMAIN

As the previously described events were taking place, the sun of Mirza Khalil-Sultan's fortune began to set, and a dispute occurred between him and Khudadad Husayni, who gathered a vast force in Turkistan and determined to conquer Transoxiana. As this news reached the capital in Herat, the impetus to subdue Samarqand took firm root in the emperor's mind. On the 5th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 811 [March 22, 1409] the banners of the rising sun set out from the capital toward Badghis. Mirza Khalil-Sultan, too, moved out of Samarqand with the Transoxianan army, halting in the vicinity of Kish, where he was informed that Khudadad Husayni had reached the banks of the Khujand River. He assigned Amir Allahdad and Arghun Shah three thousand cavalymen to go there, and the two sides caught sight of each other near [579] Yazaq. They sat opposite one another for a few days while the amirs rushed for reinforcements from Mirza Khalil-Sultan. The prince marched with four thousand cavalymen and, skirting Samarqand, camped in the village of Shîraz. When Khudadad learned of the prince's arrival he moved by night like the wind to Shîraz. At noon the next day he reached Mirza Khalil-Sultan, and war broke out. The Samarqandis were defeated, and Mirza Khalil-Sultan took refuge in the abandoned fort of Shîraz. At once Khudadad laid siege to the fort and overwhelmed the prince. He wrote out documents and ordered the prince to seal them so that he could send them wherever he wished and bring all of Transoxiana under his control. Mirza Khalil-Sultan was taken prisoner by Khudadad Husayni on

<sup>28</sup>*Qas̄d-i Tabrîz* = 813.

the 13th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 811 [March 30, 1409].

When the emperor heard the news in the Badghis summer quarters, he set out for there on the 21st, camping at the Oxus on the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 22].

Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, who was in Samarqand and supported the emperor, got himself to Bukhara, but Amir Khudadad had him pursued and dispersed his troops.

Shahrukh's train crossed the Oxus, and Mirza Mirak Ahmad and Mirza Sidi-Ahmad, who were in Hisar Shadman, hastened to join the imperial retinue, where they were royally welcomed. When the air of Khuzar was perfumed by the dust of the invincible imperial train, it was learned that Khudadad had fled to Mughulistan, taking Mirza Khalil-Sultan with him in chains. On the 20th of Dhu'l-Hijja [May 6<sup>29</sup>] Samarqand was elevated to glory by the advent of the emperor, and not only Mirza Muhammad Jahangir and the officials but high and low alike were honored to kiss the imperial carpet.

Meanwhile Nadayla<sup>30</sup> Tarkhan had been ordered by the emperor to go to Amir Khudadad to convince him to join the imperial retinue. Amir Khudadad replied, "I know that the imperial temperament is inclined to look upon me with favor, but apparently Shaykh Nuruddin's corruption will prevent him from doing so. If His Majesty wants me to gird my loins in sincere service, he must send [Nuruddin] in chains to me." When Mirza Shahrukh heard this improper reply he was angry. In Muharram 812 [May 1409] he proceeded from Samarqand to Mughulistan, whence he had sent as a vanguard some of the princes, Amir Shah Malik and Amir Ali Tarkhan.

<sup>29</sup>The 27th (May 13, 1409) according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 189).

<sup>30</sup>LDNYA in the text; Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 192) and Shami (*Zafarnama*, I, 96) have LDYNA; "Nadayla" is from Yazdi, *Zafarnama* and *Mu'izz al-ansab*.

During this time an event occurred that was stranger than anyone could have imagined. Amir Khudadad had sought aid from the ruler of Mughulistan, Muhammad Khan, who had appointed his brother Sham'-i Jahan to help him. When Khudadad learned of Sham'-i Jahan's approach, his hopes increased and he hastened to greet him. After the two had met, Sham'-i Jahan conferred with his counselors and said, "Khudadad is an ungrateful and faithless man. With all the favor and patronage he received from Amir Timur Kürägän, he has chosen to tread the path of ingratitude with the amir's sons. This is how he acts." [580] Then he decided to kill him and, with a blaze of his sharp sword, he burned the harvest of Khudadad's life, severing head from body. He sent the head to Amir Shah Malik, who returned with the other amirs of the vanguard and took Khudadad's head and that of his son Allahdad, who lived in Shahrukhiyya, to the royal camp, where they were received with infinite favor.

Then Amir Shaykh Nuruddin reported, "The Mughuls have entered Turkistan and are wreaking havoc. If the emperor commands, I will hasten there and repel their evil." The emperor gave him permission to withdraw immediately.

During all of this Mirza Mirak Ahmad, the son of Mirza Umar-Shaykh, was favored with the rule of Uzjand province.

#### MIRZA KHALIL-SULTAN JOINS THE EMPEROR'S RETINUE, AND PROVINCES AND STATES ARE ASSIGNED TO THE PRINCES

After Amir Khudadad was killed, Mirza Khalil-Sultan entered into an agreement with those who had been set to watch him and went to Alan Fort to join Amir Abdul-Khaliq, Amir Khudadad's son in Hisar. When this news reached the imperial hearing, Amir Shah Malik was dispatched thither with a group of warriors. The emperor himself set out for Samarqand, and Amir Shah Malik

reached the fort and laid siege. Mirza Khalil-Sultan sent him a message, saying, "Leave the way open for me to come through the pass to join Mirza Shahrūkh's retinue." Amir Shah Malik considered it best to withdraw from the siege and left for the imperial camp.

Meanwhile it became known that Amir Shaykh Nuruddin was thinking of rebelling. Therefore the emperor sent Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi and Tūkāl Qarqara to investigate why he was rebelling. They met with him and heard this answer: "The royal favors to me have been many. I am ashamed of shortcoming in my service and beg to be released from further service. When the invincible banners return from Transoxiana I shall hasten to kiss the imperial threshold."

At that point Mirza Khalil-Sultan came down from Alan Fort and joined Amir Shaykh Nuruddin. When Mawlana Qutbuddin and Tūkāl returned, they reported what Amir Shaykh Nuruddin had said. The emperor detected the aroma of rebellion in these words and turned his reins toward that place.

At Aqsulat Mirza Khalil-Sultan's old *nökār*, Yahyaka by name, came and represented the prince's fidelity. Showered with royal favor, he returned successful in his mission. Then Mirza Khalil-Sultan sent Yahyaka to make a pact with the emperor [581] to send whichever of the *noyans* he thought best so that Mirza Khalil-Sultan might hasten to his presence. The emperor swore in Yahyaka's presence, saying, "So long as I live I shall never make an attempt on my son Khalil-Sultan's life. I shall honor and respect him."

Amir Shah Malik, Amir Hasan Sufi Tarkhan and Amir Alika Kükältāsh were sent with Yahyaka to escort the prince to the throne. When the amirs reached the vicinity of Anzar, where Prince Khalil-Sultan and Amir Shaykh Nuruddin resided, Amir Shah Malik stopped at the river bank while Amir Hasan Sufi and

Amir Alika went on to Anzar. Prince Khalil-Sultan was given hopes of imperial favor, and they accompanied him to the imperial camp. At a place called Uzun Aq the prince was honored to kiss the imperial hand and seated in the assembly on the carpet of favor.

Immediately afterwards the emperor returned to Khurasan, giving the kingdom of Samarqand with its dependencies and tributaries to Mirza Ulughbeg Kūrāgān, to be assisted by Amir Shah Malik. The province of Hisar Shadman was given to Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir b. Mirza Muhammad-Sultan.

When the imperial train crossed the Oxus, Balkh was given to Mirza Abu'l-Fath Ibrahim-Sultan, and Mirza Qaydu was sent as governor of Kabul, Ghaznin and Qandahar.

The invincible banners crossed the vast distances speedily, reaching the capital on the 16th of Sha'ban 812 [December 24, 1409]. Several days later Mirza Khalil-Sultan's appointment was confirmed, and Amir Hamza Qutuqu, Beg Pulad, Khizr Sipahi, Sadr Hasan, Khwajagi and ten thousand men were assigned to the prince, who was told to go to Persian Iraq and reconquer what he could of the territories that had belonged to Mirza Miran-shah and Mirza Umar. Mirza Khalil-Sultan set out in obedience on the 17th of Dhu'l-Qa'da of that year [March 23, 1410].

#### AMIR SHAYKH NURUDDIN'S REVOLT, AND HOW HE WAS KILLED BY THE EMPEROR'S FELICITOUS ATTENTION

When he gave Samarqand to Mirza Ulughbeg, and Amir Ghiyathuddin Shah Malik was assigned to serve the prince, the emperor himself set out for Herat. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin then rallied the army of Turkistan and set out in all rancor and vengeance to take Samarqand. Amir Shah Malik came out of the city and stood against the enemy, but he was routed and took refuge in Aq Saraq

mountain between Kish and Samarqand. Amir Wafadar was taken prisoner by Amir Shaykh Nuruddin and put into chains. Thinking he would enter the city, the amir hastened to the city gates on Friday the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja 812 [April 11, 1410]. [582] The leaders of Samarqand, like Khwaja Isamuddin, Khwaja Abdul-Qadir, Khwaja Abdul-Awwal, Qazi Salahuddin, and the sons of Shaykhzada Saghrichī, made fast the city and prepared for siege, so Shaykh Nuruddin was forced to withdraw in disappointment to Tirmidh. He managed to flatter and cajole the governor of Hisar, Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir, into joining him, and he had Amir Wafadar killed.

When the emperor learned of Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's revolt, he left Herat with Mirza Baysunghur and set out on the 14th of Muharram 813 [May 18, 1410] for Transoxiana. Traversing the stages, he reached the Kilif crossing, and Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, who was waiting for the arrival of the imperial train, was honored to kiss the royal hand.

On Friday the 17th of Safar [June 21] the banners of the Invincible Army crossed the Oxus, and Mirza Mirak Ahmad and Amir Shah Malik also joined the exalted camp.

Amir Shaykh Nuruddin audaciously came forth and drew up his forces opposite the emperor in the vicinity of Qizil Ribat and Ab Yam. Just about then he began to suspect Amir Mubashshir, and an end was put to him.

Then the champions of the two armies drew their swords, arrows and daggers, and battle ensued. By the grace of God the breeze of victory and triumph blew through the emperor's banners, and Amir Shaykh Nuruddin stepped hurriedly into the valley of flight. This victory took place on Saturday, the 9th of Rabi' I [July 12, 1410]:

On Monday the 11th of that month the regal parasol spread its happy wings over Samarqand, and the emperor showed fa-

vor to the leaders of the city who had exerted such effort in defending the city. Amir Shah Malik was dispatched with a detachment in pursuit of Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, while the emperor retired to the capital, which he reached at the beginning of Rabi' II [August].

During that year the building of the *madrassa* and *khanaqah* opposite Ikhtiyaruddin Fort inside Herat was begun, and in a short time the elaborately decorated and beautiful edifice was completed. At that time too the Bagh-i Safed, which is to the northeast of Herat, was laid out.

At the beginning of 814 [April-May 1411] Mirza Umar-Shaykh b. Mirza Pir-Muhammad b. Mirza Umar-Shaykh arrived from Iraq and joined the ranks of the great princes.

Then news arrived from Transoxiana that Amir Shah Malik had returned to Samarqand from Turkistan with a great deal of booty. However, Amir Shaykh Nuruddin had sought assistance from Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Mughulistan, and a slight difference of opinion had occurred between Mirza Ulughbeg and Amir Shah Malik. The amir had gone yet again to Mughulistan<sup>31</sup> to repel the shaykh and it was not known what the end would be. Therefore the emperor set out again for Transoxiana, crossing the Oxus on the 21st of Jumada I [September 10, 1411] and riding without halt until he reached the Qashqa. There Mirza Ulughbeg and the nobles of Samarqand attained the honor of kissing the imperial carpet and were warmly received. Kan-i Gil was selected as the padishah's campsite.

Several days later Amir Shah [583] Malik arrived from Turkistan, bringing Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's head. The saga of his death is as follows.

When Amir Shah Malik went to Turkistan and reached the vicinity of Savran Fort, where Amir Shaykh Nuruddin was holed up, [Nuruddin] got nervous and

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<sup>31</sup>Text has Kurdistan (!).

sent a message to some of his amirs saying, "Do something so that a truce can be made between Amir Shah Malik and me."

The amirs spoke with Amir Shah Malik in this regard, and it was established that the two amirs would negotiate indirectly with each other. And this took place near Savran Fort the very next day. No matter how much Amir Shah Malik advised Amir Shaykh Nuruddin to withdraw from his stance of revolt and go to the court of world refuge, it was to no avail.

When the heat of the day became unbearable, Amir Shah Malik got up and said to Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, "Send us a tent and some food so that we can rest for a little while in the area." He withdrew a little way from the fort and stopped, while Amir Shaykh Nuruddin stood mounted by the fortress gate.

Amir Shah Malik said to Amir Musaka and Amir Dawlat Khwaja, "Go once more to that wretch and advise him that if he doesn't go on his own to the emperor, at least let him send one of his sons or brothers and then we'll have an excuse to leave." The amirs went to Amir Shaykh Nuruddin and began to deliberate with him.

While they were there, Amir Shah Malik inveigled Amir Harqudaq, an old friend of Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's, saying, "If you dare do today what I'm going to tell you, there is hope that the countenance of victory may show itself, and your name will go down in the annals of bravery and heroism forever."

Harqudaq replied, "I will willingly do whatever you say."

"Here is the best plan," Amir Shah Malik said. "When the amirs return from Shaykh Nuruddin, you go to him. Without doubt when he sees you he will call you over and embrace you. As you pull him down from his horse, we will join you and put an end to this affair."

Harqudaq accepted willingly and gladly to perform this treacherous act. After the amirs returned he put himself in Amir

Shaykh Nuruddin's sight, and the plan was agreeable to destiny: the amir called out, "Brother Harqudaq, come over here!" Harqudaq dismounted and knelt several times. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin leaned over from his horse to embrace him. Just as Harqudaq's arms encircled Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's neck, he pulled him from his horse with all his strength and threw him to the ground. Pinning him with a knee to the chest, he drew his sword. Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's body-guard, who were waiting mounted by the fortress gate, charged Amir Harqudaq. One of them brandished a sword at him, but Harqudaq sliced the man's horse's lip with his blade. Witnessing this, Amir Shah Malik whipped his horse into action and galloped with several warriors to where Amir Harqudaq was. When Harqudaq saw that help was on the way, he jumped up, and with one or two blows of his sword, Amir Shaykh Nuruddin's severed head rolled ignobly in the dust.

This marvelous thing happened through the power of His Imperial Majesty's fortune. Amir Shah Malik praised Harqudaq and rewarded him greatly. With such success he returned and attained the great felicity of joining the emperor at Kan-gil, [584] where he was encompassed by the rays of princely favor.

THE RETURN OF THE VICTORIOUS  
BANNERS FROM TRANSOXIANA TO  
HERAT, AND SEVERAL OTHER EVENTS  
THAT TOOK PLACE

When the world-conquering emperor's mind was at ease concerning Amir Shaykh Nuruddin and the consolidation of Turkistan and Transoxiana, he assigned Amir Shah Malik to the imperial train and set out for the capital. After his arrival in Herat, Her Highness Tūmān Agha, who had been married after the Sahib-Qiran's death to Amir Shaykh Nuruddin, followed from Savran to Herat. His Majesty received her with honor and respect and assigned her as fief the

town of Kusuya, where until today the monuments of her charity may be seen.

On the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 814 [February 22, 1412] the emperor bound himself with the pilgrim's garb to circumambulate the angelic shrine of the Martyr of Khurasan, the pure Imam Ali [Riza b.] Musa b. Ja'far [b.] Muhammad-Baqir, where he gladdened the hearts of the noble custodians, exalted sayyids, and all the others in residence with various gifts and beneficence. This done, he returned to Herat.

On Friday the 10th of Muharram 815 [April 22, 1412] the royal train reached Bagh-i Zaghan, and just at that time the emissaries of the Emperor of China Dayming Khan arrived and presented letters from that emperor, which were written in various languages and contained expressions of greetings and well-wishing and special good wishes for Mirza Khalil-Sultan. His Imperial Majesty received the emissaries favorably and ordered the princes and amirs to give them a feast.

Meanwhile, Malik Qutbuddin, the governor of Sistan who had formerly been hand in glove with Mirza Aba-Bakr but who had fled from the blood-thirsty falcon of the imperial army, approached the court of world refuge, relying upon the emperor's generosity, and apologized and sought pardon for his weakness and shortcomings. He accepted to pay a fine, and the padishah disregarded his faults, reinstating him in favor with the rule of Sistan. He also dealt with the matters of the Chinese emissaries and sent Shaykh Muhammad [Ba]khshī to accompany them.<sup>32</sup>

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS IN  
THE PROVINCE OF KHWARAZM, WHICH  
ENTERS THE IMPERIAL DOMAIN  
WITHOUT BATTLE OR BLOODSHED

It is recorded in the pages of *Matla'-i sa'dayn*<sup>33</sup> that when Amir Timur Kürägän died, the rule of Khwarazm was held by Amir Musaka. In Rajab [585] of 808 [December–January 1405] Amir Edigü, who was the commander-in-chief of the padishah of Qipchaq Steppe, Shadi Khan, raised his banners and set out to conquer that province. When Amir Musaka fled to Transoxiana, Amir Edigü left Amir Engä as prince of the region and returned to the steppe.

During 811 [1408], when Shadi Khan died, Pulad Khan became sultan of the Uzbeks. Amir Edigü recalled Amir Engä and sent Buqulcha in his stead.

Pulad Khan died in 813 [1410], and Temür Khan b. Temür Qutlugh, who then became the ruler of the Qipchaq Steppe, attacked Edigü, who fled to Khwarazm.

At the beginning of 814 [1411] Dakna and Ghazan came to the vicinity of that city and besieged Edigü. After six months of besieging Khwarazm, the news was heard that Jalaluddin, the son of Toqtamışh Khan, had defeated Temür Khan and assumed the throne. Contemporary with the spread of this news, the unfortunate Temür joined Dakna and Ghazan and kept them occupied with drinking wine. [Jalaluddin] ordered one of his *nökärs*, named Jan Khwaja, to kill Temür, and since Jalaluddin was then under an obligation to Ghazan, he sent out an edict, saying, "Ghazan is one of our chosen. The amirs of Khwarazm must not disobey his orders."

Ghazan made peace with Edigü and withdrew to the steppe. Along the way he encountered Qachulay Bahadur in Buluqiya and reviled him, saying, "Why have you withdrawn without conquering Khwarazm?" He replied, "We besieged Edigü for seven months with ten thousand men and got nowhere; therefore we retired. It would behoove you to do likewise because you will never be able to

<sup>32</sup>See Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 131.

<sup>33</sup>Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 136–39.

conquer it with the three or four thousand men you have." Qachulay said, "Alone I shall overcome Edigü." And with all conceit he went to the borders of Khwarazm. Edigü met him, and a fierce battle broke out between the two sides. As determined by fate, Qachulay bit the dust of annihilation.

In the year 815 [1412–13] His Imperial Majesty assigned Amir Alikä Kükältäsh, Amir Ilyas Khwaja and Amir Musaka to conquer Khwarazm. At that time Edigü's son Mubarakshah was the padishah of that region. When the amirs approached Khwarazm, peace was discussed and the Khwarazmians sent tribute. However, in the meantime, Amir Ilyas Khwaja's *nökärs* had gone to one of the districts of the region and killed many people and took others prisoner. For this reason the people of Khwarazm determined to fight. Commoners and nobles alike came out and fought bravely all day until evening. That night the drums proclaimed the good tidings that Amir Edigü had arrived. Hearing this, some of the amirs abandoned their goods and betook themselves to Khurasan.

The emperor was disturbed at this news and again sent Amir Sayyid-Ali Tarkhan and Amir Shah Malik to conquer the region. When they had camped in the vicinity of Khwarazm, Edigü's son became apprehensive of the nobles of the area because of the tyranny he had done to the subjects, and fled.

The sayyids, ulema and grandees went out to welcome Amir Shah Malik and turn the keys of the city over to him. He entered the city and within a few days had consolidated affairs and laid the foundations for justice and equity. When that task was finished, he set out [586] for Herat. Then the emperor assigned the province of Khwarazm and its dependencies to the amir, and until the end of Shahrukh's reign that province was under Amir Shah Malik's and Sultan-Ibrahim's control.

#### A MENTION OF MIRZA RUSTAM AND MIRZA ISKANDAR; MIRZA KHALIL- SULTAN PASSES ON TO GOD'S MERCY

When Mirza Iskandar had consolidated Fars, his ambitious mind began to think of conquering the provinces of Persian Iraq. He sent Amir Abdul-Samad and Amir Siddiq to Isfahan, and they went to Warzana and made fast the fortress there. Mirza Rustam attacked the fortress and laid siege. When Mirza Iskandar learned of this, he sent a detachment under Amir Tüläk and Amir Yusuf Khalil to assist those under siege. Learning of the approach of the Shirazis, Mirza Rustam went out to meet them. Having insufficient force to resist, the detachment took refuge in Dastjird Fort.

Meanwhile, Mirza Bayqara, who was on his way to Shiraz, reached Iraq, and Mirza Rustam persuaded him to join forces with him, and the two brothers together laid siege to Dastjird. Suddenly news came that Mirza Iskandar had reached Qasr-i Zard, so Mirza Rustam went to Isfahan and Mirza Iskandar set out in pursuit of him. The two mighty padishahs met three parasangs from the city, and after a skirmish Mirza Rustam fled to Isfahan while Mirza Iskandar camped in Atashgah.

Mirza Rustam requested assistance from Mirza Khalil-Sultan, who had come to Rayy. He set out for Isfahan. No matter how many envoys he sent to Mirza Iskandar to sue for truce, it was useless. Despairing of him, all at once he entered Isfahan. During that time fierce battles took place between the Shirazis and the Isfahanis, and within Isfahan drought and inflation had reached a crisis point. Mirza Rustam abandoned the city and set out for Qara Yusuf's camp, while Mirza Khalil-Sultan remained under siege for a few days.

Meanwhile a detachment of Kurdish and Shul [?] soldiers, without Mirza Iskandar's permission, left for Shiraz,

and Mirza Iskandar too abandoned the siege and retired to his own region.

Within Isfahan famine and deprivation had escalated to such an extent that Mirza Khalil-Sultan tired of defending the city and ordered a retreat. When Mirza Rustam reached the outskirts of Tabriz, Amir Qara Yusuf came out ten parasangs to meet him and hosted regal feasts. Mirza Rustam too presented appropriate gifts, and the two padishahs deliberated together on how to organize their affairs. [587] Amir Qara Yusuf was inclined to give Mirza Rustam a section of Azerbaijan as a fief so that they might join forces and attack Syria. Mirza Rustam, however, did not agree, insisting upon returning to Isfahan. Amir Qara Yusuf ordered a troop of Turcoman cavalry to accompany Mirza Rustam to Isfahan. Along the way the Turcomans turned back, and Mirza Rustam continued to Isfahan with his personal troops. Khwaja Ahmad Sâ'idi met the prince's train, and he entered the city, where he stayed for two months with ease of mind. Since Khwaja Ahmad was making decisions contrary to the prince's will, he was put to Mirza Rustam's sword of execution. For this reason the nobles of Isfahan wiped clean their love for the prince from their hearts, and he realized that it was impolitic to remain there. Accompanied by Mirza Bayqara, he set out for Khurasan and attained the honor of kissing the imperial hand at the end of 814 [March–April 1412].

Thereafter Mirza Iskandar became the ruler of all of Fars and Persian Iraq with Isfahan as his seat. Meanwhile Mirza Khalil-Sultan fell ill in Rayy, where he died on the 16th of Rajab 814 [November 3, 1411]. When His Imperial Majesty heard, he was greatly bereaved, and scarcely had the wound of this loss healed when Mirza Khalil's mother, Khanzada, passed away in Mashhad. She was laid to rest in the shrine of Imam Riza.

No sooner does one scar heal than another is burned.

THE BANNERS OF THE RISING SUN SET OUT FOR AZERBAIJAN AND IRAQ, AND NEWS ARRIVES OF THE REBELLION OF ISKANDAR'S MINIONS

From the time that the late Mirza Miranshah was martyred in battle by Amir Qara Yusuf the Turcoman, His Imperial Majesty constantly contemplated how to take revenge on these opponents, but none of these thoughts was translated into action. During the year 816<sup>34</sup> the imperial mind was at ease concerning the provinces of Transoxiana and Khurasan, but as news of Amir Qara Yusuf's subjugation of Azerbaijan, Arran and Arabian Iraq and dependencies repeatedly reached the emperor's hearing, he decided to set out for that region. The mighty *tovachīs* moved to gather the armies of the protected realms from all directions, and an army as numerous as raindrops, all armed with sword and spear, having been collected, the finial of the invincible banner [588] was raised in Herat on the 18th of Rajab [October 14, 1413] for Mazandaran.

Arriving in Nishapur, His Imperial Majesty wrote a letter to Mirza Iskandar as follows: "The exalted banners are proceeding to Azerbaijan to repel Qara Yusuf the Turcoman's sedition, and it is incumbent upon my dear son to follow in the path of unity and harmony and join the royal train with the armies of Fars and Iraq in the vicinity of Rayy."<sup>35</sup> At the Jurjan winter quarters Abu-Sa'id Malik was appointed to deliver the message to Isfahan. The rulers of Mazandaran, Hazar Jarib and Gilan who had joined the retinue were inundated with favor and

<sup>34</sup>The text has, in figures, 819, clearly a misprint. See Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 143.

<sup>35</sup>Full text of the letter is given in Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 144–45.



beneficence and given permission to withdraw. When Abu-Sa'id reached Isfahan and delivered His Majesty's letter to Mirza Iskandar, the prince thought that the emperor was actually moving against his realm using Azerbaijan as a pretext, and therefore, heedless of the wisdom of the dictum, "Some suspicions are sinful," he gave Abu-Sa'id harsh replies and sent one of his *nökärs* back with him. Abu-Sa'id took Mirza Iskandar's *nökär* to the imperial court at winter quarters in Mazanderan, where he delivered the answer he had been given. His Majesty did not pay much attention to those words and said, "If our son Mirza Iskandar cannot come himself on the Azerbaijan campaign, let him send his army." So saying, he dismissed the *nökär*. However, after the return of the *nökär*, Mirza Iskandar made clear his revolt against the padishah by deleting Shahrukh's name from the *khutba* within his realm and issuing coinage in his own name. He sent edicts with emissaries to all parts of the provinces of Qandahar, Kabul, Ghaznin and Sistan and called upon the rulers of those areas to obey him. The seal on his orders contained this device: "Regent of Muslims, Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, Sultan Iskandar: of his command, which is to be obeyed..."

Malik Qutbuddin, the ruler of Sistan, threw Mirza Iskandar's emissary, whose name was Kafi Islam, into chains and sent him along with the letter to Mirza Soyurghatmish, who was then his father's deputy in Herat. Mirza Soyurghatmish forwarded the letter to the royal camp, and consequently Mirza Iskandar's rebellion was known for certain. His Imperial Majesty cancelled the campaign to Azerbaijan and, at the beginning of spring, send Mirza Baysunghur to Herat and set forth himself for Rayy on the 14th of Muharram 817 [April 5, 1414].

When Rayy became the camp ground for the invincible army, a group of Mirza Iskandar's *nökärs* fled to the court of

world refuge and reported that Prince Iskandar had assigned a company of amirs and soldiers to besiege Sawa.

As it happened, while the imperial train was camped in Mazanderan for the winter, Nasrullah Sahrai of Sawa sent a messenger to the court begging to be made prefect. As this request was acceptable, one of the attendants of Shahrukh's court went to Sawa. When Mirza Iskandar heard of this, he assigned Amir Yusuf Khalil, Cholpanshah Barlas, Buyan Qauchin, Abdullah Parwanachī and Sa'dullah to take Sawa. When the emperor learned from Mirza Iskandar's *nökärs* that those men were headed for Sawa, [589] he assigned Amir Hasan Sufi Tarkhan, Dawlat Khwaja, Amir Jahanshah Inaq and Amir Chaharshamba ten thousand cavalymen to reinforce Nasrullah and the subjects of Sawa. When Mirza Iskandar's amirs became aware of this force, they took counsel amongst themselves and, forgetting their pact and promises to Mirza Iskandar, went as sincere supporters to the amirs of the emperor's vanguard and joined the imperial camp. Buyan Qauchin, Abdullah Parwanachī and Sa'dullah were graciously received in the vicinity of Shahryar Fort, and the royal train hastened to Sawa. When Amir Hasan Sufi, Amir Sayyid-Ali and the rest of Mirza Iskandar's officers were brought to the imperial presence, His Majesty was merciful and gracious to them.

In the delightful atmosphere of Sawa His Majesty enjoyed a hunt, and then the world-conquering banners were raised in the direction of Isfahan.

#### THE ARRIVAL OF THE INVINCIBLE TRAIN AT ISFAHAN, AND SOME OF THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED AT THAT TIME

When the emperor had finished hunting in Sawa, the falcon of his exalted mind took flight to hunt territory, and he concentrated his attention upon the Isfahan campaign. After traversing many stages,

Bagh-i Rustam, which is within two parasangs of Isfahan, became the envy of the Garden of Iram because of the padishah's arrival. Shaykh-Muhammad, a relative of Amir Abbas, and Shaykh-Ali Qazaq fled from Mirza Iskandar with around three hundred mounted men and were received by the emperor. Some of the clansmen and nomads of that region also came to the royal camp and were enrolled among the imperial servants.

Mirza Iskandar, beginning to worry when he realized this, met with his amirs and counsellors. All were of the opinion that the fire of battle should be kindled, and so with an army as innumerable as raindrops from the clouds they set out from Isfahan to the field.

The emperor issued a command to face the enemy, and the army turned towards Isfahan, churning like the sea and roaring like thunder. After battle lines were arrayed but before swords were brought into play, Mirza Iskandar gazed upon the imperial troops and realized that he was not able to withstand the emperor, and therefore he and his generals of Fars and Iraq turned their backs on the battle and fled to Isfahan, pursued by the heroes of the Shahrūkhid army, who cut down many of them. With much guile Mirza Iskandar managed to get himself into the city. On the 14th<sup>36</sup> of Rabi' I [June 3, 1414] the emperor commanded the army to make encampment outside of Isfahan and [590] lay siege to the city.

When news of this reached Shiraz, the district and quarter chiefs joined with Mirza Iskandar's prefect Shaykh-Muhammad Sariq<sup>37</sup> and had the *khutba* read and coins struck in Shahrūkh's name. Mirza Iskandar's son, Mirza Abdul-Samad's children, Shaykh Yasaul, Yusuf Qorchī and Darab, who were all trusted men at Iskandar's court, were

seized, and this good service was reported to the emperor. His Imperial Majesty was glad when he heard the news and assigned Būktā<sup>38</sup> Bakhshī and Lutfullah Buyan Temür to take charge of the fiscal affairs of Fars. Hasan Sufi Tarkhan and Cholpanshah Barlas were dispatched to bring Mirza Iskandar's son and Mirza Abdul-Samad's children. Several days later Būktā Bakhshī returned from Shiraz, reporting that Amir Lutfullah, imagining that Amir Cholpanshah Barlas was going to rebel, had put him to death. His Majesty removed the stupid Lutfullah and Būktā Bakhshī from that post and sent Sayyid-Ali Tarkhan in their place, ordering him to ascertain the reason for Cholpanshah's murder.

His Imperial Majesty spent fifty days besieging Isfahan, and plead as he might Mirza Iskandar was not inclined to come into obedience. On the 2nd of Jumada I 817 [July 20, 1414] he initiated an all-out offensive, and as the invincible armored warriors emerged, golden trumpets and clarions sent a reverberation to the celestial spheres and a tremor through the earth.

The beat of the drums and war cries made the  
celestial sphere put cotton in its ears.

From within the city also came innumerable armed warriors, and both sides wielded their bows and arrows, swords and spears. Finally it came to hand-to-hand combat, and commanders' heads rolled on the field.

Commanders' heads fallen into the dust,  
warriors' sides split.

From the time the Jamshid sun rose over the roof of the turquoise-studded fortress of heaven until the dark stars of night attacked the chameleon world, both armies wielded the sword and poured bitter draughts over each other. The plain took

<sup>36</sup>HS has the 4th; 14th from Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 216.

<sup>37</sup>Sariq per Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 217; HS has Sawa.

<sup>38</sup>Būktā (?): HS has N.kba; Fasihi has B.kta.

on the aspect of mountains and hillocks with the wounded and dead, and Isfahan's Zindarud flowed with the hue of anemonies from the blood of the slain. In the end the lot of victory fell to the attendants of the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the earth, and the breeze of imperial victory and triumph began to blow calamity into the banners of Mirza Iskandar, whose troops were routed. Mirza Iskandar himself, with a group of his closest officers and supporters, entered the citadel of Isfahan. The victorious soldiers put ladders against the city walls, and after the Anatolian Turk of day fled to the west, torches were lit as they dealt with the city walls. In the meantime Amir Abdul-Samad fled from the city and joined the emperor. With that Mirza Iskandar lost his resolve and fled.

The next morning, when the coins of the sky were plundered with the arrival of the shining sun, the victorious soldiers poured into Isfahan and began to pillage and loot. So much gold, jewels, precious textiles and rare commodities fell into their hands that the tumult of greed in their hearts was quelled by the vastness of that wealth, and the great value of the [591] booty closed the gates of need in their minds. Mirza Shahrukh sent a company of soldiers in pursuit of Mirza Iskandar. They caught him and brought him to the foot of the sublime throne. It was ordered that he be entrusted to Mirza Rustam, who, casting the dust of perfidy into the eye of humane feeling, had a fiery needle drawn across his brother's world-seeing eye.

Better to be deaf and dumb than to hear and  
speak this.

“God does what he wills and commands  
what he wishes.”

PROVINCIAL RULE IS TRANSFERRED TO  
THE PRINCES, AND THE VICTORIOUS  
BANNERS RETURN TO HERAT

When the sun of victory loomed over the horizon of desire, Isfahan entered the domain of the emperor's conquest. The wings of safety and security were spread over the heads of the inhabitants of that area, and the emperor donated one hundred thousand Kepeki dinars to shrines for the poor and needy. He also forgave the subjects of the province one third of that year's taxes.

He made Mirza Rustam the governor of Iraq and favored Mirza Bayqara, the son of Umar-Shaykh Mirza, with the rule of Hamadan, Qila', Burujird, Nihawand and Luristan. Mirza Ejil, the son of Mirza Miranshah, was ordered to govern Rayy, and Qum and its dependencies were given to Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas. The princes' ears were ornamented with pearls of good advice from the emperor, and when his mind was at ease concerning Iraq, the victorious banners were spread and flew toward Shiraz, to which Solomonic capital Amir Mizrab was assigned as governor. As fate would have it, the amir was stricken with an illness the physicians were unable to treat, and the bird of his spirit, breaking free of the cage of the body, took wing to the ghostly world. The emperor showered the bereaved with infinite favor and turned the reins of the governorship of Fars over to the powerful grasp of Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan. He counseled that darling of the caliphate and world rule to lay the foundations of justice and good maintenance of the subjects and then turned his reins from Fars to Yazd. From there he went via the Quhistan desert road and on the 22nd of Rajab [October 7, 1414] reached Herat, where the gates of magnanimity and justice were opened to the inhabitants of that region. After that manifestation of justice and equity arrived, the noble rulers and heads of all factions in the capital rushed like fortune and felicity to the threshold of the state, where they were received with graciousness and stood in their stations praising the emperor. Amir

Bistam Chakir, who had turned away from Qara Yusuf, Tajuddawla, Amir Gayomarth Rustamdari's brother, and Nasrullah Sahrai of Sawa were among that group.

During those same days Sayyid Abdul-Malik Mukannif, brother of Sayyid Abdul-Latif, arrived at court from Mecca, [592] bringing from the *wali* of that blessed place a letter full of manifestations of love and affection.

CERTAIN SITUATIONS IN TRANSOXIANA  
AND TURKISTAN; MIRZA ULUGHBEG  
KÜRÄGÄN COMES TO THE IMPERIAL  
THRESHOLD

While the emperor was in Isfahan, Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän sent a messenger from Samarqand to summon Mirza Mirak Ahmad, who was ruling in Uzjand. Mirza Mirak Ahmad made some displeasing excuses to avoid coming, and Ulughbeg sent Amir Bayazid Parwanachī, one of his close companions, on the mission to Uzjand. Amir Bayazid returned no more successful than the former emissary, so Mirza Ulughbeg set out for Andigan, and Mirza Mirak Ahmad fortified the fortresses of that area and took refuge in inaccessible mountains. Mirza Ulughbeg took Hasi Fort and, entrusting it to Payanda Bäkäül, continued on toward Andigan. When he arrived it was ascertained that Mirza Mirak Ahmad had established a foothold that was impossible to take, so Mirza Ulughbeg withdrew, stationing Amir Musaka, Amir Muhammad Taban and Amir Ali Qauchin with a company of soldiers in that province. When Mirza Mirak Ahmad learned of Mirza Ulughbeg's retreat, he came down from the mountains, and the amirs hastened to the steppe from Andigan to do battle with him. Suddenly Mirza Mirak Ahmad attacked them, and most of the leaders were cast into the dust of annihilation with blows of the sword. The remnants of the troops got themselves to Andigan fort and secured the areas

around the tower and walls. Mirza Mirak Ahmad besieged them for a few days, but when he realized that it was impossible to win, he withdrew.

When the news of the imperial arrival in Herat spread through Transoxiana, Mirza Ulughbeg set out for Khurasan to join his father. On the 12th of Ramadan [November 25, 1414] he reached the threshold of the sultanate and was honored with much favor. After passing a few days in luxury and ease, he was permitted to retire. During those same days the rays of light of imperial favor shone upon Mirza Bay-sunghur, who was given the provinces of Tus and Holy Mashhad, Abiward, Sam-alqan, Jarmaqan, Khabushan, Nasa, Yarz, Astarabad, Shamasan and Kabud Jama with all their dependencies and appendages.

In the year 818 [1415] the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the globe turned his attention to repairing the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, which the late Sahib-Qiran had destroyed while conquering Herat. In a short time that celestial citadel was completed as it can be seen today. It is mentioned in *Matla'-i sa'dayn* that seven hundred thousand men labored to complete the fortress,<sup>39</sup> but God knows best. [593]

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE EVENTS  
THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE PROVINCES  
OF IRAQ AND FARS AFTER THE EM-  
PEROR'S RETURN, AND HIS MAJESTY'S  
PROCEEDING A SECOND TIME TO SHIRAZ  
UNDER GOD'S PROTECTION

One of the events that took place after the return of the sublime banners from Iraq and Fars is as follows. Mirza Ejil, who was the governor of the province of Rayy, fell ill and died at the end of Muharram 818 [April 1415]. When the news reached Herat, His Imperial Majesty showed favor to Mirza Elängir and dispatched him with Amir Yusuf Khwaja,

<sup>39</sup>Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 174.

Amir Ghiyathuddin and Ajab Sher to take over the rule of Rayy and secure the borders of Azerbaijan.

Another thing that happened was that the Turcoman Amir Qara Yusuf raised his campaign banners to conquer Sultaniyya Fort, and Amir Bistam Chakir,<sup>40</sup> who was then commanding the fortress by imperial order, fled to Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas in Qum. The foolish prince put Amir Bistam in chains and sent a report to the throne. The pure-minded emperor was not pleased by Bistam Chakir's imprisonment, and he sent a threatening letter commanding that he be released. However, Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas disregarded the order. Leaving Qutlugh Khwaja in Qum with the baggage train, he took Bistam to Amir Qara Yusuf and was received with great honor and favor, greedy as Qara Yusuf was to get hold of Persian Iraq. He set Bistam free and restored him to favor. He sent his son Akhi Farrukh,<sup>41</sup> with a company of Turcomans to Qum to transport Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas's wife, Agha Begi, the daughter of Mirza Miranshah, to Azerbaijan. When Akhi Farrukh arrived in Qum, Agha Begi, an intelligent woman, said to herself, "Sa'd-Waqqas has done a terrible thing in disobeying Mirza Shahrukh's command and going to Qara Yusuf, who is known to be an enemy of this house. Qara Yusuf may soon make an attempt on his life, and we will wind up captive amongst the Turcomans." So saying, she armed her *nökärs*, had all the Turcomans seized, killed them along with Temür Shaykh, Qutlugh Khwaja, Shaykh-[Hasan Zinda<sup>42</sup> and Shaykh]-Ali Zinda, who were the ones who had enticed

Mirza Sa'd-Waqqas to go over to Qara Yusuf, and sent their heads to the emperor [by her *nökär* Sherzad] to explain the situation to him. Mirza Shahrukh was amazed at that lioness's manliness and showed favor to her emissaries. He also wrote threatening letters to Qum.

Were all women like this one, women would  
be superior to men.

Another thing that happened was as follows. Prince Bayqara, the ruler of Hamadan, Nihawand and Burujird, was instigated to rebel by his brother Mirza Iskandar, who lived under the shadow of his favor after being blinded. Dreaming of conquering Shiraz, he mustered two or three thousand soldiers and set out. Mirza Rustam learned of this affair [from Iskandar's *nökär* Murad Telbä<sup>43</sup>] and dispatched a company of Isfahan troops to block the brothers' way. [594] They encountered them near Jurbadiqan, and as fate ordained, Mirza Iskandar was taken captive by Ulus Beg and Asil [Beg]. These two took him to Mirza Rustam to hold prisoner. For this reason Mirza Bayqara left the arrow of his intent in the quiver of patience and the sword of endeavor in the scabbard of opposition, and he spent a few days in Kunduman. When the news of Mirza Bayqara's rebellion reached Shiraz, Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan put Mirza Iskandar's *nökärs* in Shiraz—like Sevinch Khwaja, Ardawan and Muzid—in chains and sent them off to Khurasan with a trusted servant. The prisoners killed their guards and hastened to Kunduman, where they said to Mirza Bayqara:

"World conquest does not endure patience."

Once again Mirza Bayqara went to Shiraz, and Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan gathered his forces and went out to meet him. They clashed in the vicinity of Bayza, and battle

<sup>40</sup>An early supporter of Qara Yusuf Qaraqoyunlu, Amir Bistam Chakir took Sultaniyya in 810 and again in 811. Later he turned Sultaniyya over to Shahrukh, retaining his post as warden of the fort (*Mujmal*, pp. 211, 215).

<sup>41</sup>Or Akhi Faraj, as in Fasihi (*Mujmal*, p. 221).

<sup>42</sup>Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 221.

<sup>43</sup>Fasihi, *Mujmal*, p. 221.

was enjoined with the left, right and center arrayed. In the first assault Mirza Ibrahim's left and right flanks annihilated Mirza Bayqara's left and right. However, Amir Abu-Sa'id Khing [?], who was in command of the right, turned during the retreat and galloped to the center, where he joined the prince, and Mirza Bayqara bravely and courageously spurred the steed of agility beside the aforementioned amir and charged the Shirazi center. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan was incapable of withstanding that attack and withdrew to Abarquh. Mirza Bayqara set off for his father's capital in triumph, and entered Shiraz in glory at the end of Rabi' I 818 [June 1415], where he raised the banners of revelry and pleasure. Goblets of crimson wine were poured by rose-cheeked cupbearers. After hearing the news, Mirza Rustam had Mirza Iskandar, who had fomented the strife, executed.

When the emperor learned of the events in Fars and Iraq, he rightly discerned that before Mirza Bayqara grew any stronger he would have to take Fars from his control. Therefore he commanded the army to be mustered, and on the 17th of Jumada II [August 24] the world-conquering banners were raised and the cry for the imperial train to move echoed beneath the celestial dome.

No matter how often Mirza Bayqara's amirs warned him of the emperor's approach so that he would stop drinking and carousing and pay attention to the necessary battle arrangements and prepare for siege, it was to no avail. He only answered, "The emperor is too magnificent a padishah to lead an army himself to this region to take Shiraz. Any amir or prince he may send will be routed by the mere sight of the sun's reflection on our army's spears." But on the 3rd of Ramadan [November 6] the final atop the standard, of the emperor of the seven climes rose over the Allahu Akbar Hill, and Mirza Bayqara was undone. After some reflection, he sent Amir Abu-Sa'id

Khing to Mirza Baysunghur and begged him to intercede with the emperor to forgive his offenses. Since Mirza Baysunghur was very fond of that audacious prince, he accepted the charge and immediately took Amir Abu-Sa'id to the court of world refuge and spoke in intercession. In order to placate Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur [595] drew a line of forgiveness through the record of Mirza Bayqara's crimes and showed favor to Amir Abu-Sa'id. He swore that when the prince came out he would be clement and gracious to him. Successful in his mission, Amir Abu-Sa'id arose from before the throne and went as far as the door, then he turned, knelt and said, "It is hoped that if the servants of the respected one intend to take revenge upon Mirza Bayqara, they will punish me first." Once again the emperor repeated his compassionate words, and Amir Abu-Sa'id turned and left the royal assembly with peace of mind. When he was gone His Majesty said, "Why should anyone who has ten servants like this fellow not think of independence?"

In short, after Amir Abu-Sa'id's return on Friday evening the 5th of Ramadan [November 8] Mirza Bayqara left Shiraz and went to Mirza Baysunghur's quarters. The next day Mirza Baysunghur took him to court, and the emperor, as promised, exposed the prince to no retribution, but he did send him in the company of some trusted men to Mirza Qaydu in Qandahar to live under house arrest.

Once again, through the watchful favor of the Almighty, Shiraz entered the dominion of the exalted emperor, who stayed there until the end of Ramadan. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan was showered with favor, and the reins of provincial governorship were again given into his powerful hands. The rule of Qum, Kashan, Rayy and Rustamdar up to the borders of Gilan was given to Amir Ilyas Khwaja Bahadur, and the amirs and rulers of

those regions were given permission to depart. The emperor himself set out for Kerman.

ON THE DEATHS OF SEVERAL PRINCES,  
AND MIRZA BAYSUNGHUR'S ASSUMP-  
TION OF THE POST OF AMIR-DIVAN

When the exalted emperor returned from the Fars campaign and mounted the throne of splendor and awe [mid-Muharram 819/mid-March 1416], Mirza Mirak Ahmad, who had formerly rebelled against Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, had killed a group of *noyans* in Andigan. Relying on the just emperor's generosity, he hastened to the capital Herat and was shown infinite favor and became friendly with Mirza Elängir, the son of Mirza Aba-Bakr. These two princes conspired to rebel against His Majesty the emperor, but a tale-bearer reported it.

At the same time an emissary from Mirza Qaydu arrived at the court of world refuge and presented a report, the contents of which were as follows: "Mirza Bayqara, in collusion with a group of evil doers, made an assassination attempt on me. I have therefore seized him and am holding him fast to carry out whatever is commanded." His Imperial Majesty ordered Mirza Qaydu to send Mirza Bayqara across the River Indus and let him go wherever he wanted.

Mirza Mirak Ahmad set out for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Mirza Elängir chose to board a ship for a sea voyage. Several trusty men were ordered to accompany these two princes to insure that they complied with orders. These two "went such that there was no return."

In order to placate Mirza Baysunghur, who was a good friend of Mirza Bayqara, Mirza Qaydu did not send the prince across the Indus. In the year 820 [1417], when the exalted emperor set out for Qandahar, he sent him to the royal camp, and His Imperial Majesty dispatched the prince with a company of trusted men to Samarqand. He was never heard of again.

When the all-conquering emperor had pruned the thorns and brambles of corruption from the garden of the sultanate and adorned the throne of the *amir-divan* with the noble Ghiyathuddin Mirza Baysunghur, a royal command was issued to the effect that this sapling of the imperial garden should sit every day in the divan and decide cases impartially and dispense justice to the oppressed in accordance with the royal dictum, "Judge rightly among people." [597]

Respond to the cries of the oppressed, and sympathize with those seeking justice.

Mirza Baysunghur accepted Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur's command, and the gardens of religion and the state, watered from the cloud of his justice, once again turned verdant, and the sapling of the kingdom and subjects once more flourished from the brilliant light of his mercy.

The garden of the kingdom blossomed through the glory of his fortune....

MIRZA SHAHRUKH BAHADUR IS  
STABBED IN THE CONGREGATIONAL  
MOSQUE AT HERAT BY AHMAD THE LUR

His Majesty, who was most particular in attending to his religious duties and works of supererogation, spent all his free time in the performance of various acts of religious devotion, assisting most Fridays at the congregational mosque, where he rubbed the forehead of needfulness on the ground of devotion and raised the banner of intimate conversation with the deity to petition his needs.

On Friday the 23rd of Rabi' II 830 [February 21, 1427], having performed the prayer at the congregational mosque outside the city of Herat, he was mounting to leave the prayer-place when a man wearing a shepherd's cloak, Ahmad the Lur, a disciple of Mawlana Fazlullah Astarabadi, appeared on the roadside in

the guise of a plaintiff holding a paper in his hand. His Majesty said to one of those nearby, "See what this person has to say." And Ahmad the Lur, seizing the opportunity, rushed fearlessly and plunged a knife into His Majesty's stomach. However, as the Omnipotent was protecting the blessed person of the auspicious emperor, the knife did not inflict a serious wound or touch the vital organs. Ali-Sultan Qurchin obtained permission to kill that accursed one and immediately despatched him.

Amir Alikā [Kükältāsh] and Amir [Jalaluddin] Firozshah [616] were waiting mounted at the mosque, and the *naqarachis* had begun the *naqara* as usual, when suddenly they heard the dreadful news and ceased what they were doing, at which the people were overcome by perplexity and astonishment. His Majesty summoned Amir Firozshah, who rode posthaste to the mosque. When he realized that the wound was not serious, he loosened his tongue in thanksgiving to the Gracious Protector. His Majesty was inclined to sit in the litter, but Amir Firozshah objected, saying, "If the people do not see Your Majesty on horseback, they will doubt whether you are alive or dead, and grave sedition will ensue." Therefore with His Majesty mounted and the drums being beaten, His Majesty proceeded through the marketplace to the Bagh-i Zaghan. The physicians and surgeons treated the wound, and within a few days it had healed completely. As a chronogram, a litterateur composed the following:

The year was eight hundred and thirty, on a Friday after the prayers, when a very strange event occurred in Khurasan in the city of Herat. Someone moving as crookedly across the board as the queen tried to take the king's rook (*shah rukh*).

After this strange occurrence, when Mirza Baysunghur and the amirs began an inquiry into the affairs of Ahmad the

Lur, they regretted that he had been killed. Among his effects they found a key that opened the door in a commercial establishment. The people of the building said that a person fitting his description made felt caps there, and many learned people came to him, among them Mawlana Ma'ruf the calligrapher.

This Mawlana Ma'ruf was possessed of great learning and skill, renowned for his calligraphy and wit, well spoken and, on account of his abundant talents, was sought out by the learned. He wore a felt cloak of the highest quality and on his head a tall cap of the same type. Formerly he had been in Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's retinue, but he had grown to despise [Sultan-Ahmad] and went to Shiraz, where Mirza Iskandar, then the governor of that region, held him in high esteem and offered him work copying in the princely library. Mawlana Ma'ruf had accepted to copy five hundred *bayts* a day, but [after a time he wrote nothing for two days.] Since change in what was fixed in Mirza Iskandar's establishment was seldom [allowed to occur, the prince] summoned Mawlana Ma'ruf and asked the reason for his delay in copying. He replied, saying, "I wish to write fifteen hundred *bayts* in one day [and thus write three days' worth at once.]"

Mirza Iskandar was delighted and ordered a tent and pavilions to be pitched in an appropriate place, and Mawlana Ma'ruf sat down and began to write. He appointed one of his apprentices to cut his pen, and by the time of the afternoon prayer he had written fifteen hundred *bayts* of extraordinary grace, for which Mirza Iskandar rewarded him.

After the conquest of Shiraz His Majesty [Shahrukh] brought Mawlana Ma'ruf to Herat and employed him in the royal library. The people of Khurasan were glad to associate with him to learn calligraphy and for the sake of his company and conversation. He himself was so self-confident and lordly in his bearing



that for over a year he kept some paper Mirza Baysunghur had given him for copying the *Khamsa* of Shaykh Nizami before he returned it unwritten. For this reason [617] Mawlana Ma'rif was in ill favor with Mirza Baysunghur, and when he was accused of collusion with Ahmad the Lur, he was sentenced to death and was taken several times to the gallows. In the end he was imprisoned in the dungeon of Ikhtiyaruddin Fort.

This line is of his own composition:

Every arrow-glance that has sailed straight  
from the quiver of your eyes has lodged in my  
breast just as my heart desired.

Khwaja Azududdin, a nephew of Mawlana Fazlullah Astarabadi, and a number of Ahmad the Lur's other associates were put to death. Then Mirza Baysunghur learned that Ahmad the Lur had occasionally associated with Amir Sayyid Qasim-i Anwar, and the [sayyid] was ordered to leave Khurasan. As Amir Qasim set out for Transoxiana, he composed a *ghazal*, the first line of which is:

I know not what has befallen us from the hand  
of fate that from this court we are chased from  
pillar to post.

When the noble sayyid reached Samarqand, Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän considered his arrival a wonderful event and honored him greatly....

AN AMBASSADOR NAMED CHECHÄK-  
BUQA COMES TO HERAT FROM THE  
RULER OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

When Malik Ashraf<sup>44</sup> died, the pillars of state found Chaqmaq Beg, one of the great amirs, to be worthy of rule. Although it was not customary for a master of the stable to succeed a sultan, they en-

throned him king and emperor and styled him al-Malik al-Zahir...<sup>45</sup> [628]

In accordance with the foregoing, to the court of the Refuge of the World [Chaqmaq Beg] sent Chechäk-Buqa,<sup>46</sup> who was among the elite corps of amirs, with appropriate greetings and gifts in order to spread the carpet of friendship and harmony and eradicate differences and strife, and Chechäk-Buqa arrived in the capital Herat in the year 843 [1439].

[Shahrukh] appointed him a place at the right hand in the circle of the great *noyans* and that day gave a magnificent banquet, wherein most of the vessels and utensils brought into the royal assembly were chased with red gold and studded with jewels. After eating prodigiously, Chechäk-Buqa returned to his place with all honor; and the great princes and respected amirs,<sup>47</sup> each in turn, gave him a banquet and sent him Arabian horses with gold-filled saddles and regal robes of honor.

During those days Chechäk-Buqa said that Sultan Chaqmaq wanted five highly esteemed books from the emperor's library: Shaykh Abu-Mansur Maturidi's *Ta'wilat*,<sup>48</sup> the *Tafsir-i kabir* of Allama Razi,<sup>49</sup> Khwaja Mas'ud Bukhari's *Sharh-i Talkhis-i Jami'*,<sup>50</sup> the *Sharh-i*

<sup>45</sup>al-Malik al-Zāhir Sayfuddīn Chaqmāq (Jaqmāq), r. 842-57/1438-53.

<sup>46</sup>Text has JYJKTWQ', a manifest error for Chechäk-Buqa.

<sup>47</sup>Mirza Muhammad-Juki, Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Abdul-Latif gave elaborate banquets and horses; Amir Alikä Kükältäsh, Amir Jalaluddin Firozshah and Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad gave entertainments (*Mirkhwand*, *RS*, VI, 715; Abdul-Razzaq, *Malla'*, II, 724).

<sup>48</sup>*Ta'wilāt al-Qur'ān* by Abū-Manṣūr Muhammad b. Maḥmūd al-Māturidī (d. 944).

<sup>49</sup>*al-Tafsir al-kabir*, the great Koranic commentary by Fakhruddīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 1210).

<sup>50</sup>Presumably a gloss by Mas'ūd Bukhārī (perhaps Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghujduwānī, d. 772/1370, who wrote *al-Tanwīr* on Hanafī fiqh, a MS of which exists in Cairo<sup>2</sup> I, 441, fiqh ḥan. 96; see Sezgin, *GAS* I, 427) to 'Alā'uddin 'Alī al-Numayrī's commentary on Muḥammad b.

<sup>44</sup>al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayfuddīn Barsbay, Mamluk sultan, r. 825-41/1422-37.

*Kashshaf* of Mawlana 'Ala'uddin Pahlawan,<sup>51</sup> and the *Rawda* on the Shafi'i sect.<sup>52</sup>

Since all of these books were in the royal library, His Majesty ordered that each of the five books should be calligraphed and ruled and presented to Chechäk-Buqa....

ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE EMPEROR  
TO PARADISE, AND SOME OTHER  
EVENTS

The import of the words, "Everyone upon [the earth] shall pass away," is unavoidable, and the universal rule, "Every soul shall taste death," is immutable. Even the solar lord who is enthroned in splendor in the fourth heaven "trembles in fear of passing away."

The sun, the sovereign of the sublime sphere, has the entire earth under his sway. Yet every day his perfection is coupled with transition, and this is the constant rule of the world.

Apropos of this introduction, His Imperial Majesty had subjugated most of the inhabited quarter of the globe and was the envy of heaven when suddenly by God's decree the evil eye appeared and the shaft of affliction was fired by the hand of cruelty. The details of this sad event are as follows.

While the emperor was camped at Rayy, he occasionally complained of abdominal pain and general weakness. On Sunday morning the 25th of Dhu'l-Hijja 850 [March 13, 1447], which was Naw-

roz, he quaffed the wine of devotion, placed his royal foot in the stirrup of felicity and set out to visit the graves of the shaykhs of Tabrak Fort. Along the way the steed upon which the horseman of the field of renown was riding began to act recalcitrant. Unable to control the reins, [the emperor] dismounted and got into a litter. That very moment the pain in his abdomen so overwhelmed him that it was beyond remedy. In accordance with the Koranic verse, "When their term is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall they be anticipated,"<sup>53</sup> the padishah of the inhabited quarter of the globe, before arriving at his exalted quarters, set off for the afterlife, the bird of the caliphal emperor's noble soul joining those traveling to the next world and taking refuge in the sanctuaries of paradise.

O heart, life is not forever, for the world is not stable. Although thrones and fortune may reach the apex of perfection, they set like the shining sun. Come, let me tell with the voice of the flute who Jamshid and Kaus Kay were.

That day of tribulation there were no princes in the imperial camp aside from Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur son of Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Abdul-Latif son of Mirza Ulughbeg, and Mirza Khalil-Sultan son of Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir, who was a grandson of the emperor by one of his daughters. Aside from Luqman Barlas, none of the great amirs was present either, the other *noyans* having gone to Mirza Sultan-Muhammad. For the rest of the day and that night the truth of the affair was kept secret.

Thinking of her dear son Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha sent a trusted messenger [637] to Mirza Abdul-Latif with this message: "The ruler of the realm and subjects has passed away, and the nation and people are left leaderless. It would be appropriate

'Abbād al-Khilāfi's compendium of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybāni's *al-Jāmi' al-kābir* on Ḥanafī fiqh.

<sup>51</sup>A supergloss by 'Alā'uddin 'Alī Pahlawān ("al-Bahlamān" in Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 508) to al-Taftazāni's commentary on al-Zamakhshari's Koranic exegesis, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzil*. A MS exists in Cairo<sup>2</sup> I, 45 (Tafsir 25M).

<sup>52</sup>Perhaps the *Rawdat al-muntahā fi mawlid al-Shāfi'i* by Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Ṭabari (d. 450/1058); see Sezgin, *GAS* I, 486.

<sup>53</sup>Koran 7:34.

for you to take the people by the hand and prevent disorder from finding its way into the imperial camp." Mirza Abdul-Latif acted upon her request and left the right flank for headquarters.

The next morning, when the prince of the orient ripped the collar of the horizon in terror over this event and donned the indigo garb of the celestial sphere to mourn the emperor, wailing arose like the cry of doomsday. The moans of amir and vizier, young and old, rose past the highest celestial sphere, beauties clad themselves in sackcloth of the hue of night, while those with plaited tresses scratched their sunlike cheeks, as was appropriate.

Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur headed again for Khurasan with a detachment of warriors, his elite corps, and Mirza Khalil-Sultan also set out in that direction, intent upon joining the Baburid retinue. These two princes' retainers fell to pillage and plunder in Ordu Bazar, which was on the way, and confusion and chaos spread. Mirza Abdul-Latif got to horse and lit out in the dust of the camp, ordered several people executed and quelled the disturbance by the sword. After two or three days of effort to consolidate the civil and military population, he sent a messenger to his father in Samarqand to announce the news.

On the third day the emperor's body was placed on a litter, and the cortege set out from the winter quarters for Khurasan. After one or two stages a group of ignorant, evil men carried a tale to [Mirza Abdul-Latif] that Gawharshad Agha was in collusion with the Tarkhan amirs and had some treachery in mind. Since the prince was endowed with a rather large portion of exuberant youthful folly and knew full well the measure of his grandmother's love for Mirza Ala'uddawla, he believed what he was told. Between Khwar, Rayy and Simnan on the last day of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [March 17, 1447] he pillaged and plundered Her

Majesty and the Tarkhans, taking prisoner everyone who did not flee to safety.

It has been heard from the royal intimate Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher that Mirza Abdul-Latif carried the plunder of Her Majesty's goods and chattels to such an extent that when the attack was halted she could not find a mount. Taking a staff in her hand, she set out on foot. A Barlas amir's liegeman came upon her in that state and offered her his horse to ride.

When Mirza Abdul-Latif reached Damghan, the prefect sealed the city and showed his opposition. After a skirmish and siege, the prince took the city by force and gave it over to general plunder. From Damghan Mirza Abdul-Latif went to Bistam, where he heard that Mirza Babur had gone to Jurjan at the invitation of Amir Hinduka and mounted the throne. Consequently [Mirza Abdul-Latif] set off in that direction, determined to wreak more havoc as the royal camp began to march to Sabzawar. Along the way news arrived that Amir Sultanshah Barlas and the other amirs who had gone to Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's camp had returned and were coming to pay homage—all except Amir Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, who had remained there, [638] and Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Firozshah, who had gone from Turshiz to Herat. The next day Amir Sultanshah joined the train, and Mirza Abdul-Latif proceeded from Sabzawar to Nishapur, where he heard that Mirza Ala'uddawla had thrown open the doors of the treasury, given a lot of gold to the soldiers and sent a detachment of his men to Mashhad. In his conceit [Mirza Abdul-Latif] paid no attention to the news and proceeded incautiously until his camp was taken unawares. The details of this are as follows.

The day the emperor died in Rayy, Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha sent a messenger in haste to Herat to announce the situation. When Mirza Ala'uddawla, who was the governor there, heard the news, he burst into tears. Summoning his amirs

and advisors in private, he took counsel with them. After deliberations he decided to make obeisance to Mirza Ulughbeg and sent a huge sum to Samarqand. By sending valuable presents he hoped to gain his uncle's support; however, after news came from the royal camp that Mirza Abdul-Latif had acted disgracefully toward Gawharshad Agha, Mirza Ala'uddawla rose up in wrath and rebelled. He went to Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, opened the treasury and gave away to the soldiery more gold and jewels than could be imagined. Then he assigned Mirza Salih, a son of Mirza Pir-Muhammad Shirazi, to go with Amir Uways Tarkhan, Ahmad Tarkhan and a group of brave warriors to repel Mirza Abdul-Latif. When Mirza Salih and his companions reached Mashhad, they heard of the pandemonium in the prince's camp and consequently galloped to Nishapur in hope of victory.

On Saturday morning the 13th of Safar [April 30, 1447] he made a surprise attack on Mirza Abdul-Latif's center and got Her Majesty and the Tarkhan amirs away from the enemy. Battle lines were arrayed in a suitable place, and the shout for battle was given. Until that time Mirza Abdul-Latif was as asleep as his luck, but when he heard the shouts and cries, he woke up and got ready for battle, arraying his lines and charging the enemy over and over again, casting the heads of his opponents beneath his horse's feet like polo balls and displaying great bravery. However, as his fleet-footed steed became exhausted, he fell from the saddle, and his opponents gained the upper hand. A squad of the Khurasan army seized him and took him before Mirza Salih. Then, raising the banner of might, they plundered the prince's center.

By the time you twist your ring, the world has taken on a different complexion.

Thereafter Mirza Salih and the Tarkhans accompanied the emperor's body and Gawharshad Agha to Herat. Mirza

Ala'uddawla came out as far as Sa'dabad, Jam to meet them. When he saw his grandmother, he thanked God for her rescue and for the capture of Mirza Abdul-Latif. Seated upon the throne of fortune, he had the court most elaborately adorned and then summoned Mirza Abdul-Latif. As ordered, [639] the prince was brought in like a common criminal from the left side, his belt undone, and taken to the foot of the throne. Mirza Ala'uddawla addressed him pompously, saying, "Why were you disrespectful to your grandmother?"

"I did wrong and have suffered for it. You do right so that you can see fidelity," Mirza Abdul-Latif answered.

Mirza Ala'uddawla pardoned his cousin's misdeeds and assigned him a special tent, also appointing trusted men to guard him. Then he went to Herat and imprisoned the prince in shackles in Ikhtiyaruddin Fort.

The emperor's body was laid to rest in the Gawharshad Agha Madrasa, and for several days the Koran was recited and food was distributed to the nobles, commoners, the poor and orphans.

His Imperial Majesty had seven sons: Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan, Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Soyurghatmish, Mirza Muhammad-Juki, Jan Oghlan, and Yarudī. Jan Oghlan and Yarudī died in infancy. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan, Mirza Baysunghur and Mirza Juki also died during the emperor's lifetime. Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan left one son, Mirza Abdullah, who was governor in Shiraz at the time of his grandfather's death. Mirza Soyurghatmish had two sons, Mirza Sultan-Mas'ud and Mirza Qarachar. Mirza Baysunghur had three sons, Mirza Ala'uddawla, Mirza Sultan-Muhammad and Mirza Babur. Mirza Muhammad-Juki had two sons, Mirza Muhammad-Qasim and Mirza Aba-Bakr.

His Imperial Majesty had two daughters, one of whom was married to Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir b. Mirza Muham-

mad-Sultan, and she was the mother of Mirza Khalil-Sultan.<sup>54</sup>

#### THE LATE EMPEROR'S *SADRS*

As derived from history books, Mawlana Jalaluddin Lutfullah, Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim, Mawlana Kamaluddin Abdul-Hamid b. Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi, and Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Amin b. Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim attained the post of *sadr* during the emperor's reign, and they all endeavored greatly to conduct the affairs of sayyids, the ulema and the learned and to make charitable institutions flourish.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Lutfullah held precedence over his colleagues, and he continually strove to increase the number of endowments and to patronize the learned. Mawlana Lutfullah died in the year 842 [1438–39], and one of his monuments is a *madrassa* he had built outside of Herat, near the shrine of Khwaja Abu'l-Walid Ahmad.

Mawlana Sadruddin was of a noble lineage and the scion of a splendid family from Samarqand. He was raised to the post of *sadr* early during Shahrukh's reign and constantly endeavored to favor the learned. He was so scrupulous in expending the income of the endowments [640] and so meticulous in his observation of the strictures of the *shari'a* that until the end of his days no hint of scandal ever touched him, and day by day he enjoyed the ever-increasing favor of the padishah. Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim passed away in 832 [1428–29] at the age of eighty-three.

Mawlana Abdul-Hamid was the son of Mawlana Qutbuddin Qurumi, who had served as *sadr* for a while during Amir Timur's reign. During the emperor

[Shahrukh's] time Mawlana Abdul-Hamid served for a few years jointly with Mawlana Jalaluddin Lutfullah.

After Mawlana Lutfullah's death Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Amin gained the emperor's favor and was given the post of *sadr*, which his father, Mawlana Sadruddin Ibrahim, had held. He discharged the duties of that office until the emperor's reign. When the emperor passed to the eternal realm, he chose to retire and never again waited upon sultans and rulers. No matter how Mirza Abu'l-Qasim and Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id tried to get him to accept his inherited office, he refused. Happily he lived, and happily he died in 887 [1482] at the age of seventy-seven. One of his monuments is a mosque he built outside of Herat in Bazarcha-i Qichan and two caravanserais he had constructed on the two sides of the pass at the village of Qilich in the province of Herat Rud—may they be acceptable in God's sight.

The mighty emperor's viziers will be described next. [IV, 2]

#### A SHORT MENTION OF THE EMPEROR'S VIZIERS

It has been derived from pages penned in the past that in the emperor's early days Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Salar Simnani, Sayyid Fakhruddin Muhammad, and Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad b. Daud were raised to the post of vizier, sometimes independently and sometimes jointly. At the end of 820 Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Khwafi gained the emperor's favor and performed miraculously in administering fiscal and financial affairs jointly with Khwaja Ahmad Daud. These two clever viziers constantly kept the carpet of enjoyment unrolled and joked with each other, thus keeping the rust of boredom from their minds with the polish of elegant *bons mots*. When Khwaja Ahmad Daud passed away, Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad served

<sup>54</sup>This was Maryam Sultan Agha, wife of Muhammad-Jahangir b. Muhammad-Sultan b. Jahangir and mother of Muhammad-Khalil (not Khalil-Sultan b. Miranshah). The other daughter, not named here, was Payanda Sultan Agha.

independently, and for nearly thirty years he passed his days in fortune and favor, the rays of his favor and beneficence shining upon the inhabitants of Iraq and Khurasan. During his time he had charitable institutions built throughout the provinces and endowed flourishing villages and choice holdings to benefit the poor and unfortunate. After the emperor's death and the capture of Mirza Abdul-Latif he hastened to Herat and, finding favor with Mirza Ala'uddawla, he once again wielded power through the important post of vizier until Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän's invasion. Since much of this praiseworthy khwaja's career will be mentioned in the following narrations, it need not be given here in detail.

Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Sidi-Ahmad b. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Shirazi stood out among his peers for the nobility of his lineage, the aristocracy of his family and the high station of his forefathers. In Safar 838 [September 1434] he became vizier jointly with Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad. It is recorded in the *Rawdat al-safa* that one day during his term as vizier Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad went on business to the home of Mawlana Fasih Khwafi, who was Mirza Baysunghur's vizier. Some noodles with sheep fat were served. Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad looked upon the food with the eye of experience, turned to Mawlana Fasih and said reproachfully, "People who take bribes eat like this." Just then the khwaja's hand hit a plate, and some broth spilled on the tablecloth. The next day the mawlana was saying to some people at the divan in the khwaja's presence, "Yesterday Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad came to our house and 'greased the tablecloth.'"

"Don't worry," Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad said, [3] "there wasn't enough fat in the broth to grease your tablecloth."

Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad died on the 20th of Sa'ban 839 [March 9, 1436] in Qarabagh, Arran. His worthy son, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, brought his

body to Herat, where it was buried in the precincts of the Khwaja Abu'l-Walid shrine.

For several years during Shahrukh's reign Amir Ala'uddin [Ali] Shaqani served the vizierate jointly with Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad. Once they had a disagreement, and each reported to the emperor that the other had embezzled funds. Therefore the emperor ordered Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad to audit Amir Ali, and Amir Ali was ordered to investigate Khwaja Pir-Ahmad.

Now Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad had leased for a pittance the village of Yahyaabad, an appendage of Herat with a large annual income, to Safiyuddin, the son of Khwaja Abdul-Qadir the singer, a jovial man who made jokes in the royal assembly about the amirs and ministers. When Amir Ali realized the discrepancy he first set out to investigate the income of Yahyaabad.

Safiyuddin invited the vizier into his house and began to serve food, offering him a bowl of *mufarrih*, one side of which had been laced with intoxicants and narcotics. Amir Ali refused the mixture, saying that it might contain a narcotic. Safiyuddin swore that it did not, indicating the side that was innocent. He took one or two tiny morsels and ate them. Amir Ali was convinced and ate nearly half a seer of the paste. Immediately he passed out, his head falling on his ledger. Safiyuddin quickly got on his horse and went to Shahrukh, saying, "The vizier you appointed to investigate the holdings of Khwaja Pir-Ahmad has come to the plantation I lease and consumed so much narcotic that if one of his limbs were cut off he wouldn't feel it." The religious and just padishah could scarcely believe it and sent a trusted servant to see Amir Ali. The messenger hurried to Yahyaabad and, finding Amir Ali unconscious, returned and reported what he had seen with his own eyes. Consequently the emperor's wrath flared

up, and he dispatched an equerry to bring Amir Ali in. In Yahyaabad the equerry got Amir Ali, who was in a state to which the words "neither dead nor alive"<sup>55</sup> were appropriate, onto a horse and took him to the throne room. Amir Ali was chastised, heavily fined and fell from power and status.

Thereafter he followed Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad's suggestions before making any decisions and never again disagreed with him....

SOME OF THE SAYYIDS, SHAYKHS AND LEARNED MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE EMPEROR [SHAHRUKH]

It cannot be hidden from the minds of those possessed of insight that due to the length of His Late Majesty's reign and the perfection of that padishah's justice and equity during his reign, a great number of sayyids, ulema, learned men, and poets were gathered in the realms of Iran and Turan, especially in Khurasan. In the shade of His Majesty's mercy and protection they engaged in the dissemination of learning in freedom from want. Since to name them all would take too long, we will content ourselves with a mention of a few of the most famous, in chronological order by date of death.

*Khwaja Muhammad Parsa* was the son of Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Hafizi al-Bukhari. He was among the great companions of Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband and a descendant of Abdullah b. Ja'far Tayyar. In Muharram 822 [January 1419] he set out and crossed the Oxus to perform the pilgrimage and circumambulate the blessed tomb [5] of the Prophet Muhammad. On that trip he was met with honor by the sayyids, ulema and learned men of every city and town he came to. After arriving in Mecca and discharging the rites of pilgrimage, he was afflicted by a illness so severe that without being car-

ried in a litter he would have been unable to perform the farewell circumambulation of the Ka'ba. In extreme weakness and infirmity he proceeded to Medina. One day along the way he summoned his companions and told one of them to write down these words: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The Lord of the [Sufi] Confraternity, al-Junayd, came to me while I was in a state of consciousness on Saturday the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja in the year 822 [January 6, 1420]. We had left Holy Mecca and were proceeding with a traveling party, and I was in a state between wakefulness and sleep. He gave me glad tidings, saying, 'Your intent is accepted.' I remembered these words and rejoiced in them. Then I woke from my state and vision between sleep and wakefulness, praise God."

On Wednesday the 23rd of the month [January 10] he reached Medina and died on Thursday. Mawlana Shamsuddin Fannari and the people in the caravan prayed over him, and on Friday he was entrusted to the earth in the environs of the shrine of Abbas.

One of Khwaja Muhammad Parsa's works is *Fasl al-khitab*, which comprises many encomia and eulogies of the Twelve Imams. However, since sections that contradict the Shiite sect are also included in *Fasl al-khitab*, the Shiite ulema do not regard the book favorably. Some have reckoned the title to be a chronogram of his death.<sup>56</sup>

After Khwaja Muhammad Parsa's death his son Khwaja Hafizuddin Abu-Nasr Parsa, who was known for his knowledge and practice, took his father's place and surpassed him in asceticism and spiritual poverty. His death occurred in 865 [1460-61], and he is buried in Balkh. As a chronogram for his death a poet composed the following:

When the great Khwaja Abu-Nasr reclined  
upon the bolster of eternity, since his

<sup>55</sup>Koran 20:74.

<sup>56</sup>Not likely since *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* renders 843.

mysterium had joined God, the date became  
GOD'S MYSTERIUM.<sup>57</sup>

*Khwaja Lutfullah* b. Khwaja Aziz was a learned preacher, and for many years he gave the people in the congregational mosque of Herat the benefit of his advice. His death occurred in 823 [1420], and he is buried in the Khiyaban in Herat in the environs of Allama Razi's shrine.

*Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad* was a great wayfarer on the path of certainty. His felicitous interior was a resting place for the light of divine knowledge, and his enlightened mind betrayed traces of eternal perfection. In his holiness's youth he spent time in the service of ascetics and engaged in various spiritual disciplines and acts of devotion. When he had progressed to the degree of perfection, he went to Badghis and took up residence in the location where his blessed hospice (*langar*) is now. After a short time in that place, so many canals began to flow and it flourished so agriculturally that it took on the attributes of a metropolis, and [6] Amir Ghiyathuddin's magnificence reached such a degree that His Holiness Amir Qasim-i Anwar used to go from Herat to meet with the saint at his blessed hospice, and His Imperial Majesty also went once to Langar, where he stayed for a day or two professing his devotion to the saint.

On the day that His Majesty Shahrukh met with Amir Ghiyathuddin, the holy man summoned Amir Jalaluddin Firozshah, placed before him the keys to the storerooms and warehouses of the hospice and said, "Our dervishes are not able to distribute all the items that are in these storehouses. It is hoped that you will be so kind as to pack them up and give them all away to the deserving." Amir Firozshah gloried in this task, which he performed as requested. Based on this, in the time of His Majesty Sultan-Husayn Mir-

za, Amir Firozshah's descendants always claimed the hereditary right to the office of overseer of Langar, and for this reason Amir Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah held that post for some time.

Amir Ghiyathuddin's death occurred in 824 [1421].

*Mawlana Ya'qub Charkhi* and *Mawlana Nizamuddin Khamosh* were among the shaykhs of Transoxiana who were followers of Shaykh Baha'uddin Naqshband.

*Khwaja Hasan Attar*, the son of Khwaja Ala'uddawla Attar, was among the great shaykhs. His death occurred in Shiraz in 826<sup>58</sup> [1423] while he was on his way to the Hejaz. His companions bore his body from there to Chaghaniyan and entrusted it to the earth.

*Shaykh Muhyiddin Muhammad al-Ghazali* of Tus was an extremely learned, ascetic and religiously observant man. He met sultans and princes with the greatest of reluctance. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times. The last time he was going to the Hejaz he died in the vicinity of Aleppo<sup>59</sup> in the middle of Ramadan 830 [July 1427]. Of him a learned man has said:

The death of the axis of the world, Shaykh Muhyi Tusi, occurred in the midst of Aleppo in the middle of Ramadan.

*Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Awbihi* was the most learned of his age and most excellent of his time. He studied with ... Mawlana Sa'iduddin Mas'ud al-Taftazani, and his expertise in the rational and traditional sciences was so great that the mawlawi wrote the following in the licenses he penned for him: "If he discovers a mistake in expression in my

<sup>58</sup>827 according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 254).

<sup>59</sup>Text has Kh.lbāni; the following poem has Halab (Aleppo). Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 260) also has Aleppo.

<sup>57</sup>*Sirr-i Khudā* = 865.



works, let him, upon reflection and exercise of caution, rectify and change it.”

In 813 [1410–11], when the *madrasa* and *khanqah* His Imperial Majesty [Shahrukh] had constructed outside of Herat opposite the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort were completed, His Majesty chose Mawlana Yusuf to be the first to give lessons there, attending the inaugural lecture himself and rewarding Mawlana Yusuf with a robe of honor. That same day His Majesty appointed Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Hallaj, Mawlana Nizamuddin Abdul-Rahim [b.] Yar-Ahmad [7] and Khwaja Nasiruddin Lutfullah [b.] Khwaja Azizullah to teaching posts in the *madrasa*. The post of shaykh of the *khanqah* was awarded to Khwaja Ala'uddin Ali al-Chishti.

It has been heard from reliable sources that some time after the appointment of these learned men Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Jajarmi took the place of one of them. On his inaugural day Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Jazari of the great ulema and Amir Alika and Amir Firozshah of the great amirs went to that noble edifice. Mawlana Muhammad was giving a lecture on the *Kashshaf* on an interpretation of the Koranic verse, “God hath borne witness that there is no God but he; and the angels, and those who are endowed with wisdom, profess the same; who executeth righteousness.”<sup>60</sup> He said, “I have ten objections to the marginalia that Mawlana Sa'duddin al-Taftazani wrote on this topic.” Since Shaykh Jazari did not understand Persian, he expressed his objections in Arabic.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Awbihi, who was among those present at the assembly, said, “Could you state the doubts you mentioned once more in Persian so that the amirs and the others in attendance might understand?” Mawlana Muhammad Jajarmi attributed this request to sympathy for the others and explained the

objections in Persian. Then Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf rose in contention and rebuttal and dealt with six of the objections in such a way that the soundness of his logic was obvious to all. Then he turned to the amirs and said, “The other four you may deduce by analogy. Know further that if Mawlana Sa'duddin were such a person that ten objections could be made to his marginalia, his works would not have conquered the east and west.”

Amir Firozshah spoke in praise of Mawlana Yusuf, saying, “What you have done today absolves you from any obligations you may have owed Mawlana Sa'duddin.”

“The obligations I owe him are of such a degree,” he replied, “that if I were to sweep his threshold with my eyelashes for a hundred years, I would not have discharged a fraction of my indebtedness.”

Mawlana Jalaluddin Yusuf Awbihi was a great devotee of his holiness Amir Sayyid Qasim-i Anwar. He died in Herat on Saturday eve the 5th of Sha'ban 833 [April 29, 1430].

*Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Khalilullah Jami* was the son of Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud Buland. He held exceptional status among the descendants of Shaykh al-Islam Ahmad of Jam. He died in Shawwal 833 [June–July 1430], and the shaykhs of Khurasan grieved over his loss.

*Amir Nuruddin Ni'matullah Wali* was the chief of the lords of Arabs and Persians. In performing miracles and bringing about preternatural events he surpassed all miracle-working shaykhs. The sultans of the time and rulers of the age held their foreheads in devotion upon the threshold of his guidance, and the ulema and great Sufis of the age considered his court the focus of their needs. This sayyid's divan is famous.... He passed from this vale of sorrow in the village of Mahan in Kerman on the 25th of Rajab

<sup>60</sup>Koran 3:18.

834 [April 8, 1431]. In intoxication the sweet parrot [8] of his poetic nature composed these subtle verses:

Ni'matullah gave his life to his beloved and departed: he fell drunk at the tavern door and departed. He recited to the transitory world, "Everything shall pass away except HIS face," and departed. When he heard the cry "Return!" from God, he gladly gave his life to love and departed. He said, "Friends, remember Ni'matullah lest you think he has gone from memory," and departed.

*Mawlana Nuruddin Lutfullah*, who was known as Hafiz-i Abru, was among the great stylists and authors. He was a Herati by birth, but he grew up and studied in Hamadan. His Majesty Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän patronized him and constantly invited him to his private assemblies. After Timur's death the mawlavi served Shahrukh, by whom he was shown much favor. He composed the *Zubdat al-tawarikh-i Baysunghuri*, which contains the events of the world, accounts of various peoples at that felicitous time and the important events of the inhabited quarter of the globe until 829 [1425–26].

When Hafiz reached this point in his narrative, the celestial sphere rolled up the carpet of his speech.

The date and place of Hafiz-i Abru's death are contained in the following line:

In the year 834 in Shawwal [June 1431],  
Hafiz-i Abru's death occurred in the city of  
Zanjan.

*Mawlana Ruknuddin Muhammad al-Khwafi* taught for many years in Herat. The ulema and nobles of Khurasan frequented his threshold, and princes and the pillars of the emperor's state sought the blessing of his company. In his youth he set out on the pilgrimage and passed from Khurasan through Iraq and Fars, where he stayed in Shiraz, which was then the capital of Jalaluddin Shah Shuja'. Since

Shah Shuja' was then ruling in Shiraz, he was anxious to meet the mawlana and summoned him to his presence several times with all honor. Only with great guile and cunning did the mawlana manage to obtain permission to leave for the Hejaz. He made the pilgrimage and visited the tomb of the prophet. When he returned to Khurasan from that trip he never again frequented the assembly of any sultan. He died on the 27th of Shawwal 834 [July 8, 1431] outside of Herat in the village of Ghura-u-Darwaza.

*Khwaja Abu'l-Wafa Khwarazmi* reached perfection in esoteric and exoteric knowledge. From his youth until his death he trod the Sufi path, and several of his prose works on the essential unity of God are well known. Some of his eloquent quatrains [9] are often quoted, the following being one of them:

I have never been separated from you so long  
as I have existed: this is proof of my lucky  
star. I am invisible in your essence when I am  
nonexistent, and I am apparent by your light  
when I exist.

Khwaja Abu'l-Wafa died in Khwarazm in 835 [1431–32] and is buried there.

*Mawlana Kamaluddin Husayn Khwarazmi* was one of the most famous learned men of the emperor's reign. In the *Majalis al-nafayis* by the royal friend Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher, it is mentioned that Mawlana Husayn wrote a poem, the first line of which is as follows:<sup>61</sup>

In all the world you are hidden yet evident;  
you are both the cause for the lover's pained  
heart and the remedy.

A group of vile Hanafi jurisprudents, imagining that some of the lines of this

<sup>61</sup>Sections on Kamaluddin Husayn are given in Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, pp. 106, 280, but the line quoted is not included.

*ghazal* were superficially contrary to jurisprudential matters, declared the mawlana a heretic and took the matter up with the emperor. The mawlana was brought from Khwarazm to Herat for an investigation of the affair, but no matter how hard his opponents tried they could not prove their claim. Mawlana Husayn replied correctly to his enemies' objections and escaped that calamity. *Maqsad-i aqsa*, a translation of the *Mustaqsa*,<sup>62</sup> is one of Mawlana Kamaluddin Husayn's works, and it is truly eloquently written, although some stories in it are not free of defect. He also has a commentary on Mawlana Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi's *Mathnawi*. Mawlana Husayn was martyred in Khwarazm, cut down by an Uzbek sword during the Uzbek invasion in 83[463] [1430–31]. He is buried at the foot of his master, Khwaja Abu'l-Wafa.

*Sayyid Sadruddin Yunus al-Husayni* was one of the most magnificent sayyids of Khurasan. He constantly strove in the path of asceticism and piety. It has been heard from the Shaykh al-Islam Sayfuddin Ahmad Taftazani that Amir Fakhrudin the vizier one night dreamed of the prophet and asked him, "O Apostle of God, is Amir Sadruddin Yunus a descendant of yours or not?" The prophet answered, "Yes, he is a child of mine." The next day he was effulgent in his respect for the sayyid, and so long as he held the office of vizier he never let any of the grandees of Khurasan take precedence over him. Sayyid Sadruddin Yunus died in the year ... in Herat. He left one son, a most ascetic and pious youth, Sayyid Mu'inuddin Murtaza by name. Sayyid Mu'inuddin Murtaza died in the year ....

<sup>62</sup>A twelfth-century biography of the prophet and first five caliphs by 'Abd al-Salām al-Andarāsāni.

<sup>63</sup>Text has 830; apparently the "four" has been omitted. The Uzbek invasion of Khwarazm occurred in 834 according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 269).

He too had one son, Sayyid Raziyyuddin Abdul-Awwal.

*Khwaja Sayinuddin Ali Isfahani* was renowned for his personal excellence and philanthropy. Among his works in Arabic and Persian on various topics are a commentary on the *Fusus al-hikam*, the *Kitab al-mafahis*, and a commentary on Ibn al-Farid's *qasida*. [10] He died in Herat on the 14th of Dhu'l-Hijja 83[564] [August 12, 1432].

*Mawlana Jamaluddin Abdul-Ghaffar* was the son of Mawlana Jalaluddin Ishaq Samarqandi and the elder brother of Mawlana Kamaluddin Abdul-Razzaq the historian. He surpassed his peers in the religious sciences and mystical knowledge. He died on the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja in the same year [August 17, 1432].

*Amir Qasim-i Anwar's* greatness among mystics and Sufis is beyond being expressed on these pages.... In his youth he became a disciple of Shaykh Sadruddin Ardabili, and sometime later he joined Shaykh Sadruddin Ali Yamani, of whom he was also a devotee. Upon attaining formal and intangible perfection Amir Qasim left Azerbaijan, his birthplace, and went to Herat to train dervishes. In a short time most of the leaders and nobles of Khurasan had been enrolled among his disciples and resorted to his blessed threshold morning, noon and night. Since he was quite indifferent with regard to meeting Mirza Shahrukh and his exalted sons, he did not do them the honor they thought they should be paid. Mirza Bay-sunghur took offense and determined to have him exiled. However, he was unable to achieve his goal without a sufficient pretext. When in 830 [1427] Ahmad the Lur stabbed the emperor and it was learned that the would-be assassin had occasional contact with the holy man,

<sup>64</sup>Last digit supplied by Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 270).

Mirza Baysunghur reported this to his father and obtained permission to exile Amir Qasim-i Anwar. A message to this effect was relayed to Amir Qasim's servants, and consequently he decided to travel to Transoxiana, at which time he composed a *ghazal*, the first line of which is as follows:

Lovers, O lovers, the time has come for the  
bird of my heart to take flight from the world  
to beyond the seventh heaven.

The last line of this *ghazal* is:

Qasim, cut short your speech, arise and go  
forth: cast sugar to the parrot, carrion to the  
vulture.

As Amir Qasim was approaching Samarqand, Mirza Ulughbeg's amirs and *sadrs* began to worry whether they should bring him to court to meet the padishah or whether they should take Mirza Ulughbeg to meet the sayyid. [11] When the amir entered Samarqand, it happened that he passed by the citadel gate. Knowing that Mirza Ulughbeg was there, he went up unceremoniously into the citadel and met with the prince. Mirza Ulughbeg was honored to see the great sayyid, listened to his words of mystical content, and at that very gathering placed the ring of devotion in his ear. For several years Amir Qasim-i Anwar lived there in magnificence. At the end of his life he returned to Khurasan, and in 837 [1433–34] he died in the town of Kharjird and was buried in the province of Jam.

He left a *divan* of *ghazals* that is very famous and a short *mathnawi* entitled *Anis al-'ashiqin*.

*Mawlana Fasihuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ala* was renowned in Khurasan for his learning and religiosity. He was constantly engaged in teaching and issuing legal opinions. Although the emperor begged him several times to accept an official post, he absolutely refused to accept. Nonetheless, Shahrukh made

most of his judicial decisions with the approval of this excellent man, and he never made a religious judgment without consulting him. Mawlana Fasihuddin died at the age of more than eighty in Herat on the 15th of Jumada II 837 [January 27, 1434] and was buried in Gazargah at the foot of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari's tomb.

Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim [b.] Khwaja Ala'ulmulk, [son of] Khwanzada Mujirulmulk daughter of Khwanzada Ala'ulmulk Tirmidhi was Mawlana Fasihuddin's nephew. He was one of the outstanding and exceptional *naqibs* of Tirmidh. Along with his exalted lineage, Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim was outstanding among the shaykhs of Jam—even among all the shaykhs of the day—in learning and literature. He wrote eloquent verse and prose compositions. He was also renowned for his generosity and good character. Mirza Shahrukh sent him at the end of his reign on a mission to Bengal, and Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim went obediently to that farthest region of Hindustan and delivered his message most eloquently to Sultan Mahmud, the ruler. In accordance with the Koranic verse "No soul knoweth in what land it shall die," the khwaja died there. Since the date of his death is not known to the writer, it has not been mentioned. Khwaja Abu'l-Makarim left three sons. One of them, Khwaja Abu'l-Fath, took his father's place in Jam, [12] and he too is renowned for his excellent character. Khwaja Muhammad Asghar, who is more famous throughout the world than the sun, was Khwaja Abu'l-Fath's eldest son. In his youth he studied with Mawlana Mu'izzuddin Shaykh Husayn and other learned men. In a short time he had progressed to the point of perfection and achieved precedence among his peers. Although Khwaja Muhammad Asghar possessed an exalted lineage, learning and personal worth, he was coarse of speech and loved to joke. He constantly wounded people

with his sharp tongue and took no notice of their offense. At the beginning of Sultan-Husayn Mirza's reign he spoke in all gatherings in praise of Amir Ali-Sher, and for that reason the emperor ordered him exiled.<sup>65</sup> He left Khurasan and went to Farān [?] and Azerbaijan, where he found favor with Ya'qub Sultan. In 909 [1503], after Ya'qub's death, when he heard of Amir Ali-Sher's death also, he returned to Khurasan. He stayed in Herat for a short time, but at the end of his life he went to Turbat-i Jam, where he died in 913 [1507].

Khwaja Shihabuddin Abu'l-Makarim was descended in the sixth degree from Shaykh Ahmad of Jam. His grandfather, Mawlana Hamiduddin Atiqullah b. Mawlana Yahya was also among the great men of the time. He served as supervisor of public morals in Herat for several years. One morning in 833 [1429-30] he responded to God's invitation while he was performing his morning prayer, setting forth for paradise while in prostration. Since one branch of this writer's lineage goes back to this mawlana, we shall write no more.

*Shaykh Zaynuddin Abu-Bakr al-Khwafi*, one of the great saints, was outstanding for his adherence to religious practice. For a long time his residence outside of Herat attracted numerous followers. He was one of the successors of Shaykh Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Misri, and he made great progress in asceticism and mystical knowledge. The emperor, amirs and pillars of state were constant in their devotion to him, sought out his companionship and were devoted to him. He died of the plague on Sunday eve the 2nd of Shawwal 838 [May 1, 1435]. He was first interred in the village of Malin, then his body was taken to Darweshabad

and finally from there to the Idgah in Herat. Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Khwafi constructed an edifice over his grave, traces of which can still be seen.

I heard from my grandfather, [13] Amir Khwand Muhammad, that when the plague and pestilence spread throughout Herat and environs that year, a group of nobles went to Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar and begged him to pray for the pestilence to be lifted. The shaykh replied, "The Lord of Revenge is in such wrath that he strikes down anyone who extends his hand in prayer, and if anyone opens his mouth in intercession, his tongue will fall out." The group went from Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar to Shaykh Zaynuddin and made the same request. Shaykh Zaynuddin prayed, mentioning the word plague in his prayer, and of that disease he succumbed.

*Qazi Sadruddin Muhammad*, son of Qazi Qutbuddin Abdullah al-Imami, worthily discharged the duties of judge in Herat, environs and dependencies for many long years. In rendering decisions and making judgments he was trustworthy and fair and was never biased or venal. He was known for his keen intellect, and occasionally he composed charming poetry. He died of the plague on the [1]6th<sup>66</sup> of Shawwal 838 [May 15, 1435] and is buried in Gazargah in the Shiite judges' enclosure.

*Mawlana Ziya'uddin Nurullah al-Khwarazmi* was an excellent and learned man. For many years he led the prayers and preached in the congregational mosque in Herat. It is well known that his Arabic was so good that every Friday he used to compose an inimitable sermon on the way to the mosque and then deliver it to the people. He too died in the above-mentioned year of the plague. His grave is in Gazargah, at the foot of Khwaja

<sup>65</sup>Clearly thus in the text; perhaps a negative has been dropped. He certainly would not have been exiled for speaking in praise of Sultan-Husayn's friend Mir Ali-Sher.

<sup>66</sup>Shawwal in the text; 16 Shawwal according to Fasihi (*Mujmal*, 275).

Abdullah Ansari and next to the grave of Mawlana Fasihuddin Muhammad Ala.

*Mawlana Jalaluddin Muhammad Qayini* was a pious preacher and learned man. For some time he carried out the functions of the enforcer of public morals in Herat. He held a license in *hadith* from Shaykh Muhammad Jazari, and he constantly taught students of *hadith*. In the aforementioned year, when the people fled from the epidemic in the city, he forbade the [students of *hadith*] to leave. In the end he caught the plague and died. His grave is in the village of Chaghartan. Among his monuments is a *madrassa* on the southern side of the congregational mosque known as the Peshburd Madrasa.

*Shaykh Abu-Sa'id*, son of Shaykh Shamsuddin b. Qazi Jalaluddin Mahmud al-Imami, was a nephew of Qazi Qutbuddin Abdullah. He died in the same year of the same disease.

*Khwaja Abdul-Qadir* the singer possessed a share of perfection in various spheres of learning. In the science [14] of music and modes none of his contemporaries could dream of competing with him, and in Koranic recitation, poetry and calligraphy he was quite an expert. He produced miraculous examples of epigraphic calligraphy for charitable buildings.

In his youth he was a companion of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in Baghdad, and the sultan called him a "beloved friend" and constantly showed him great favor. When fate rolled up the canopy of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's reign, Khwaja Abdul-Qadir enrolled in Mirza Miranshah's service, and the ray of the exalted prince's favor shone upon him. It is mentioned in the *Majalis al-nafayis*<sup>67</sup> that when Mirza Miranshah had begun to engage in untoward acts because of a mental disequi-

librium, Amir Timur Kürägän resolved to chastise him and ordered the prince's companions executed. Khwaja Abdul-Qadir managed to find a way to escape, and after a time he came to court in the guise of a wandering dervish. When the Sahib-Qiran's eyes fell upon him, he began to recite from the Koran in a loud voice. Seeing that, the mighty ruler smiled and quoted this poetry:

In fear the idiot grabbed the Koran.

He then pardoned the khwaja and took him into his favor and patronage. After the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran's death Khwaja Abdul-Qadir served Shah-rukh until he died of the plague in 838 [1434-35].

*Sayyid Nuruddin Muhammad*, son of the great Amir Sayyid Sharifuddin Ali al-Jurjani, was known for his exalted lineage, great personal worth, superior education and good character. He died in Shiraz in the year 838 [1434-35].

*Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Mawlana Shaykh Ali* was known for his piety and religiosity. He was constantly engaged in performing his Islamic duties and extended his charity to young and old alike.

In the *Matla'-i sa'dayn*<sup>68</sup> it is mentioned that Mawlana Muhammad [b.] Shaykh Ali once said to the emperor, "The construction of a [state] soap factory is a heretical innovation, and it is illegal to forbid [individual] Muslims to engage in that activity." The emperor made some excuse, and there in the padishah's presence the mawlana turned his face to heaven and said, "O God, you see that I speak your law, but this child of the Mongols does not hear." The emperor grew angry at these words and immediately ordered that the soap factory be destroyed and that the citizenry not be hin-

<sup>67</sup>Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, pp. 123, 313.

<sup>68</sup>Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 720.

dered from making soap. Mawlana Muhammad died on Friday the 21st of Rabi' I 842<sup>69</sup> [September 11, 1438] aged a hundred and twenty-seven.

*Ustad Qiwanuddin Mi'mar Shirazi* was the greatest architect of the age. Among this rare master's monuments in Herat are the magnificent structures of the queen mother Gawharshad Agha. The story is well known and oft mentioned that once the emperor [15] was angry with Ustad Qiwanuddin over a building and for one year refused him permission to enter court. Since the master was an expert at astronomy, he produced an ephemeris. When he was again permitted at court he presented it as a gift to the emperor, who smiled and recited this line of poetry:

You did the work of the earth so well that you  
took up the heavens too.

Ustad Qiwanuddin died on the first of Sha'ban 844 [December 26, 1440].<sup>70</sup>

*Mawlana Imaduddin Abdul-Aziz Abhari* was the chief of the ulema of the age and leading jurisprudent of the time. Toward the end of his life he set out from Khurasan to make the pilgrimage and visit Medina. After obtaining that sublime happiness and returning from Yathrib and Batha, he died in Syria in the village of 'Alla on the 18th of Rajab 843 [December 25, 1439].

*Mawlana Yahya Sibak* was among the learned of Khurasan who left behind many compositions and works from his pen. His eloquent prose works are imaginative, and his poetry is graceful and variegated. It is recorded in the *Majalis al-*

*nafayis*<sup>71</sup> that Mawlana Yahya first adopted the pen name of Tuffahi but later changed it to Fattahi. He also used Khumari and Asrari as pen names. I remember these two lines from a *ghazal* by Fattahi and give them here:

Around [the rim] of the tulip goblet you make  
a beauty spot of wine. My life is lost: when  
will you treat this scar of regret?  
Weep and wail like a nightingale, for the bird  
of the spirit shall fly away from the branch of  
life while you are moaning.

The following is from a *ghazal* in imitation of Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi in which he used the pen name Asrari:

The saw-leaves of cannabis are sharp, O  
potheads (*bangian*), so that they can cut the  
root of the sapling of your reason and faith.<sup>72</sup>

Among Mawlana Yahya's poetical works is one on dream interpretation. It begins with this verse:

Any description of you is beyond interpreta-  
tion or expression: an awake judge who  
slumbereth not is inspiration.

Among his prose works *Shabistan-i khayal* and *Husn u dil* are well known, and they both contain many unusual anecdotes. He died in the year 852 [1448-49].

*Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali al-Yazdi* was the noblest of the learned men of Iran. Having gained fame for his perfect knowledge and poetic style, he surpassed his peers in cleverness and skill. The strings of his prose works are as delightful as rare pearls, and his poetry is better than strings of gems in the view of those of insight. Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali was always held in honor by the great sultans in Fars and Iraq. Among the marvelous

<sup>69</sup>852 in Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 14.

<sup>70</sup>842 in Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 720.

<sup>71</sup>Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 13.

<sup>72</sup>The reading of this line is based on the version given by Ali-Sher Nawa'i (*Majalis al-nafayis*, 13).

works he wrote is the eloquent *Zafar-nama*, which in the opinion of this writer has no equal in the art of history for subtlety and grace of Persian style. [16] This noble book, written at Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan's behest, was completed in 828 [1425], as the phrase "wrought in Shiraz" gives numerically.<sup>73</sup> Among the products of that learned man's eloquent pen are *Hilal-i mutarraz* and a selection from it on enigmas and riddles, a commentary on the *Burda qasida* and *Kunh al-murad* on numerology. He died in Taft, Yazd in 834<sup>74</sup> and is buried in the *khanaqah* in which he resided.

*Mawlana Shihabuddin Abdul-Rahman Lisan* was a son of Mawlana Abdullah. His lineage on his mother's side can be traced back to Fakhruddin Razi. For a time Mawlana Shihabuddin held important posts in Shahrukh's retinue, and he became so wealthy from the emperor's favor that he owned a thousand purchased slaves, not to mention other things commensurate. Among Mawlana Shihabuddin's monuments are a bath he had built in the Malik Bazaar and a caravanserai he constructed in the Firozabad Bazaar.

It has been heard on good authority that on the day the bath was completed and the mawlana entered, one of his companions asked, "How much did you spend on this bath?"

"Eight dinars," the khwaja replied. The man was astonished and asked what he meant. The mawlana said, "My slaves built the building, and all my bondmen who practice trades supplied the materials. Since I did not have a slave who was a tinsmith, I had to spend eight dinars yesterday to have the door chains tinned."

Mawlana Shihabuddin died on Saturday the 28th of Jumada II 858 [June 25, 1454] aged 63.

<sup>73</sup>*Ṣunnifa fī Shīrāz* = 828.

<sup>74</sup>Other sources give 858/1454; see Browne, *LHP*, III, 364.

*Mawlana Jalaluddin Abdul-Rahim Sadr* was the elder brother of Mawlana Shihabuddin. He functioned in great might and power as Mirza Baysunghur and Mirza Ala'uddawla's *sadr*. He possessed a large share of excellence and perfection and constantly patronized the learned and the ulema. When Mawlana Jalaluddin Turk abandoned the style of his fathers and forefathers and joined the retinue of Mirza Baysunghur and Mirza Ala'uddawla and donned military garb, he paraded in great pomp and magnificence.

Mirza Ulughbeg, imagining that he had taken up military service because his grandiose exterior was not adorned with learning or knowledge, was not well disposed to the *sadr*. One day, in order to annoy him, he gave him a page with some mathematical and astronomical problems and said, "I have some difficulty in these. Since it is your trade by heredity, you should be able to look at it and solve my problems." The mawlana took one look at the page and realized what the solution was. He asked Mirza Ulughbeg, "Is the difficulty His Highness has in the words themselves or when they pass through his illuminated mind?" The prince replied, "I had some doubt concerning these words." The mawlana said, "Tell me." Mirza Ulughbeg told him what he thought, and Mawlana Jalaluddin explained in such a pleasant manner that Mirza Ulughbeg realized that he was a good-natured person and praised him.

The mawlana's death occurred in the year 849 [1445-46]. Like his father and brother, he lived to the age of sixty-three. [17]

*Murtaza Sahhaf* was very pious. During the middle years of the emperor's reign he and Mawlana Abdul-Jalil Qayini together undertook the office of enforcer of public morals, and the religiously minded padishah gave him power to execute the functions of the office so that



when he found wine in any prince's or vizier's house he poured it on the ground and overturned the vats. When the turn came to the princes' winehouses, Murtaza and the mawlawi, although they feared they would be killed, reported to the emperor in 844 [1440-41] that "through the felicity of His Majesty's justice and implementation of the law, the servants of the court can find no drunkenness except in the 'eyes of the black-downed youths of Cathay.' However, Mirza Muhammad-Juki and Mirza Ala'uddawla's winehouses are brimful of pure wine, but it is unthinkable to go there to pour it out." Hearing this, the Emperor of Islam mounted and went himself to those two princes' winehouses, where he ordered Sayyid Murtaza and Mawlana Abdul-Jalil to go in with their assistants and pour out all the wine. There was so much red wine in those vats that one would say the lanes flowed with molten rubies, and wine-besotted rascals, smelling the aroma, lost control of themselves and said regretfully, "Oh, would that I were dust!"

It has been reported that some time after this event Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur began construction of a drinking place in one of the outlying districts of Herat. On the morning the prince mounted his grandfather's throne, Sayyid Murtaza came forward and said, "One of the princes intends to build a winehouse outside of Herat. His Majesty ordered me to pluck out the eye of anyone who did such a thing." When Mirza Muhammad heard this threat, he changed his mind.

Some time later he was drinking at the Pul-i Malan on the banks of the Herat River. For some reason he grew angry with his retainers, drew his sword and charged after them as they scattered in flight. By chance Sayyid Murtaza happened to be on his way to Pul-i Malan when suddenly he spied Mirza Muhammad racing angrily, sword drawn, in his direction. The sayyid, certain that he was

going to be killed, got off his horse, pronounced the testament of faith and waited. When Mirza Muhammad saw Sayyid Murtaza standing there, he put his sword in his scabbard, got off his horse and greeted him, saying, "Sayyid, you think that I'm not a Muslim and that I do not bow to the law. Come, inflict punishment on me." The sayyid prayed for a blessing upon the prince, adding, "It is punishment enough that you got down from your horse and submitted yourself."

The reason for giving this anecdote is to illustrate the fact that at that time the great rulers strove and endeavored to spread the Islamic community and to implement the requirements of the law, and day by day the state increased, and hour by hour the garden of fortune increased in fertility.

Do not expect the sapling of fortune to flourish in the garden of the state without being watered from the wellsprings of the religious law. But how can the limpid [18] spring of religion flow without being implemented by kings?

*Mawlana Katibi Nishapuri's* name was Muhammad b. Abdullah. For subtle poetic nature and sharpness of intellect he was the most outstanding of all the poets of Shahrukh's time. He composed rare gems in all styles of poetry, especially in *qasida*. His divan of *ghazals* is well known. In most of his *qasidas* he praised and eulogized Mirza Baysunghur. Among this poet's *mathnawis* are essays on puns and poems containing dual meter and rhyme, *Husn u Ishq*, *Nazir u Manzur*, *Bahram u Gul-andam* and *Muhibb u Mahbub*. The verses and stories of these are extremely subtle and well arranged. Mawlana Katibi was afflicted by an epidemic in Astarabad in 839<sup>75</sup> [1435-36] and took to his sick bed. During delirium he composed this line:

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<sup>75</sup>Misprinted as 893 in the text. Browne (*LHP*, III, 498) and Dawlatshah (*Tadhkira*, p. 438) give 839.

By the wrathful fire of the plague was stricken  
Astarabad, whose dust was more fragrant than  
musk. No one, young or old, remained, for  
when fire strikes a forest nothing at all  
remains.

*Baba Sawda'i* was from Abiward. First he used the pen name Khawari, but one day he received a *jadhba*<sup>76</sup> and wandered for a time barefooted and bareheaded in the mountains and wilderness. When he had come to himself once more, he used the pen name Sawda'i.<sup>77</sup> He composed *qasidas* in praise of Mirza Baysunghur and occasionally composed *ghazals* too. He wrote facetious poetry. He died aged more than eighty in Abiward....

*Mawlana Mahmud Arifi*, one of the most famous poets of Shahrukh's reign, was called a second Salman [Sawaji]. His *divan* of *ghazals* is well known, and this line is from it:

I made a pact not to leave the tavern until my  
goblet was filled.

Among Mawlana Arifi's *mathnawis* is *Guy u chawgan (Ball and Polo Stick)*, an excellent piece. The following three lines on the horse are from that work:

When it closed in on the polo ball of the  
celestial sphere, it raced up and down the field  
like a ball. When drenched in sweat it was rain  
in the midst of lightning. The cold wind of  
destruction hung from its breath; fire leapt  
from its hooves.

He died in the year [853/1449<sup>78</sup>] in Herat.

*Amir Shahi's* name was Aq Malik. Since he was descended from the Sarbadars of Sabzawar and was a Shiite by

<sup>76</sup>A Sufi term: *jadhba* is a divine "tug" that deprives the recipient, temporarily or permanently, of his reason.

<sup>77</sup>Sawda'i is derived from *sawdā* (melancholy).

<sup>78</sup>Date missing from the text; taken from Browne, *LHP*, III, 495.

sect, he adopted the pen name Shahi. Mirza Baysunghur summoned him and said, "It would be appropriate for you to give up this pen name and compose your poetry under another name." Amir Shahi refused, and so Mirza Baysunghur began to snub the poet. It is said that one day Amir Shahi went to the prince's court with a group of people. Mirza Baysunghur called in the others but did not grant an audience to Amir Shahi, who composed the following *ghazal* and sent it to the prince:

You quaff goblets one after another in the  
gathering of revelry, how can you speak of  
being a lover without having suffered?

The favor you show the people of luxury goes  
for naught, [19] the arrow you shoot at  
ungrieving hearts is wasted.

Open, from the sleep of coquetry, that  
narcissus eye, for life passes by, like the  
season of roses, in the twinkling of an eye.  
You loosen your tresses and carry off hearts in  
plunder; you show your face and set fire to the  
world.

You deprive poor Shahi of your gate: your  
intimate friends you drive away.

It has been heard from reliable sources that Amir Shahi composed twelve thousand lines of poetry during his life. He made a *divan* of the one thousand lines that are now known, and the rest he destroyed. Truly, those thousand lines conform to the tastes of the literati, and so far everyone who has seen them has praised them. Amir Shahi died in Astarabad in 857 [1453]. His body was taken to Sabzawar, where he was buried in his ancestral tomb. Khwaja Awhad Sabzawari composed an elegy on him from which comes this line:

Tell Sabzawar to turn upside down from my  
tears and wails because the shah's city is of  
little use without Shahi.

*Mawlana Shamsuddin al-Harawi* was a student of Mawlana Ma'ruf the calligrapher. Under Mirza Baysunghur's patronage he made such advancement that

he signed many pieces of his calligraphy with Yaqut Musta'simi's name, and connoisseurs accepted them.

*Mawlana Ja'far Tabrizi* attained the degree of perfection in writing all types of script, especially *naskhta'liq*. Mawlana Azhar, Mawlana Shihabuddin Abdullah Ashpaz and Mawlana Shaykh-Mahmud, who were like the Ibn Muqla, Sayrafi and Yaqut of the age, rose to great heights under Mawlana Ja'far's tutelage.

Now that a small portion of the great men of the mighty Emperor Shahrukh Sultan's reign has been described, it is time to speak of the sons of that happy padishah. At the end of this section, God willing, we will append a short account of other rulers of the family.

#### A MENTION OF THE PILLAR OF THE SULTANATE AND CALIPHATE, MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA

The brilliant star of the constellation of fame, the night-illuminating gem of the casket of success, Mirza Ala'uddawla, was the eldest of Mirza Baysunghur's sons. He was distinguished among all the princes of the Timurid dynasty for good character and conduct, physical beauty and pleasing manners. He was essentially just and equitable and was possessed of good characteristics of conduct and feature. However, he was addicted to pleasure and revelry and was wont to spread the carpet of play and sport. He was totally devoid of militarism and had no thought for anything but drinking rosy wine and listening to the dulcimer and harp. Nonetheless, His Imperial Majesty [Shahrukh] appointed him to head the supreme divan after Mirza Baysunghur's death, and he held in all autonomy the reins of all affairs of state and finance. He acted in accordance with the dictum, "A free son attains glory by following in the path of his fathers," [20] and opened the gates of liberality and generosity to all classes of people.

When His Imperial Majesty set out for Iraq to deal with Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's rebellion, he renewed his favor toward Mirza Ala'uddawla and made him his viceroy in Herat. When the emperor passed away in Rayy, Mirza Ala'uddawla, dreaming of independence, seized the throne and flung open the doors of the treasury to the amirs and soldiers.

He opened the treasury doors and summoned the army, scattering into their laps gold, silver and jewels.

For one year thereafter this prince passed his days in perfect splendor and success, but in 852 [1448] he was defeated by the onslaught of Mirza Ulughbeg Kūrāgān's forces and went to Astarabad, where he stayed for a few months under the protection of his younger brother Mirza Babur. Toward the end of that year, when Mirza Babur conquered Herat, he seized Mirza Ala'uddawla and his son Mirza Ibrahim and imprisoned them. Some time later [Mirza Ala'uddawla] escaped and fled to Mirza Sultan-Muhammad in Iraq. The day Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was killed at Chanaran Mirza Babur ordered Mirza Ala'uddawla blinded. However, the person who was charged with the foul deed drew the lancet in such a way that his vision was not permanently damaged, and consequently a few days later he escaped from his brother's camp. After wandering the earth for a long time, he once again rose in revolt against his brothers and cousins, but he achieved victory in no encounter. At the beginning of 865 [1460] he died on the banks of the Qulzum River in the house of Malik Besutun Rustamdari. His attendants took his body to Herat, where it was entrusted to the earth in the Gawharshad mausoleum. His vizier was Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir Ahmad, and during his days of power his *sadr* was Mawlana Jalaluddin Lisan.

#### A MENTION OF MIRZA ULUGHBEG KŪRĀGĀN

Mirza Ulughbeg, whose name was Muhammad Taraghay, was unique among the sons of His Imperial Majesty [Shahrukh] for his great learning and patronage and among all his peers for his justice and equity. He united the wisdom of Galen with the magnificence of Kay-Kaus, and in all arts, but especially in mathematics and astronomy, there was no one like him. He memorized the Koran with all seven variant readings, and he constantly patronized people of learning and excellence. As has been mentioned before, he was born on Sunday the 19th of Jumada I 796 [March 22, 1394] in Sultaniyya Fort. He was eleven years old when the Sahib-Qiran died. [21]

Ulughbeg lived under his father's protection until 814 [1411–12], when he was given the rule of Transoxiana. After a short while that province flourished to such a degree that it surpassed the highest celestial sphere. In 824 the construction of a sublime *madrassa* and *khanaqah* ordered by that peerless prince was completed, and many farms, villages and freeholdings were endowed to those holy places. He also ordered expert master craftsmen to construct an observatory, and the second Ptolemy, Mawlana Ghiyathuddin Jamshid, and the excellent Mawlana Mu'inuddin Kashi supervised the building of it. Among the results of the observatory are the astronomical tables known as the *New Gurkanid Zij*, which serves as a reference for most stellar coördinates these days.

During his father's lifetime Mirza Ulughbeg lived in power and splendor. When he heard the news of his father's death, he raised the banner of world conquest and set out for Khurasan. He overwhelmed Mirza Ala'uddawla and took Khurasan, but he was unable to hold it.

When the days of Ulughbeg's life were completed, his son Mirza Abdul-Latif revolted against his father, defeated him and took the throne of Samarqand. In the year 853 [1449] Mirza Ulughbeg quaffed a

portion of martyrdom from the hand of his treacherous son and was translated to the gardens of paradise.

Khwaja Nasiruddin Nasrullah Khwafi and Sayyid Imaduddin b. Sayyid Zaynul-Abidin Junabidhi were among Mirza Ulughbeg's viziers, and to the best of their abilities they inscribed competence upon the pages of that just padishah's reign....

ON THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN  
MIRZA ULUGHBEG KÜRÄGÄN AND  
MIRZA ABDUL-LATIF, AND THE FATHER  
IS KILLED BY ORDER OF THE WRETCHED  
SON

Several expert astrologers had seen in Mirza Abdul-Latif's natal horoscope that through this son misfortune would afflict the father. Mirza Ulughbeg, himself expert in the art of astrology, also realized it. Khizr Khan, the ruler of Hindustan, who was told this by the yogis, once sent the padishah a letter in which he mentioned this prediction. In an assembly where Mirza Ulughbeg once said, "Soon I shall have brought all the realms of His Majesty [Shahrukh] into my dominion," Mawlana Muhammad Ardistani, who was knowledgeable in the sciences of astrology and geomancy and often foretold events, said, "If Mirza Abdul-Latif lets you."

For these reasons Mirza Ulughbeg never favored Mirza Abdul-Latif and showed his favor to his younger son Mirza Abdul-Aziz, and therefore Mirza Abdul-Latif harbored a grudge against his father and finally openly rebelled, opening thereby the door to wretchedness in his own face.

When Mirza Abdul-Latif abandoned Herat to Mirza Babur's onslaught, he headed for Samarqand. After crossing the Oxus he sent a messenger to his father to inform him of his arrival. Mirza Ulughbeg sent him a document stating that Balkh was his fief and he must withdraw

there and consolidate that area. Mirza Abdul-Latif, taking this as a great triumph, withdrew and concentrated his attention upon the consolidation of that province. Determined to disobey his father, he raised the banners of rebellion. He broke the seal on the *tamgha* chest and sent a herald to announce that no one was to present himself to the people for the purpose [of collecting those imposts]. The reason for this was that Mirza Ulughbeg had exerted himself to collect both customs duties and alms (*zakat*).<sup>79</sup> In short, when the news of Mirza Abdul-Latif's rebellion reached Samarqand, Mirza Ulughbeg was stunned and, leaving Mirza Abdul-Aziz as his deputy there, set out with a large army for the Oxus. Mirza Abdul-Latif also set out from the other direction and prevented Ulughbeg from crossing. With father and son opposite each other, several times the river was crossed from above and below, but when battle broke out, Mirza Abdul-Latif's forces were usually victorious. In one of those encounters Mirza Abdullah Shirazi was captured, and Mirza Abdul-Latif spared his life.

During this time news from Samarqand reached Mirza Ulughbeg's camp that Mirza Abdul-Aziz was conducting himself improperly and tyrannizing women and children. [33] When Mirza Ulughbeg heard this, he sent threatening letters to his son, but they had no effect. At their wits' end, the amirs were almost at the point of seizing Mirza Ulughbeg and turning him over to Mirza Abdul-Latif. Meanwhile, another event took place that no one could have predicted in the wildest imaginings.

Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, son of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Miranshah

b. Amir Timur Kürägän, who had spent his days in Mirza Ulughbeg's retinue and who dreamed of conquest and empire, seized the opportunity, while father and son were camped opposite each other, to win over the Arghun tribe and to set out to conquer Samarqand. Mirza Abdul-Aziz did not have the strength to fight in the open, so he secured the city gates and prepared for a siege. Upon hearing this disturbing news, Mirza Ulughbeg got upset and set out in haste for Samarqand. Outside of Samarqand Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id learned of Ulughbeg's approach, abandoned the siege and hastened to the Arghun tribe. Mirza Abdul-Latif crossed the Oxus at that very moment, headed for Samarqand. Mirza Ulughbeg turned to face his son, and the two sides clashed in the village of Dimashq. Mirza Ulughbeg stood on a hill while the two bloodthirsty armies fought a doomsday battle. Wielding blade, dagger, spear and sword, they cast each other into the dust of oblivion. They were still fighting when the general of fate seized the reins of Ulughbeg's horse and led him to the other side of the hill. That great padishah headed toward Samarqand in sorrow and grief. When he reached the city gate, Miranshah the Qorchī, who was his own appointee, shut the gates to the citadel and refused him entry. Mirza Ulughbeg, with tearful eye and sorrowful heart, went to Shahrukhiyya with Mirza Abdul-Aziz and a few of their bodyguards in order to remain in that fast fortress for a few days and rest from the travails and tribulations of merciless fate. After their arrival, the warden of the fort, Ibrahim Pulad, who was Ulughbeg's own military slave, wretchedly attacked his benefactor. When Mirza Ulughbeg learned of this, he went, like prey to the hunter's snare, to Mirza Abdul-Latif, who was then seated on the throne in Samarqand. A meeting of father and son took place, and the pitiless and brazen Mirza Abdul-Latif spoke unplea-

<sup>79</sup>The collection of sales taxes and customs duties (*tamgha*), a Mongolian introduction, was considered un-Islamic and condemned by the ulema; the collection of *zakāt*, Islamic taxation, was of course considered proper. See *CHI*, VI, 540-41.

santly to his father with direct and indirect derision and mockery.

During those days that unmanly youth, in imitation of His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran, had set up a miserable wretch of a Genghisid upon the khan's throne. He also ordered a man named Abbas, whose father had been executed at Mirza Ulughbeg's order, to kneel before the khan and say, "My father was killed unjustly at Mirza Ulughbeg's command." The khan ordered that whatever was demanded by law be carried out. A group of jurists of Samarqand wrote an opinion that Mirza Ulughbeg should suffer retribution, and only Qazi Miskin dissented from the order. Thereupon Mirza Abdul-Latif turned Mirza Ulughbeg over to Amir Hajji Muhammad Khusraw to "take him on the pilgrimage to Mecca." In the *Rawdat al-safa* the following is related from this very amir:

"We set out in the evening by Mirza Ulughbeg's side from Samarqand. [34] His Highness rode happily and spoke to me of all sorts of things. When we had gone a little way, suddenly someone came up behind us. He tugged at my arm. I looked around and saw one of the Sulduz tribe who had Mirza Abdul-Latif's ear.

" 'Is it all right?' I asked the rider.

" 'Yes,' he said, 'the khan's command is that Mirza Ulughbeg should stop in a settled place and stay there for a while until his punishment is carried out.'

"When Mirza Ulughbeg heard this, he was unable to speak, and traces of weariness appeared on his regal countenance. We stopped in a village in that vicinity, and because it was so cold Mirza Ulughbeg ordered a fire made and some meat roasted. Some of the retinue acted upon his order. Suddenly a spark from the fire landed on the padishah's robe and scorched it. Mirza Ulughbeg put the spark out with his own hand and said, '*Sen hām bilding?*' (which is to say, Do you realize too?)

"Then a man named Abbas and another man entered the room. When His Highness's eye fell upon them, he jumped up involuntarily from his place and hit Abbas in the chest. The person who was with Abbas removed His Highness's fur coat, and Abbas went outside to get a rope. I closed the door so that Mirza Ulughbeg could make his ablutions. Then Abbas returned and sat the padishah down near a torch that was burning. With a gleaming sword he extinguished the candle of his life."

Two or three days before this, Mirza Abdul-Latif had killed his brother Mirza Abdul-Aziz. That wretched prince, out of lust to rule, murdered a father who was without equal in personal excellence and a brother who was in the full bloom of youth. His own rule did not last more than six months. "The loss both of this world and of the life to come, this is manifest perdition."<sup>80</sup>

One of the litterateurs has composed the following chronogrammatic verse on the martyrdom of Mirza Ulughbeg:

Ulughbeg—that shah as mighty as Jamshid,  
defender of the prophet's religion—quaffed the  
honey of martyrdom from the hand of Abbas,  
and the year was ABBAS KILLED.<sup>81</sup>

#### THE LEARNED MEN OF MIRZA ULUGHBEG KÜRÄGÄN'S TIME

Since the exalted padishah Mirza Ulughbeg was distinguished among the Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän's sons and grandsons for his vast erudition and great learning, and because he constantly patronized learned men, during his time a large group of that class gathered in Samarqand to bask in the sun of his favor and patronage.

*Mawlana Ghiyathuddin Jamshid* was one of them, and he was without equal in

<sup>80</sup>Koran 22:11.

<sup>81</sup>'*Abbās kush*t = 853.

the sciences of urology, mathematics and astronomy. When Mirza Ulughbeg was making his astronomical observations, [Mawlana Ghiyathuddin,] Mawlana Mu'inuddin al-Kashi and Mawlana Salahuddin Musa, who was known as Qazizada Rumi, were in charge of the project.

*Mawlana Ala' Shashi* was another of the great learned men of Samarqand, and he occasionally composed versified riddles. [35]

*Mawlana Nafis* was the greatest physician of the time. In treating illness he manifested the breath of the messiah, and among his works his commentary on the *Mujiz* and his commentary on causes and symptoms are both well known. In the introduction to the commentary on causes and symptoms is a praise of Mirza Ulughbeg.

*Mawlana Muhammad Alim* was another of the learned men of Samarqand. He and Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän had studied together. It is mentioned in the *Majalis al-nafayis* that Mawlana Muhammad Alim was so good-natured and intelligent that he used to discuss and debate very daringly with Mirza Ulughbeg, but because he did not observe court etiquette, Mirza Ulughbeg expelled him from Samarqand.<sup>82</sup> He went to Herat and lived there until he died. This verse is by him:

Our luck is bad, our days are black, our star is  
burned out. The candle of our desires burned  
not even for a night in our own hands.

*Khwaja Isamuddin* was distinguished among all the learned men of Transoxiana for his high position, magnificence and learning. He was honored to hold the post of Shaykh al-Islam in that province for a

long time, and endeavored to strengthen the foundations of the law.

*Khwaja Afzaluddin Kishi* was another of the learned men of Samarqand.

*Sayyid Ashiq* was known for his asceticism, religiosity, learning and abstinence, and he strove with all his might to enjoin good and forbid evil. Because of his reputation, Mirza Ulughbeg appointed him to the post of supervisor of public morals of Samarqand, and the sayyid carried out the duties of the office appropriately.

It has been heard on good authority that when Mirza Ulughbeg ordered a feast on the Kan-i Gil Meadow for the circumcision of Mirza Abdul-Aziz, he made the people *tarkhan*, and all, common and elite alike, were busy drinking wine, openly swinging their wine cups in every direction. On the day the grandees and nobles of Samarqand were seated in the padishah's assembly, Sayyid Ashiq entered the gathering in high dudgeon and, facing Mirza Ulughbeg, said, "You have undermined the Muhammadan religion and instituted paganism!"

His Highness Ulughbeg was furious at this address and, after some reflection, replied, "You are known for your noble lineage as a sayyid and your learning. You have reached an advanced age, but apparently you want to attain the honor of martyrdom too, and for that reason you address these rude words to me. However, I am not going to grant your wish."

Several days after this exchange, the bath that Khwaja Isamuddin had built in Samarqand was completed. The night the bath was being inaugurated, singing girls went to the bath, sat among the men and began to sing. When Sayyid Ashiq learned of this, he went to Khwaja Isamuddin and said, "You un-Islamic Shaykh al-Islam, in which sect is it licit for men and women to sit in the same place and sing?"

<sup>82</sup>Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, p. 15.

Khwaja Isamuddin was shocked to hear these words. The next day he went to Mirza Ulughbeg to demand vindication and reported what Sayyid Ashiq had said. Inasmuch as [36] Mirza Ulughbeg had been insulted by what Sayyid Ashiq said at Kan-i Gil, he said, "Tomorrow let the judges and ulema gather so that we may look into this matter and chastise Sayyid Ashiq for his guilt." The next day the great religious dignitaries gathered at the royal court and were waiting for the padishah to come out when suddenly Mawlana Abu'l-Fath Dhubaba, who was a saintly and pious man and who had been given permission by Ulughbeg to enter court whenever he wished and address him directly with whatever he had to say, entered, went straight to Mirza Ulughbeg and, in the presence of the dignitaries, asked the reason for the assembly. The padishah replied, "For a long time Sayyid Ashiq has been overreaching himself. On the day of the festival at Kan-i Gil he told me I had undermined the prophetic religion and instituted paganism. Yesterday he called Khwaja Isamuddin, who is known for his knowledge, learning and piety among all the noble ulema, an 'un-Islamic Shaykh al-Islam.' Therefore I summoned the judges and learned men to adjudicate in these matters and carry out what he deserves according to law."

Mawlana Abu'l-Fath said, "It was not right for the sayyid to speak of you and the Shaykh al-Islam in this manner, because you conduct yourself in complete justice, are concerned for your subjects and endeavor to strengthen the pillars of the religious law. The Shaykh al-Islam too is known for his knowledge and practice."

Just then a soldier knelt and said, "My brother has died and left two children. I want to marry my brother's widow so that my nephews will not be lost to me. However, the woman wants to marry a

draper after her period of mourning, and she is receiving her expenses from him."

Mirza Ulughbeg said to a sergeant at arms, "Go tell the woman to consent to marry her husband's brother and forbid the draper to marry her."

After hearing this judgment Mawlana Abu'l-Fath turned to Ulughbeg and said, "What Sayyid Ashiq said about you was not far from the truth."

"How so?" the padishah asked.

"Because," he said, "according to the law a woman who is of sound mind and of age is free to enter into marriage with whomever she wishes. By what sect do you impose upon the woman that she not marry the draper and consent to this Mughul?"

The padishah was very affected by these words and stopped the sergeant at arms. Then he said, "Give the dignitaries and nobles permission to return home. It is clear to us that Sayyid Ashiq was right in what he said." Consequently the disappointed gathering withdrew, and the dispute with the sayyid was ended.

*Mawlana Muhammad Ardistani* was the marvel of the time and rarity of the age. He had complete expertise in the science of geomancy and astrology, and his predictions were never off by a hair. In this regard there are many stories told of him. The following story given in the *Rawdat al-safa* was related by Mawlana Ala'uddin Ali Qushchi.

One day Mirza Ulughbeg was seated in the royal assembly when Mawlana Muhammad came in. Mirza Ulughbeg said, "Practice your geomancy and tell me what is in my mind." [37]

The mawlana observed the ascendant of the hour, cast his sand and said, "It is a question of the harem." So saying he fell silent.

The padishah said, "Ali Qushchi is in my confidence. Whatever you have to say, you may say without fear."



"Of the padishah's two wives," the mawlana said, "he will kill one and divorce the other, the daughter of the khan."

Mirza Ulughbeg thought it a remote possibility that he should divorce the khan's daughter, an ascetic and chaste lady he loved very much. However, within a few days he dispatched to the next life the lady whom Mawlana Muhammad had predicted he would kill, and the khan's daughter was so happy over this and rejoiced so over the other's misfortune that Mirza Ulughbeg flared up in anger and divorced her.

*Qazi Muhammad Miskin* was renowned for his knowledge, piety and adherence to the religious law, and for a long time he executed reliably and religiously the office of chief judge of Samarqand. He had heard from the Shaykh al-Islam Mawlana Sayfuddin Ahmad al-Taftazani that Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän, during his successful time as sultan, had handed over to a merchant a large sum for the merchant to invest and return the profit to the treasury. After some time the ship of the merchant's life sank in the sea of annihilation, and Ulughbeg coveted the merchant's estate.

"There was a particularly valuable ruby from our treasury being held by that merchant," he said, and he arranged for witnesses to support his claim. When the royal design reached the hearing of Qazi Shamsuddin Muhammad Miskin, he sent a message to the padishah via a courtier, saying, "The production of witnesses in this case will not avail you much, for the truth is known to me. If you want me to adjudicate in your favor, you must have me dunked, hands and feet bound, in cold water during this extremely cold season until I can take it no longer and order the merchant's effects to be given in the stead of your nonexistent ruby." The courtier relayed this message to Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän. That just and religious padishah's heart softened, and he praised the

judge's impartiality and dropped his claim.

When Mirza Abdul-Latif, thinking to have his father killed, had a legal opinion drafted to the effect that anyone who kills a Muslim unjustly must suffer retribution, Qazi Muhammad Miskin refused to sign the opinion and said, "Mirza Abdul-Latif's purpose in obtaining this opinion is to legalize the killing of Mirza Ulughbeg, whereas if a king puts to death one of his subjects for the benefit of the kingdom, he is not liable to retribution." No matter how Mirza Abdul-Latif threatened the judge to make him abandon his contention and sign the opinion, it was to no avail.

*Khwaja Fazlullah Abullaythi*, a descendant of the Faqih Abu'l-Layth who wrote the *Bustan*, was renowned for his excellence and was constantly engaged in teaching. [38] From time to time he also composed poetry and enigmas. The following is from one of his verse compositions:

Your cypress-like stature is my soul, yet it walks. Move toward me, O cypress, so that I may sacrifice my soul.

*Mawlana Ala'uddin Ali Qushchī* was the most learned and wisest man of the age. In his youth he gained Mirza Ulughbeg's favor, and under that exalted padishah's patronage he advanced to the pinnacle of knowledge. Mirza Ulughbeg called him "son" and, as a sign of extreme favor, he occasionally let him hold his falcon, and for that reason he became known as *qushchī* (falconer). One of Mawlana Ali's famous works is a commentary on Khwaja Nasīruddin Tusi's *Tajrid* that has been praised by scholars near and far. At the end of his life Mawlana Ali went to Anatolia, and there he died.

*Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min* was a member of Mirza Ulughbeg's inner circle. He

stood out among the elegants of Samarqand for the grace of his nature and keenness of his mind. It has been heard from reliable sources that during the padishah's reign Qazi Farshi, a judge, became involved in venality. Mirza Ulughbeg learned of it and ordered the judge to have his beard shaved and be publicly exposed. Qazi Farshi turned to Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min, who interceded on his behalf with the throne. After much deliberation it was decided that the judge would present twenty horses to save his beard. When he was released Qazi Farshi turned the horses over to Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min, who sent them to his own herd. Some time later, however, he realized that if his dishonesty were discovered, the padishah might be angry with him. Therefore he said to the judge one day, "It would be appropriate for you to show yourself to the mirza from afar so that, if he is still annoyed, I can soothe him." The next day he did as he had been told. When Mirza Ulughbeg's spotted the judge, he summoned Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min and said, "Why doesn't the judge turn over to the stablemasters the twenty horses he accepted to pay." Khwaja Abdul-Mu'min replied, "The judge was unable to give so many horses. Now he has come to have his beard shaved and be publicly exposed." Mirza Ulughbeg laughed when he heard this and did not harass the judge again.

*Mawlana Khayali* was among the poets of Bukhara and a student of Khwaja Ismatullah. Here are two lines of his I remember:

Lovers' hearts are targets for your arrows of grief. People are smitten by you, yet you are absent. Sometimes I go into seclusion in the monastery, and sometimes I dwell in the mosque: that is, I search for you from house to house.

*Mawlana Badakhshi* was the outstanding poet of Samarqand in Mirza

Ulughbeg's time. The following line is his composition:

The sun is held in the embrace of your tress,  
black as night. Who has seen a shadow of  
night fall across the sun? [39]

MIRZA SULTAN-MUHAMMAD SON OF  
MIRZA BAYSUNQR

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was a prince possessed of perfect reason and known for his sagacity, clemency and manliness. He was so brave and audacious that he fought in many terrifying battles, and regardless of how strong and mighty the enemy was, he thought nothing of it. In generosity and liberality he maintained a middle course and avoided both parsimony and prodigality. Once one of his elite was reporting Mirza Babur's spendthrift ways to him and asked him, "How is it that you do not take after him in this regard." In reply Mirza Sultan-Muhammad quoted this line of poetry:

Between learned and ignorant there is this difference: the one pulls the reins too tight and the other has turned the reins loose.

During His Majesty [Shahrukh's] lifetime Mirza Sultan-Muhammad spent five years in Iraq. When the late emperor passed away in Rayy, this prince hastened from Khurramabad in Luristan to his grandfather's camp in Rayy. From there he went to Isfahan, and after that city was consolidated he turned his reins toward Shiraz. Mirza Abdullah came out to resist, and a fierce battle was fought between the two sides. Mirza Abdullah was defeated and took refuge in the fortress at Istakhr. The army of Iraq plundered the possessions of the Fars army, and Mirza Sultan-Muhammad entered Shiraz in triumph.

As requested by Mirza Abdullah, he sent Sayyid Nizamuddin Ahmad, a noble of Shiraz, to Istakhr, and the sayyid persuaded him of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's good will and induced him to leave

the fort to pay homage. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad received him with favor and told him that he could go to live in any city in Iraq or Khurasan he wished. Mirza Abdullah was hoping to marry one of Mirza Ulughbeg's daughters, and so he chose to go to Khurasan. He reached Herat and stayed there several days in Mirza Ala'uddawla's good graces, but on the day of the Battle of Tarnab, as has been reported, the Khurasan army's ranks were broken, and he went to Mirza Ulughbeg.

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was then left as the unchallenged ruler of Fars and Iraq, and the mighty of the area bowed their heads in obedience to his command—all except Mirza Jahanshah b. Amir Qara Yusuf, who revolted and took Sultaniyya and Qazwin. When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad learned of the Turcoman padishah's encroachment, he set out to prepare his army and sent a royal edict like that of the emperor to Mirza Jahanshah to this effect: "Let the mighty Prince Amir Jahanshah, who has been singled out for imperial favor, know that it has reached our hearing that his agents, against royal order, have interfered in Sultaniyya and Qazwin. This event has occurred contrary to law. He must restore those provinces to the deputies of the supreme divan and content himself with the kingdom to which the late emperor assigned him. Otherwise, let him hasten to the battlefield to see what may happen to fulfill the destiny and decree of God." [40] Sealing the edict, he sent it with an experienced envoy and set out himself with an army beyond enumeration just behind the envoy.

When Amir Jahanshah's eyes fell upon the edict and he apprised himself of the contents, he was stunned and said, "Either this bold, audacious person is in the throes of madness to send such an edict to a padishah like me, or else he is marching to Fars and Iraq with a large army."

When the two sides neared each other, envoys and messages went back and forth, and disagreement and dispute were exchanged for truce and agreement. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad returned to Shiraz, and Amir Jahanshah withdrew to Azerbaijan.

After the death of his grandfather, the prince remained an autonomous ruler for another five years. In 855 [1451] he was taken prisoner by Mirza Babur at the Battle of Chanaran, and divine destiny rolled up the carpet of his life, as will shortly be reported in detail.

#### MIRZA SULTAN-MUHAMMAD LEADS HIS ARMY TO HERAT BUT WITHDRAWS TO IRAQ AFTER SEVERAL BATTLES

When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur had consolidated Fars and Iraq and heard of Mirza Ulughbeg's end, he ambitiously determined to conquer Khurasan and set out with an army as innumerable as the motions of the celestial spheres. Mirza Babur, too, gathered vast forces and set out from Herat to meet his brother. In the vicinity of Jam those two mighty padishahs clashed, and the champions of the two armies and warriors of the two sides grappled. In the end the breeze of victory and triumph blew through the banners of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad, and Mirza Babur experienced a crushing defeat. The Iraqis totally overwhelmed the foe, and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur and seven courageous men managed to escape with their lives from that whirlpool and reach Imad Fort. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad entered Herat in triumph and raised the banner of splendor. After ordering affairs of state he passed a few days unrolling the carpet of revelry and pleasure.

He ordered Mirza Ibrahim released from Mirza Babur's imprisonment and sent him to Mirza Ala'uddawla, whom he had brought along. That winter there was a terrible drought and inflation in Herat—

so bad that the price of a *kharwar* of wheat escalated to 400 Kepeki dinars.

Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin, who in [Shahrukh's] time had been the prefect of Kerman and lately had been one of the amirs to enjoy Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's special favor, began to tyrannize the populace, expropriating property and making exorbitant demands on Turk and Persian alike. Although Khwaja Ghiyathuddin [41] Pir-Ahmad Khwafi, who held the seal in the circle of great amirs in Mirza Muhammad's divan, had often admonished him for using tyranny and oppression, it was to no avail. Consequently the structure of the kingdom began to crumble, and everyone who could fled Herat to pay homage to Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur.

After staying in Imad Fort for a few days, Mirza Babur relinquished the fort to Amir Muhammad Salih and set out via Abiward for Astarabad. He drove out the men Mirza Muhammad had stationed there and once again raised the banner of rule.

When this reached Mirza Sultan-Muhammad's hearing, he determined to crush Mirza Babur. Dispatching Mirza Ala'uddawla to Garmser, he set out with a ferocious army for Astarabad. He sent Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin and his other amirs as a scouting party; but as they approached, Mirza Babur leapt from the forest of Jurjan like an enraged lion and met the Iraq amirs at Mashhad-i Raz. Warriors from both sides hurled themselves into the fray seeking fame, dyeing the flat earth the color of Badakhshan rubies with blood-spewing blades, and perforating each other's breasts with dragon-like spears. As divine favor smiled upon Mirza Babur, the army of Iraq was defeated and the hand of destiny rolled up the scroll of life of Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin and other amirs and *noyans*.

When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad on the other side in Tus heard of Amir Hajji

Muhammad's death, he left the baggage train with Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khwafi and galloped off in pursuit of the amirs. Along the way he came across those fleeing from Mashhad-i Raz, who gave him a report of the battle. As the prince's anger blazed up, he raced off like a whirlwind, leaving not more than three hundred cavalymen in the royal train. When he reached Mirza Babur's camp, the Jurjan soldiers scattered, and Mirza Babur once again went to Imad Fort. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad, imagining that his opponents might be plotting a trap, withdrew that very night to Tus. Along the way he heard that his baggage train had been plundered and the people had run away fleeing in all directions. This came about as follows: after Mirza Sultan-Muhammad galloped off, the news of the amirs' death became known in the royal camp. The soldiers fell into pandemonium, and try as he might Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad was not able to keep anyone there.

When Mirza Sultan-Muhammad saw his camp deserted, he was so perplexed he stayed there for a day or two. In the meantime it was ascertained that Mirza Ala'uddawla had gone from Garmser to Herat and seized the throne. Then Mirza Sultan-Muhammad took counsel with his advisors and said, "The people of Herat are naturally inclined to Mirza Ala'uddawla, who has now raised the banner of rule in the city. Our soldiers are scattered. It seems best for me to return to Iraq and collect my men before returning to conquer Khurasan." And it was so decided that Mirza Sultan-Muhammad would set out for Iraq. When Mirza Babur heard this, he headed for Herat.

Mirza Ala'uddawla [42] turned over Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul and headed for Balkh. Mirza Babur entered Herat intent upon liberating Ikhtiyaruddin Fort. For forty days he besieged that mighty fortress, but no victory did he see. Finally Mawlana Ahmad Ya-

saul sent this message: "If His Highness the prince is waiting for me to come out of the fortress, he must swear an oath in the presence of Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar and Amir Nasiruddin Quraysh that neither will he harass any of the inhabitants of the citadel nor will he allow anyone else to do so." Mirza Babur undertook such an oath, and Mawlana Ahmad left the citadel with his followers. Mirza Babur kept his pledge and harmed no one.

#### MIRZA ABDUL-LATIF RULES IN SAMARQAND AND IS KILLED BY DIVINE DECREE

Mirza Abdul-Latif was a ruler known for the delicacy of his nature and sharpness of his mind as well as for his great personal accomplishments. He was inclined to converse with dervishes and hermits, and he sat politely in the assemblies of the shaykhs and the ulema he patronized. However, his temperament was melancholic, he was quick to anger and coarse of speech. For small infractions he meted out severe punishments. From his childhood he had lived under the shadow of [Shahrukh's] patronage and favor, and His Majesty loved him so much that it excited the jealousy of the other princes.

When, as has been previously reported, Mirza Abdul-Latif gave his noble father a taste of martyrdom and sent him to the meadows of paradise, he seized the throne of autonomy in Samarqand. In imitation of the caliphs of old, on Fridays he himself read the *khutba* and led the prayer. He was concerned to maintain his subjects and dispensed justice with equity. However, he summoned a group of Barlas tribesmen and Tarkhans, like Amir Mahmud Taybuq, Sultan Junayd, Sultan Yusuf, and Amir Isma'il Sufi Tarkhan, who had been his devoted followers, and put them to death because on the day Mirza Ulughbeg fled they had killed Amir Sultanshah Barlas and his son Amir Jalaluddin Muhammad, who had come to

pay homage to Mirza Abdul-Latif. Because he killed the Barlas amirs and the Tarkhans, the rest of the *noyans* detested serving Mirza Abdul-Latif. During those days the *nökärs* of Mirza Ulughbeg and Mirza Abdul-Aziz discussed amongst themselves how to stunt the sapling of his fortune and decided irrevocably to kill him.

On Friday eve, the 26th of Rabi' II 854 [June 8, 1450] they sat in mutinous ambush, and as that mad prince was on his way from the Bagh-i Chanar toward the city, they shot him. The arrow struck its intended target, and Mirza Abdul-Latif, [43] clutching his horse's mane, cried out, "I've been shot!" Those who were in attendance scattered, and the enemies surrounded him, severed his head from his body and hung it in the portico of Mirza Ulughbeg's *madrassa*.

Mirza Abdul-Latif reigned for six months, and he used to recite this verse constantly after he killed his father:

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

It is a strange coincidence that Mirza Abdul-Latif was killed by a man named Baba Husayn, and the pen of destiny made "Baba Husayn" the chronogram for the date of his father's murder:

Baba Husayn killed him with a blade on Friday eve: the date of his death is KILLED BY BABA HUSAYN.<sup>83</sup>

When Mirza Abdul-Latif was killed, the amirs and nobles agreed that Mirza Abdullah Shirazi should rule in his stead.

MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR GOES TO BALKH AND BADAKHSHAN; UWAYS BEG REBELS IN THE CAPITAL OF KHURASAN

It has been reported previously that when Mirza Ala'uddawla heard that Mirza Babur was headed in his direction, he

<sup>83</sup>*Bābā Husayn kushi* = 854.

left Herat and set out for Balkh, where people rallied around his banner. Mirza Babur, hearing this, determined to crush his brother with his fierce army, but Mirza Ala'uddawla avoided doing battle and headed for the mountains of Badakhshan.

After arriving in Balkh, Mirza Babur went out in pursuit of Mirza Ala'uddawla, despite the severity of the cold and snow, but when his determination was undermined he retreated to Balkh.

At that time he gave the governorship of Balkh, Qunduz and Baqlan to Amir Pir-Darwesh Hazaraspī and his brother Amir Ali, who were both known for fairness, generosity and bravery, and he returned to Herat. When he arrived in the capital he saw that during the absence of the imperial train an extremely strange event had taken place—the hand of destiny had opened the doors of terror and debauchery upon the beauties of the age. This happened as follows.

When Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur decided to go to Balkh, he entrusted the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Uways Beg, who carried out the duties of castellan for a few days. But then a taste of governing had whetted his appetite, and the effervescence of rebellion and conceit had found its way into his brain. With visions of independence, he consolidated his position in the citadel and unfurled the banner of debauchery, depravity and tyranny with the hand of shamelessness. Sometimes he would come down from the fortress and sit in all splendor at the gate to the citadel drinking wine. He also dragged by force from the bazaar beauties whom he would take into the citadel. Although Mirza Abu'l-Qasim [44] Babur returned in triumph from his Balkh campaign and camped in the Bagh-i Safed, Uways remained intransigent and rebellious, not budging one step from his obstinate stance. Since the citadel was as impregnable as the ramparts of heaven and was then filled with untold stores and innumerable weaponry, it was useless for

Mirza Babur to think of siege or force. To solve this knotty problem, he sent one of his confidants to Uways with a message that said, "Do not leave the citadel. I shall come to you." Then, one night, the padishah entered the city and sent a group of musicians and singers to the fortress, saying, "We will follow you." He also sent behind them a group of warriors. A tumult arose within the fortress as the men said, "His Highness the prince is here." Uways came to the vestibule of the citadel to greet him, and Shaykh Mansur, one of Babur's champions, leapt at him. With one thrust of his dagger Uways killed him, but the other warriors rushed Uways and with repeated blows of the sword they dispatched his vile soul to hell.

Two or three days later Uways's brother Yusufshah and Murad Türkmän, one of his comrades, were forced to leave the Ikhtiyaruddin citadel and turn over the keys to the deputies of the court. They too were sent to the next world.

Then one of Mirza Ala'uddawla's men came to Mirza Babur and reported that the prince had approached the city but disappeared from sight at the foot of Gazargah Mountain. A group of court guards was sent immediately to search for him. They dragged Mirza Ala'uddawla from Iskandar Beg's quarters and, as ordered, turned him over to trusted men. In 855 [1451] Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur set out to winter in Astarabad because of the disturbances created by Mirza Sultan-Muhammad. When he reached Sultan Maydan he turned aside toward Bistam, where he remained for a few days.

MIRZA SULTAN-MUHAMMAD AND  
MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR DO BATTLE  
A SECOND TIME AT CHANARAN; THE  
CYPRESS OF THE GARDEN OF PRINCELY  
PROSPERITY IS FELLED BY THE COLD  
WIND OF FATE

In the year 850 [1446–47] Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur led

his bold army a second time from Fars and Iraq to conquer Khurasan and do battle with his mighty brother. In Bistam Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur heard of his approach and sent the Shaykh al-Islam Khwaja Mawlana, who had come from Transoxiana because of Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's occupation, as an emissary to Mirza Muhammad to sue for peace. [45] He hastened to the princely court and performed his duty as ambassador. At first Mirza Sultan-Muhammad refused to accept; but in the end, after much insistence on the part of Khwaja Mawlana, he agreed. It was established that an insignificant section of Khurasan would enter the domain of the Iraq divan, and the *khutba* and coinage would be in Mirza Muhammad's name throughout Mirza Babur's realm.

When Khwaja Mawlana returned, Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur relied on this truce and left Bistam for Mazanderan for the winter.

Meanwhile, the news arrived that Mirza Sultan-Muhammad had placed the notebook of this promise and pact on the shelf of forgetfulness and, passing through Bistam and Damghan, had entered the Isfarayin plain. When he heard this, Mirza Babur waxed angry and raced into the battlefield like an enraged lion from the forests of Mazanderan. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad, learning of his brother's approach, hastily left Isfarayin for Astarabad. The two mighty armies, churning and thundering like a springtime storm cloud, clashed at Chanaran, and the cold wind of attack fanned the flame of battle. That day Mirza Sultan-Muhammad unsheathed the sword of agility and charged the Khurasan army himself.

In every direction he brandished blade and spear, he crushed the enemy's head and breast.

Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur also cast the gauntlet of combat into the arena.

With shaft and bow, with sharp sword he wrought doomsday upon the enemy.

Meanwhile Amir Abu-Sa'id Mirim deserted Mirza Sultan-Muhammad for Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur and said, "Mirza Sultan-Muhammad will attack your main center. It would behoove you to open a path among the mobile troops for him to enter among the ranks. Then from the sides and flanks he can be closed in and not allowed to get out." Just then that brave prince attacked the Khurasan army's center, saying, "I am Muhammad son of Baysunghur." As Amir Abu-Sa'id had instructed them, Mirza Babur's troops created a trap and caught the prince, cutting the Iraqis off from the royal train. The fighting went on for a long time, but in the end the breeze of victory and triumph blew toward Mirza Babur, and the Iraq troops took flight.

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was held fast in the clutches of fate. The commandant of Khurasan was still in the saddle when he was brought forward. Mirza Babur addressed his elder brother and chastised him, saying, "What did we do that made you spill Muslim blood and destroy property? Twice you have brought your army to Khurasan, and now you have come to such a pass."

Mirza Sultan-Muhammad answered, "In ruling kingdoms such affairs have always happened."

Instigated by some of his shortsighted men, Mirza Babur motioned that his brother, the likes of whom for bravery, manliness and humanity mother earth has seldom produced, be executed. The guards mounted him on a horse and set off to carry out the order.

Along the way Mirza Sultan-Muhammad asked for a handkerchief to bind a wound he had received on his hand. The guards said, "It's too late for that."

"Has Babur not been generous?" he asked.

"No," they said.

“Then where are you taking me?” he asked. At that very spot he dismounted and lowered his head in resignation. One of Mirza Babur’s captains put an end to that exalted prince with one blow of his sword.

Alas, there is no stability in the foundation of the celestial sphere: the axis is remote from the circumference of time.

Beware of expecting amnesty from fate, [46]  
for no one receives quarter from the blade of  
vengeance.

When Mirza Babur was ennobled by the sight of triumph, he thanked God for his blessings and sent letters of victory to all parts of the kingdom. He ordered that his brother’s body be taken to Herat and buried near his father Mirza Baysunghur.

After having relieved his mind of one brother, that very day he began to plot against the other, ordering that a red-hot lancet be drawn across Mirza Ala’udawla’s eyes. However, the person who was charged with this vile act had mercy on the prince. As his eyes filled with tears, he drew the lancet across the eyelids in such a way that no damage was done to the pupil.

Although it would have been proper for Mirza Abu’l-Qasim Babur, as an example of good character and conduct, innate generosity and instinctive manliness, to embroider the pages of his brothers’ crimes with the words, “Let there be no reproach cast on you this day,”<sup>84</sup> and to forgive them by acting upon the saying, “To grant pardon from a superior position is the pinnacle of superiority,” nonetheless, since the end of the thread of free will is held by fate, and the occurrence of good and evil is by the Universal King’s decree, the rays of eternal success did not shine upon his destiny, and these untoward acts issued from that wise padishah—but that is the decree of the Omniscient, the Mighty One.

#### MIRZA ABU’L-QASIM BABUR GOES TO SHIRAZ BUT WITHDRAWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DIVINE WILL

When Mirza Babur, by propitious fortune, was relieved of worry from his brothers, he turned toward the kingdoms of Fars and Iraq. Because the passage of Mirza Muhammad’s army had wrought havoc on the crops of Rayy, he marched through Turshiz toward Yazd. While he was camped there, Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad and Amir Ghiyathuddin Sultan-Husayn, amirs of Mirza Sultan-Muhammad and sons of Amir Firozshah, were received and appointed as amirs of the Supreme Divan. Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khwafi also came to court and was shown favor.

The invincible train then moved out from Yazd for Shiraz, where the amiable padishah indulged in the sound of the harp, pleasure and revelry, drinking with smooth-cheeked lads and moonlike beauties of Venus countenance. For several days he did not go to court from the banquet. During that time the news of the Turcoman army’s encroachment upon Sawa gained currency, and Mirza Babur rolled up the carpet of pleasure and turned the reins of determination to the battlefield. The details of this battle are as follows.

After the victory at Chanaran, Mirza Babur assigned one of his ministers to each of the regions of Fars and Iraq. He assigned Amir Shaykh-Ali Bahadur as governor of Sawa and Amir Darwesh-Ali as *wali* of Qum. They set out for their appointments via Rayy and, making exorbitant demands upon their subjects, [47] expropriated and seized subjects’ property. Since Amir Shaykh-Ali was the more tyrannical, a group of dignitaries of Sawa took refuge with a band of Turcomans who were in the area, and the Turcomans poured down in a sudden attack on Amir Shaykh-Ali, seized him and sent him to Amir Jahanshah. And so the city of Sawa, which is truly the key to Iraq,

<sup>84</sup>Koran 12:92.



entered without cost into the domain of Amir Jahanshah the Turcoman. Consequently he became greedy for more lands and sent a detachment of the Azerbaijan army to Qum. Amir Darwesh-Ali made fast the towers and ramparts of the city and got ready for a siege. After four months of pleasure and revelry in Shiraz, Mirza Babur heard this news and, leaving Fars in the charge of Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar, set out for Isfahan. Along the way an emissary from Khurasan arrived in the camp and reported that Mirza Ala'uddawla had emerged in Khurasan and many people had rallied to him. Therefore Mirza Babur thought it impolitic to remain in Iraq, so on Friday the 16th of Rajab 855 [August 14, 1451] at Kushk-i Zard he turned toward Herat. On the 22nd of the month he arrived in Taft, Yazd and appointed Mirza Khalil-Sultan b. Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir as governor. From there he proceeded to Tun, to the governorship of which he assigned Amir Sultan-Husayn. The royal train marched from Tun to Herat, arriving on the 12th of Sha'ban [September 9, 1451]. It was clear that Amir Pir-Darwesh Hazaraspi had bravely and decisively dealt with Mirza Ala'uddawla, who was hastening toward Rayy via Sistan, as will be described in detail.

#### MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA REBELS WITH THE HELP OF THE ARLAT TRIBE

When Mirza Ala'uddawla's eyes were preserved from the fiery lancet, he managed with great guile to get himself to Holy Mashhad, from which he took the road to Maymana and Faryab. When he arrived in that province, Amir Sultan-Mahmud b. Amir Yadgarshah Arlat, whose sister was married to the prince, joined the prince's retinue along with all the other Arlats who were in the area. Agreeing that he should rule, they devoted themselves to him, and Mirza Ala'uddawla, with the help of that tribe,

arrayed his forces and set out for Balkh. Amir Pir-Darwesh and Amir Ali came out with the Tokharistan army to challenge the Arlats, and a pitched battle broke out between the two sides. Amir Sultan-Mahmud was shot down, and Mirza Ala'uddawla was routed with his followers, fleeing toward Herat via Langar-i Ghiyathiyya, [48] sowing seeds of dissension and strife in the town and suburbs. Mirza Babur's amirs set out from Khurasan to repel Mirza Ala'uddawla. Amir Pir-Darwesh was the first to encounter the ill-starred prince in the vicinity of Herat Rud, and with one attack he scattered Ala'uddawla's troops. Mirza Ala'uddawla fled from Herat Rud to Sistan and then to Rayy, where he met with Amir Jahanshah, who received him favorably.

When Mirza Babur reached Herat and learned what had happened to Mirza Ala'uddawla, once again he relaxed in pleasure and revelry, quaffing goblets of scarlet wine from the hands of beautiful cupbearers. However, the prince of Azerbaijan, Amir Jahanshah the Turcoman, learning of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's withdrawal, set out to conquer Iraq and Fars. Babur's governors and appointees were unable to resist the mighty padishah and left for Khurasan. During 857 [1453] Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar, Mirza Khalil-Sultan and the other prefects of those towns arrived at the capital, where they reported the situation.

That very year, because of a slight he felt he had received, Mirza Babur had Khwaja Pir-Ahmad Khwafi punished, tortured and fined two hundred Kepeki tūmäns. He demanded more of him, but finally the khwaja, sick of life and suffering from other infirmities too, bade farewell to the transitory world. He was buried in the shrine of Shaykh Zaynuddin Khwafi he had constructed.

A MENTION OF THE MIGHTY PADISHAH  
MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID

Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id was the foremost among the sultans of the Timurid dynasty in exaltedness of mind, elevation of station, perfection of reason and perspicacity, and abundance of understanding and sagacity. In spreading the carpet of equity, care for his subjects and maintenance of the foundations of justice and mercy he strove more than anyone could imagine. The splendor of his world-adorning mind illuminated the expanse of kingdom and nation, and the finial of his heaven-scraping parasol eclipsed the light of the sun and the moon. In making judgments he never transgressed the prophetic law, and he continually endeavored to patronize sayyids, the ulema, shaykhs and the learned. During the days of his reign the provinces of Turkistan, Transoxiana, Badakhshan, Tokharistan, Zabulistan, Sistan, Khurasan and Mazanderan flourished; and through his great justice the rips and tears of so many years were mended. The wing of his security and safety and the banner of his beneficence and generosity were spread over the heads of the citizens of those realms.

His justice, through the strength of his arm,  
bound the necks of ten wolves with one  
lamb's hair. When the gates of his justice were  
opened to the world, the willow ceased to  
tremble from the storm and wind.

Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id was the son of Mirza Muhammad b. [49] Mirza Miran-shah b. Amir Timur Kürägän. In his youth he served in the wise Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän's retinue, and due to his exalted ambition he thought of world conquest from his earliest days. Biding his time and waiting for an opportunity, he considered himself more worthy than his peers to conquer realms, and he continually sought assistance from the psychic powers of dervishes.

As has been previously mentioned, in the year 853 [1449], when Mirza Ulugh-

beg Kürägän and Mirza Abdul-Latif were camped opposite each other, locked in mortal combat on the banks of the Oxus, this prince was encouraged by the Arghuns to rebel and besiege Samarqand. When Mirza Ulughbeg heard this, he left his son and headed for Samarqand. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id withdrew and went to the camps of the Arghun nation, where he waited patiently for a while until his chance should present itself.

After Mirza Abdul-Latif killed his father and seized the throne, he sent someone to bring [Abu-Sa'id] to Samarqand, where he was imprisoned. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id escaped from prison and went in haste to Bukhara. Coincidentally the very night Mirza Abdul-Latif was killed in Samarqand and Mirza Abdullah Shirazi was made padishah, Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id—who henceforth shall be referred to simply as Sultan Sa'id—emerged in Bukhara. The prefect of Bukhara seized him and put him under arrest in a confinement more constricted than the minds of the stingy. The next day the news of Mirza Abdul-Latif's murder reached that region, and the amirs and dignitaries of Bukhara went to apologize to Sultan Sa'id and beg his pardon. He was released from prison and seated upon the throne, and over his head were scattered coins of fidelity and devotion.

The mighty one of Egypt, despite his jealous  
brethren, rose from the depth of a well to the  
height of the moon.

This prince was so ambitious that he was not content with the kingdom of Bukhara and soon cast the lasso of his ambition around the battlements of the province of Samarqand. Mirza Abdullah learned of this mighty prince's dreams of autonomy and independence and hastened to meet him in battle. After skirmishes and fighting, the army of Samarqand was victorious, and Sultan Sa'id drew the reins of retreat toward Turkistan, where he brought the city of Yasī into his domain.

When Mirza Abdullah learned of this, he armed his troops and sent them out under the leadership of brave amirs. They set out for Yasi in the dead of winter, and Sultan Sa'id got ready for a siege. The amirs laid siege and did battle, but during that time Sultan Sa'id sent a group of trusted men out of the city by a secret way. When the enemy caught sight of them from afar, they cried out, "The Uzbeks are coming!" Inside the city the drums were sounded, and all this shook the resolve of Mirza Abdullah's troops, who ran away in confusion [50] toward Samarqand. The champions of Sultan Sa'id's army pursued the enemy and pillaged much of their equipment and animals.

When the fleeing army reached Samarqand, Mirza Abdullah opened the doors of the storehouses and gave the soldiers much gold, commanding them to go out and fight as he indicated the martial equipment.

Meanwhile Sultan Sa'id sent a trusted man to request assistance from Abu'l-Khayr Khan, who was then the ruler of the Jochid nation. Abu'l-Khayr Khan agreed to his request and joined Mirza Sultan Sa'id with a vast army in the vicinity of Yasi. The two mighty padishahs, certain of divine favor, headed toward Samarqand.

Mirza Abdullah learned of the connivance of his enemies and came out of the city with an army as numerous as raindrops. As he crossed the Kohak River, Abu'l-Khayr Khan and Sultan Sa'id's troops could be seen in the distance. The two padishahs arrayed their battle lines, and the warriors clashed like waves pounding in the blue sea. As long as their fortitude remained, they fought bravely and heroically. The earth turned the color of sunset with the blood of the slain, and the air became stifling with the rising dust of the fray. Finally divine assistance encompassed Sultan Sa'id, and Mirza Abdullah turned his reins toward the valley

of flight. Along the way his steed stuck in the mire, and the prince was seized by the claw of destiny. On Monday eve the 22nd of Jumada I 855 [June 22, 1451] at Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's command he drained the goblet of martyrdom.

Sultan Sa'id expressed his gratitude to the Universal Provider for this renowned victory and raised the standard of magnitude and might. Because he realized that if the Uzbeks entered Samarqand the citizenry would suffer tyranny and injustice, he made it his ambition to prevent them. As he was approaching the city accompanied by Abu'l-Khayr Khan's amirs, he took them unaware and charged by himself to the gate, shouting to the guards, "I am Sultan Abu-Sa'id. Open the gates if you want to remain safe from the Uzbeks!" The men obeyed at once, and Sultan Sa'id entered Samarqand and assumed the throne of world rule. He made fast the towers and battlements of the city and sent appropriate gifts and suitable tribute to Abu'l-Khayr Khan and his amirs with a message, saying, "Since it was with His Highness the Khan's assistance that Samarqand, the seat of my fathers and grandfathers, has come under my control, it is appropriate that the servants of the imperial train withdraw to their own places and not remain within this land, from which they will derive no profit." When Abu'l-Khayr Khan realized that there was nothing for him to do but accede, he withdrew to the Qipchaq Steppe, and Sultan Sa'id turned his attention to consolidating his position and ruling the kingdom by dispensing justice and redressing wrongs. He also had Mirza Abdul-Latif's murderers executed.

For seven years the rays of his justice shone over Transoxiana, as the lands from Khurasan to the borders of Iraq came under his dominion; and for another eleven years from the furthest reaches of Turkistan to the borders of Azerbaijan were under the domination of that happy

padishah. During that time those regions flourished beyond imagination.

When the brilliance of his fortune began to wane, at the beginning of Sha‘ban 872 [end of February 1468] he set out for Iraq and Azerbaijan. In the vicinity of Qara Bagh, Arran, he was ruined, and in Rajab 873 [January 1469] he fell into the clutches of fate. For two or three days he was held prisoner, and then his life was ended by Amir Hasan Beg. The details of this and other episodes in the life of this happy sultan will be given shortly.

Sultan Sa‘id’s viziers were Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Khwaja Sidi-Ahmad, Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus Simnani, Khwaja Mu‘izzuddin Farjaq [?], Mawlana Amir Samarqandi, Khwaja Ni‘matullah Quhistani and Khwaja Abdullah Akhtab; and during that mighty padishah’s reign Mawlana Fathullah Tabrizi,<sup>85</sup> Mawlana Abdul-Karim Samarqandi and Sharaf-i-Jahan Mirak Abdul-Rahim held the post of *sadr*.

MIRZA ABU‘L-QASIM BABUR WINTERS  
IN JURJAN BUT WITHDRAWS BECAUSE  
SULTAN SA‘ID APPROACHES THE  
BORDERS OF KHURASAN

In the middle of 857 the mighty padishah Mirza Abu‘l-Qasim Babur, once again thinking of conquering Fars and Iraq, raised the banners of the rising sun. On Monday the 23rd of Rajab [July 30, 1453] he marched out of Herat and, after traversing many stations and halting places, he camped at Yalghuz Yighach in Khabushan. While there one of Mirza Khalil-Sultan b. Mirza Muhammad-Jahangir’s confidants reported that the prince had plotted with a group of malevolents and intended to mutiny. A royal command was issued, and the great amirs set out to investigate. When the truth of the report had been ascertained, the evil

counselors of Mirza Khalil-Sultan were executed, and the prince was imprisoned for a few days before he too “set forth for the realm of nonexistence” on the 22nd of Ramadan [August 28, 1453].

While at that station Mirza Abu‘l-Qasim Babur performed the rites of the Ramadan festival and set out to winter over in Jurjan at the beginning of Shawwal [October 1453].

On the 15th of Dhu‘l-Qa‘da [November 17, 1453] he arrived in Sultanabad, Astarabad, [52] where he stayed for the winter.

At winter’s end, when the forces of verdure and greenery unrolled their carpets in the gardens and meadows, the invincible padishah left his winter quarters and marched on his Iraq campaign. Just then an envoy from Balkh arrived to report that Sultan Sa‘id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa‘id had crossed the Oxus with the speed of lightning, intent upon conquering the provinces of Khurasan. Amir Pir-Darwesh and Amir Ali had gone quickly as far as Andkhud, but during a skirmish both brothers had been felled; now from the borders of Badakhshan to the banks of the Murghab River were under that prince’s control, and the dust of sedition and tumult was raised throughout all of Khurasan.

When Mirza Abu‘l-Qasim Babur heard this, he thought it more important to repel that menace than to conquer Fars and Iraq, so he turned back to concentrate upon a victory in Transoxiana. He crossed the distances speedily, and after the royal train crossed the Murghab River, news arrived from Balkh that Sultan Sa‘id had put into practice the dictum “retreat is more praiseworthy” and withdrawn to his own capital, abandoning the kingdom of Tokharistan and crossing the Oxus. However, Mirza Abu‘l-Qasim Babur moved speedily as usual, and on the first of Ramadan 858 [August 25, 1454] he crossed at Qunduz and Baqlan.

<sup>85</sup>*Mu‘izz al-ansab* (fol. 152) gives a Mawlana Lutfullah and adds a Mawlana Abdul-Khalig to the list of Abu-Sa‘id’s *sadrs*.

He remained a few days in Arhang and ordered his amirs to collect boats.

MIRZA ABU'L-QASIM BABUR GOES TO SAMARQAND AND MAKES A TRUCE WITH THE FORTUNATE SULTAN

When the amirs, in obedience to the prince's order, had gathered a number of boats at the Arhang crossing, "the orthodox shah embarked" accompanied by his amirs and elite troops. Having crossing in boats, they camped for a few days at Sali Saray. Then the king and army crossed water and land and hastened to the province of Hisar Shadman, and from there they went to Tundak.

King and army, wracked by fatigue, attained a bit of rest.

In Tundak Khwaja Nizamuddin Mawdud, one of the sons of the author of the *Hidayat*, and Mawlana Fathullah Tabrizi came as emissaries of Sultan Sa'id. They discussed the possibilities of truce and peace with the amirs and pillars of state and received harsh replies. Finally Mawlana Fathullah said, " 'A messenger's only job is to deliver.' There is one thing left to say, and I swore that I would say it."

"What is it?" they asked.

He replied, "Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id says, 'I took this province with nothing but a shepherd's cloak on my back, but I shall not give it up so easily. I shall not fear anything, and as long as I am able I shall stand firm.' " [53]

When the amirs heard this, they grew more excited and harsh of speech than ever. Imprisoning the envoys, they ordered a march.

At the end of Ramadan Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur held a review of the army, and the next day he performed the rituals of the end of the month of fasting. Then, stage by stage he headed for Samarqand.

On Wednesday the 14th of Shawwal [October 7, 1454] he camped within one

parasang of the city, and the dome of his court tent was raised to the apex of the sun and moon.

From the other side Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, relying on the words of the saint Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah and the advice of the dignitaries and nobles of Samarqand, decided to lay in for a siege. Bringing the peasantry in from outside the city, he made fast the towers and ramparts.

When Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur camped in the village of Hashr Tu, Amir Khalil, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul, Sayyid Piyada-Qadam Kabuli and Malik Muhammad Aman, all champions of the Khurasan army, unsheathed the sword of agility, got ready the implements of war and charged the gates with a war cry. A squadron from the mighty army of Transoxiana came out of the city, and the fire of battle was kindled.

The Khurasanis were defeated, and Amir Khalil, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul and many others were taken captive, while some were felled by sword and arrow. When the Samarqandis brought the captives before Sultan Sa'id, he called forth Amir Khalil and Mawlana Ahmad and berated them. Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul said, "There is hope that by means of us captives peace may be made with you, our brothers." As these words were agreeable to the padishah's temperament, he ordered them kept and cared for.

The next day Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur set out like an enraged lion to subdue the city with a large group of dauntless heroes. A contingent of Sultan Sa'id's brave warriors emerged through the gate and began to fire arrows and wield their swords. That day Babur's amir Pahlawan Husayn Dewana performed extremely valiantly, casting many of the Samarqandis into the dust of annihilation.

When the sultan of heavenly bodies wearied of the sight of that frightful fray and camped in the fortress of the west,

the two sides retired to their camps. And so it went for nearly forty days: each day outside of Samarqand the embers of fighting flamed and the sparks of killing and capture shed their glow onto the cheeks of the people inside and out. During those days Sultan Sa'id's amirs Abdul-Ali Tarkhan, Ahmad Afzal and many other commanders were taken captive and thrown into prison by the Baburids.

After the army of cold and frost made its onslaught and the soldiers were unable to move their limbs, there was a desire for truce on both sides. Mediators began their deliberations, and it was decided that both padishahs would free their prisoners and Sultan Sa'id would content himself with the kingdom of Transoxiana and not encroach again upon the provinces of Khurasan; and to this effect pacts and promises were made.

Sultan Abu-Sa'id garbed Amir Khalil, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul and the other captives in fine robes of honor and gave them permission to leave. Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur also presented Khwaja Nizamuddin Mawdud, Mawlana Fathullah Tabrizi and the amirs of Samarqand with regal garments and sent them to the city. Then the victory-emblazoned banners moved toward [54] Herat, crossing safely at Kirki at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [November 1454].

Mirza Babur rewarded those who had been conspicuous for bravery at Samarqand and gave them appropriate posts. Amir Shaykh Hajji was assigned as *wali* of Balkh; Amir Ali Farsi Barlas took up the post of governor of Kasan and Char-yak; the Andkhud district was given to Amir Shaykh Dhu'l-Nun and his brother Amir Ahmad Mushtaq; in Sirghan Amir Baba Kükältäsh's standard was raised; and Qunduz and Baqlan were given to Amir Pir-Sultan Barlas.

The royal train set out for the capital of Khurasan and arrived in Herat on the 4th

of Muharram [December 14, 1454], and the citizens rejoiced, saying:

A thousand thanks that once again, with a  
thousand glories, the royal banners have  
reached the abode of majesty.

SISTAN IS CONQUERED; MAZANDERANIS  
OCCUPY IMAD FORT; AND SOME OTHER  
EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE TOWARD  
THE END OF MIRZA BABUR'S LIFE

Toward the beginning of 859 [1455] it was reported to Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur that the *wali* of Sistan, Shah Husayn, son of Malik Ali, was not observing adequate respect for the servants of the court and, contrary to the custom of his fathers and forefathers, was treading the path of pride and conceit and tracing outlines of independence and autonomy on the pages of his mind. Therefore the mighty padishah assigned Amir Khalil Hindu to take a contingent of dauntless Turks to subjugate Sistan. Amir Khalil, trusting in divine favor and relying upon royal fortune, set out for that region.

Shah Husayn realized that he could not offer resistance to that lion of the forest of courage and, abandoning the entire land of Nimroz, took flight. Amir Khalil entered victoriously into Sistan and consolidated the area. Having reported his victory, he too raised the banner of independence. That very year Shah Husayn rallied a force and set out to do battle with Amir Khalil. Shah Husayn exerted much effort but was defeated and lost power. Killed by one of his own *nökärs*, his head was taken to Amir Khalil, who sent it to Herat to be hung in public as an example.

During this year Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur restored Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar to favor and sent him as governor to Merv and Makhan, which had formerly been Amir Khalil's fiefs.

Meanwhile a group of demonics from Mazanderan who had been imprisoned in Imad Fort at the order of Amir Baba

Hasan won over one of their guards and broke free while the amir was in Astarabad. They attacked the prefect of the fort, one of Baba Hasan's *nökärs*, and killed him. Relying on no one, [55] they expelled everyone from the fort and locked that fast fortress. When Mirza Babur heard the news, he was extremely angry but was too grave and solemn to show it.

For a time the fort remained under the control of the Mazanderanis, but in the end the prefect of Mashhad, Jalaluddin Mahmud, arrived with Amir Baba Hasan's *nökärs*, hopeful that through the power of the ever-increasing state and the fortune of the royal ascendant he would attain a resounding victory. While Jalaluddin was assembling ladders, catapults [?] and other implements of siege, the Mazanderanis began to speak of obedience, and a group of them came to the gate to begin truce talks.

Jalaluddin Mahmud went forward with one of Amir Baba Hasan's *nökärs*, and two Mazanderanis advanced from among their comrades. After negotiating a truce, the Mazanderanis stretched forth their hands to seal the pact. Jalaluddin Mahmud and his companions grabbed their hands firmly and pulled them down. They rolled helplessly down the cliff and were killed. The rest of the band then showed their rebelliousness more than ever.

Several days later an ironsmith living in the fort, who had grown sick and tired of the Mazanderanis' tyranny, found someone he could trust and sent a message to Jalaluddin, saying, "In a tower of the fortress is a place in which a hole can be made in ten days. I've been working on it for seven days. Three days from now wait by night, and when you see the light of a lantern in the tower come silently to the foot of the fortress and victory will be yours."

Jalaluddin Mahmud and his followers of course waited on the promised night, and when the light showed through, "the dawn of their hopes rose over the horizon

of desire." They put their ladders into place, and up they went like answered prayers rising to heaven. The smith and his helpers let down ropes, and around a hundred men were taken up into the tower. Some of the Mazanderanis were driven out, and the rest were dispatched to the next life with the sword of execution.

Amir Jalaluddin Mahmud sent the heads of those who had been killed to Herat, and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur re-assigned Amir Baba Hasan as castellan of the fortress. The sound of rejoicing at that overt victory, which had come from an unexpected ruse, passed beyond the ramparts of heaven.

At the beginning of 860 [1456] Mirza Babur's noble constitution deviated from its balance, and a severe illness overtook him. The physicians strove mightily to treat it, and after a few days his health was restored. During that time a comet of great magnitude was observed opposite the house of Taurus. Since that house is the ascendant of Herat, and the eighth mansion was the mansion of Mirza Babur's ascendant, there was much discussion among the astrologers, and on that account there was much trepidation in the minds of king, vizier, amir, rich and poor. Shortly thereafter the Heratis were afflicted by various catastrophes, as will shortly be reported, God willing. [56]

#### MIRZA BABUR GOES TO MASHHAD AND PASSES FROM THE TRANSITORY WORLD TO THE ETERNAL REALM

When the Absolute Physician of the divine infirmary bestowed complete health upon the noble constitution of the prince, he set out on the 25th of Sha'ban 860 [July 29, 1456] from Bagh-i Safed to Bagh-i Mukhtar, intent upon circumambulating the sanctified tomb of Imam Ali al-Riza b. Musa b. Ja'far at Mashhad. There he spent the month of fast, performing his religious duties and obligations, and on the feast day, after dis-

charging the prayer, a regal feast was given. The month of Shawwal too was spent in that garden, and at the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da he turned the reins of his steed toward Holy Mashhad. On the 14th of the month [October 14] the Charbagh at Mashhad was ennobled by the royal advent. The next day he went to the bath, performed ablutions and made a visitation to the sanctuary, where he bestowed gifts and donations to the shrine and tended to petitions from the poor and downtrodden. That winter was spent there, and the exalted padishah made green and verdant the fields of expectation of all classes with the cloud of his beneficence.

At that time several disputes took place among the amirs and the pillars of state. As these were vexing to the sultan, who sometimes chided them mildly and sometimes chastised them violently, the great amirs submitted to a truce. From the one side Amir Khudadad, Amir Sher Hajji and Pahlawan Husayn Dewana, and from the other Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, his brother Amir Husayn Ali, and Khwaja Wajihuddin Simnani entered the shrine of the scion of the apostolic family and made a pact that so long as they lived they would not mistrust one another or disagree, for "peace at any price is better than war."

Mirza Babur was gladdened by this peace among the amirs and praised them all. Each of the amirs gave a separate feast to seal the truce and entertained the padishah.

Although the sultan had then forsworn wine, he usually had musicians and singers accompany him as he strolled through the pleasure parks of Mashhad. Once when he stopped in a delightful spot, suddenly a disheveled but handsome dervish appeared from behind a rock near the padishah and his amirs. Straightaway he began to recite a poem describing the faithlessness of this world and the insignificance of the transitory life. The refrain was this:

All this folderol of existence is not worth an atom to the people of madness.

All were greatly sorrowed by contemplation of the meaning of this poem, which was approximately fifty lines long. After finishing his instructive poem the dervish disappeared so completely from view that no matter how hard [57] the courtiers searched for him across mountain and plain, they could find no trace of him.

When most of the winter season, like the days of joy and revelry, had "passed as passes the wind across the plain," Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur set out on the 3rd of Rabi' II 861 [February 28, 1457], while the sun was yet in Pisces, for the Radkan meadows. There he spent several days hawking. Suddenly the talon of his white hawk, to which the prince was greatly attached, broke, and this weighing heavy on his mind, he returned to Mashhad. The day he arrived he made known the gist of this verse:

I forswore wine, and then spring came. Now I desire a vow-breaking cupbearer.

Ordering the court servants to spread the carpet of pleasure and revelry, he quaffed goblets of vermilion wine and cups of fragrant liquor from the hands of rosy-cheeked, cypress-statured cupbearers. On Tuesday morning, the 25th of Rabi' II [March 22, 1457], while still in the throes of pleasure and revelry, he sat in a litter and was carried from the Charbagh on a tour of Mashhad. Upon his return he mounted the throne, but suddenly, as his good temper changed and he grew angry with some of the amirs, he got up and went into the harem. At noon the day of his life came to an end, and the sun of the sphere of fortune fell from the constellation of might and majesty into the west of annihilation. The heaven of the sultanate moved from the apex of glory and felicity to the borders of extinction. Seeing this, amir and vizier, old and young, began to cry and wail, and torrents of bloody tears



flowed from the fountains of their eyes like the Oxus. That day the clouds, in sympathy with the grief-stricken, poured down torrents of rain.

A cloud laden with grief rained down a torrent  
from mountain to mountain.

The next day the exalted amirs prepared the body for burial, shrouded the padishah and buried his pure body under the dome next to the shrine of Imam Riza. The wise physicians felt that he had been poisoned, and those possessed of insight blamed it on the proximity to the Eighth Imam.<sup>86</sup> Mawlana Abdul-Qahhar composed this chronogram on the padishah's death:

The sun of the kingdom, Babur Khan, is no  
more. How can it be right for such a sun to be  
hidden?

In Rabi' II, and the season spring, the tulip's  
goblet is filled with the heart's blood.

I said to the celestial sphere, "Our hearts are  
rent, our eyes and laps are full of pearly tears.

What state is this? What is the date?" It  
replied, "It is THE DEATH OF BABUR, THE  
CONFIRMED SULTAN."<sup>87</sup>

Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur had no sons other than Shah-Mahmud, and he will be mentioned after an enumeration of the names of the great men of the age.

#### A MENTION OF SOME OF THE SHAYKHS AND LEARNED MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH [MIRZA BABUR]

Among the great shaykhs who passed away during Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's time [58] were the following:

*Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar* was a nephew of Shaykh Muhammadshah Farahi. Shaykh Muhammadshah, in large measure a dervish, died at Minujan while on his way from Hormuz to Mecca. In

<sup>86</sup>Imam Riza is commonly supposed to have been poisoned.

<sup>87</sup>*Mawt-i sultān-i mu' ayyad Bābur* = 861.

his youth Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar became *majdhub*, and traces of this experience were always apparent in him. For instance, when he was performing his prayers he would have someone sit next to him to keep track of the number of prostrations. Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar's spiritual lineage goes back to Shaykh Ruknuddin Ala'uddawla Simnani, and apparently from Shaykh Ala'uddawla's time no one like him had sat on the carpet of piety. In Mirza Shahrukh's time, when Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar set out from Khurasan in 844 [1440-41] for the pilgrimage to Mecca and a visitation to Medina, a large group of dignitaries like Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari, Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Asad, Khwaja Zaynuddin Jami, Mawlana Qutbuddin Zahiri, Mawlana Sharifuddin Abdul-Qahhar, Mawlana Tajuddin Hasan, Mawlana Sa'duddin Farrukh, Khwaja Shihabuddin Isma'il Hisari and others accompanied the shaykh to the Hejaz, where they attained the honor of circum-ambulating the Ka'ba and visiting the prophet's grave.

In his *Nafahat*,<sup>88</sup> Mawlana Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami relates of Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari, who said, "Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar fell ill in the desert near Mecca. Since he was constantly fasting, his companions demanded that he break his fast on account of his illness. He refused. Suddenly I saw a host of the inhabitants of the unseen realm approaching the shaykh's litter. When they came to the door of the litter they passed by quickly. I told this to him, and he said, 'It was the Qutb and his companions. When they came to the door of the litter, I had stretched out my foot, so they went away in haste. After I had tucked my foot back in, they turned around, came forward and recited the *Fatiha*.' "

Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar died in the village of Jaghara in the outlying districts

<sup>88</sup>Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 455f.

of Herat on the 17th of Rabi' I 857 [March 28, 1453]. That very day Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur heard the news and went to the village to offer condolences to the shaykh's son, Shaykh Nuruddin Muhammad. He returned to the Khiyaban in Herat before the funeral procession and stopped there. When the bier reached that place, the exalted padishah dismounted and put his shoulder to the bier. According to the shaykh's request, and with the agreement of the dignitaries, the grandfather of the writer of these pages, Sayyid Burhanuddin Khawandshah, proceeded to the Idgah plain and conducted the prayer for the shaykh's funeral. Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar was buried on the north side of the Idgah in Herat, and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur had a superb edifice constructed and finished over his tomb.

That same month the chief *cadi* Qazi Qutbuddin Muhammad al-Imami also passed away, and Mawlana Sharifuddin Abdul-Qahhar composed the following as a chronogram:

Refuge of the law, chief of *cadis*, Muhammad,  
 imam to the Imami folk, on the twelfth of the  
 month of the prophet's death passed from this  
 world [59] to the realm of PEACE, and his date  
 is THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET, UPON WHOM  
 BE PEACE.<sup>89</sup>

*Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari* was occupied by study in his youth, when he read most of the books of the curriculum. Finally he adopted the path of asceticism and piety and was enrolled among the disciples of Mawlana Nizamuddin Khamosh. He was enlightened by spiritual exercise and illuminated by interior knowledge and became a Sufi master himself, bringing many dervishes to the level of sainthood. In *Matla'-i sa'dayn*<sup>90</sup> it is written that Mawlana Sa'duddin fell ill at the beginning of Jumada II 860 and

took to bed. During the fever and weakness of his illness he spoke of a vision, saying, "I was given the choice of staying or going. Because I had small children I chose to stay." Two days after saying this the mawlavi died on Wednesday the 6th of Jumada II 860 [May 12, 1456] and was buried on the Khiyaban.

*Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Arab*. It is mentioned in *Matla'-i sa'dayn*<sup>91</sup> that Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Arab was a man of dervish inclination and good character, seldom sullying the skirt of his honor with worldly desires; however, he did enjoy prestige. When Mirza Babur did not pay him sufficient attention he seduced the people into wanting Mirza Ala'uddawla and called for him to rule, forbidding the people to follow Mirza Babur. In 860 [1456] a man named Sayyid Abdullah from Luristan arrived in Herat dressed like a soldier and joined the mawlavi in supporting Mirza Ala'uddawla. Just then the police of Herat seized and hauled before Mirza Babur a man who had come as a spy on Mirza Ala'uddawla's behalf, bringing letters to Mawlana Muhammad Arab and Sayyid Abdullah. Mirza Babur sent the sayyid to Andkhud, exiled the mawlavi to Sistan, and executed the spy. Mawlana Muhammad died in Sistan. The following line of poetry is by him:

Only a king can be a king's confidant: only a  
 king can know what it is to be a king.

*Qazi Abdul-Wahhab Mashhadi* was a man possessed of multifarious learning. He was miraculous at the composition of poetry and prose, and it is said that once one of the literati thought up the palindrome "*murād-i dāram*" (I have a wish). He told it to the Qazi, who reflected for a moment and then replied in another

<sup>89</sup>*Wafāt al-nabi 'alayhi 'l-salām* = 857.

<sup>90</sup>Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 1102.

<sup>91</sup>Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 1098-99.

palindrome, "*Bar āyad yā rab*" (may it come true, O Lord).

The following poem in praise of Khwaja Wajihuddin Simnani, Mirza Babur's most important vizier, was composed by Qazi Abdul-Wahhab:

[He is] a vizier for whom it is appropriate that every day the sun be a carpet [for] the expanse of the heaven of his office.

If the celestial sphere knew the amount of dust [stirred up] by his train, [60] it would make a pillow of the full moon for his saddle cloth.

The axis of the realm, possessor of the age, a second Asaph, Wajihulmulk Isma'il b.

Mahmud Balicha.

*Mawlana Jalaluddin Bayazid Purani* was an extremely pious and religious man. By observing the strictures of the law and following the path of the prophet, he attained high positions, and he maintained an active concern to discharge his duties. When it was incumbent upon him to consult with anyone, he met with that person himself. He was active in charitable concerns and always kept a table spread for guests. It is mentioned in the *Nafahat* that Mawlana Jalaluddin Abu-Yazid apparently had no Sufi master and was an Uwaisi.<sup>92</sup> He used to say, "Whenever I have a problem I take it up directly with the prophet." He died on Monday eve the 10th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 862 [September 19, 1458] and is buried in the village of Puran. During his reign Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza had an edifice built over his tomb. Mawlana Bayazid lived past the age of ninety.

*Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad of Kusuya* was a descendant of Shaykh Ahmad al-Jami al-Namaqi. He had acquired external and internal learning. Although he followed Shaykh Zaynuddin Khwafi in loud *dhikr*, he was much in the

company of Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar,<sup>93</sup> to whom he was greatly devoted as a disciple. He preached in the congregational mosque in Herat, proclaiming from the pulpit the truths of the Koran and the *hadith* of the prophet. Mawlana Sa'duddin Kashghari, Mawlana Jalaluddin Bayazid Purani and Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Asad used to attend his sermons and applaud what they heard. Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id was devoted to him and followed him as a disciple.

It has been heard from reliable sources that on his first Friday as ruler Sultan Abu-Sa'id attended Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad's sermon. While he was speaking, one of those present involuntarily let out a yell. Sultan Sa'id was angered by this cry, but Khwaja Muhammad turned to the padishah and said, "We haven't said anything yet that would cause anyone to go into ecstasy. Apparently our friend's heart is attuned to another place."

He died on Saturday morning the 26th of Jumada I 863 [March 31, 1459], and as a chronogram of his death one of the literati composed the following:

Most perfect shaykh, who was a guide for the people of form, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, in grief for whom heaven donned an indigo cloak, has pitched his tent in eternal holiness [61] outside the realm of possibility. Since the lower sphere was not up to his level, ask the date of his death from THE LOWER SPHERE.<sup>94</sup>

*Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Asad* was renowned among the learned for his poetic nature and keen intellect. In his youth he acquired knowledge, and then he set about to perfect himself in an

<sup>93</sup>As a follower of Shaykh Ala'uddawla Simnani, Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar was a member of the Kubrawiyya, who maintained the superiority of the silent *dhikr*. See Ala'uddawla Simnani, *Opera Minora*, pp. 78-81.

<sup>94</sup>*Charkh-i dūn* = 863:

<sup>92</sup>Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, p. 501.

other-worldly sense. He was a companion to Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar, Shaykh Zaynuddin Khwafi and Mawlana Sa'uddin Kashghari. He died on Friday eve, the first of Ramadan 864 [June 20, 1460] and was buried in Gazargah at the foot of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari's tomb.

*Shaykh Adhari Isfarayini* was among the renowned poets of the time. As a grown man he became inclined to dervishdom and set out from Isfarayin for the Hejaz. After performing the pilgrimage and visiting the prophet's grave, he went to Hindustan, the rulers of which patronized and honored him with great reward and beneficence. Nonetheless, Shaykh Adhari, longing for his native land, abandoned that country and composed the following verse upon his departure:

I am leaving India and the carrion of Jaipal. I  
would not pay a barleycorn for the wind and  
cold of Jaona.

From there he returned to Isfarayin, where he led a religious life. His death occurred in 866 [1461–62], the numerical value of the word "Khusraw" giving the date.

Among Shaykh Adhari's works are the book *Ajayib al-dunya wa-jawahir al-asrar* and an eloquent divan that is quite well known among the people of this age.

*Mawlana Tuti*. In the same year the bird of the well-known poet Mawlana Tuti's soul broke the bondage of its cage and took flight to the meadows of paradise. Mawlana Tuti was originally from Turshiz. Mirza Babur was a great patron of his. The following line is by him:

The world, which is a chamber of six arches  
and a room with two doors—the cry "Beware!"  
arises from the four edges of its carpet.

Mawlana Tuti died young, and the royal favorite Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher dis-

covered that the word *khuros* (rooster) is a chronogram for his death:

The eloquent of the age, the poet Tuti's bride  
was a virgin of meanings. When the parrot<sup>95</sup>  
departed, it is novel that the date of his death  
was ROOSTER.

*Sayyid Ghiyathuddin Fazlullah Radkani* was outstanding among his contemporaries for his learning and excellent characteristics, and among the learned of the age he was among the most eloquent and poetically gifted. He wrote calligraphy most beautifully and was ennobled by the reward and favor of sultans and rulers. He died on Sunday the 22nd of Jumada II 867 [March 14, 1463] in Herat and was buried in the Musrikh [?] cemetery near Amir Husayni.

*Mir Islam Ghazali* was a descendant of Hujjat al-Islam Imam Muhammad Ghazali. He attained perfect expertise in medicine and metaphysics, and occasionally he composed poetry. It is written in the *Majalis al-nafayis*<sup>96</sup> that Mir Islam's facility for versification [62] can be seen in the *qasida* he wrote in reply to Hakim Anwari. That *qasida* contains a praise of Mirza Ala'uddawla, and the first line is as follows:<sup>97</sup>

The witness to splendor would have no  
clothing without his kingship—rather,  
splendor begs for glory from his magnificence.

Mir Islam resided in Balkh during the governorship of the Hazaraspi amirs, after which he died.

*Mawlana Simi* was very learned in poetry, enigmas, epistolary style and calligraphy. In one day he composed two thousand lines of poetry, and as a con-

<sup>95</sup>*Tuti* means parrot.

<sup>96</sup>Ali-Sher Nawa'i, *Majalis al-nafayis*, 14.

<sup>97</sup>Ali-Sher (*Majalis al-nafayis*, 14) notes that every hemistich of the poem is a chronogram for the date of composition, 849.

sequence he had the following line engraved in his ring:

One day Simi composed and wrote two thousand lines of poetry in praise of the shah.

Mawlana Simi was originally from Ni-shapur. Because he suffered from bulimia he was inclined to overeat. The anecdote is well known that once someone said in an assembly that Mawlana Simi could eat twenty maunds of dates. Another person thought that far-fetched, and the two made a bet, bought twenty maunds of dates and went to the mawlawi. By chance the mawlana was ill in bed that day. Nonetheless, when he realized why his two friends had come, he said, "Put the dates near my bed and let me see how far I can go." They did as he had said, and he stretched out his hand, picked up dates by the handful and ate them until none remained. Then he asked his two friends, "Was the bet for dates with pits or without?"

"Without pits," they said. "Nobody eats dates with the pits."

"I ate them all with the pits," he replied, "lest there be any dispute."

*Darwesh Baba Ali Khwashmardan* was a well-spoken dervish of pure nature. The year that Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur wintered in Mashhad he joined the padishah's service from Sabzawar and received much favor.

*Darwesh Mansur* was known for his piety and purity and spent most of his time in spiritual exercises. In metrics and poetical embellishments he was a student of Mawlana Yahya Sibak, and in Sufism he relied upon Hafiz Ali Jami. He composed two treatises on the science of metrics and worked on a reply to Khwaja Salman's *qasida* on rhetorical artifice. The first line of *Darwesh Mansur's qasida* is as follows:

I ran from pillar to post to discover union with the beloved. I found no one who was acquainted with what I was after. [63]

#### THE RULE OF MIRZA SHAH-MAHMUD AND WHAT OCCURRED DURING HIS REIGN

The very day on which the sun of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's life set the amirs and pillars of state sat Mirza Shah-Mahmud, then aged eleven, on the throne. Amir Husayn Ali set out for Herat, and his elder brother Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id went to Sarakhs on business. Shaykhzada Pir Qiwam, who held the post of *sadr*, went to Merv to summon Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar.

Mirza Shah-Mahmud set out for Herat ten days after his father's death. Along the way Shaykhzada arrived from Merv to report that Mirza Sanjar was being obstinate and refusing to come into submission. A courier from Amir Husayn Ali in Herat also came and reported that on the day the news of the late padishah's death reached the city, Mir Hubb the prefect neglected to safeguard Mirza Ibrahim, and the prince had escaped from prison to Ahmad Tarkhan's house and then gone, accompanied by the amir, to the foothills of Mount Mukhtar. When he heard the news of the approach of the royal train from Mashhad, he went to the banks of the Murghab and gathered a vast army.

In short, these things caused consternation in the minds of all, and Mirza Shah-Mahmud quickly traversed the distance and arrived at Bagh-i Mukhtar on the 26th of Jumada I [April 21, 1457]. The sayyids, cadis and dignitaries hastened to pay homage and express their condolences. Mirza Shah-Mahmud went from the Bagh-i Mukhtar to the Bagh-i Zaghan. Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id had recently arrived from Sarakhs and inflicted tyranny and extortion upon the inhabitants of Herat. The details are as follows.

After returning to Herat from Sarakhs, Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, who was

known to be evil and reckless, and who also possessed more trappings of magnificence and power than any other Baburid amir, thought with his love for gold and silver that he should impose a large poll tax on the citizens. He divided the city into two parts and had the tax bills prepared. It was established that one part was to be collected by Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's retainers, and the other by Amir Sher Hajji's men. On the 7th of Jumada II [May 2] the collection began, and within two or three days they had harvested what they had claimed.

At that time Khwaja Kulal Barkash and Khwaja Ali Amir-Khwaja held the seal in Mirza Shah-Mahmud's divan, and these two evil viziers began to implement an extortion scheme. First they gained absolute control of the the revenues of the religious endowments, and second they multiplied by ten the amount that had been collected as poll tax and entered the result on the tax bills. The cruel, merciless collectors seized the citizens and demanded more money. Since the people were unable to pay, painful cries arose from every house and the sun of cruelty and tyranny shone upon every family. Indeed it was like doomsday: the countenance of security was as well hidden as the phoenix, [64] and the quality of welfare became as obscure as the labor of alchemy. Many of the poor left their families and fled, and many people died under torture. Women, heads and feet bared, their hair blowing in the wind, ran to the divan and begged helplessly for justice. The godless Shaykh Abu-Sa'id was unmoved by the cries of these unfortunates.

However, just then, in accordance with the miraculous words, "who heareth the afflicted, when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil,"<sup>98</sup> the All-Bestowing King took the distressed by the hand, helped those suffering from tyranny and

exposed the evil of Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id. This came about as follows.

Amir Sher Hajji girded his loins to put a stop to the wretched Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's crimes, and on the 21st of Jumada II [May 16] he took Mirza Shah-Mahmud from the Bagh-i Zaghan into the city and had a herald proclaim the following: "Let no one pay a single dinar as poll tax to anyone, and let all recover what they may have paid. Wherever Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's men are found, let them be plundered." Consequently those who were treading the path of tyranny and extortion stepped into the valley of flight. All the other amirs, in agreement with Amir Sher Hajji, kept watch that night, and the next day Amir Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, who was outside the city, fled with his brother Amir Husayn Ali to the Murghab River. Amir Sher Hajji, accompanied by a large contingent of amirs, soldiers, peasants and merchants came out of the city in pursuit of him. In a field between Mount Mukhtar and Toquz Ribat they encountered Shaykh Abu-Sa'id, and a pitched battle ensued in which the harvest of Shaykh Abu-Sa'id's life was burned with a blow from a fire-dripping sword. One of Amir Sher Hajji's followers cut off his head and took it to be hung as an example on the Malik Gate. That scoundrel's brother and liegemen took the opportunity to escape and dispersed in flight. Such is always the retribution for injustice.

In the meantime news arrived that a great throng had assembled under Mirza Ibrahim's banners, and the prince, accompanied by amirs and *noyans*, was intent upon conquering Herat. Therefore Amir Sher Hajji, Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Firozshah, Pahlawan Husayn Dewana and the Tarkhan amirs took counsel and decided to make peace somehow between Mirza Shah-Mahmud and Mirza Ibrahim in order to establish order in Khurasan. With the consent of Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha, Turkanshah, one of that lady's *nökärs*, was sent to

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<sup>98</sup>Koran 27:62.

Mirza Ibrahim's camp to lay the foundations for negotiations. However, before Turkanshah returned, a group of seditious men reminded Amir Sher Hajji that Her Majesty's boundless love for Mirza Ala'uddawla and his son Mirza Ibrahim was as plain as the sun in the sky; in addition, the Tarkhan amirs' fidelity and loyalty to that lady were fixed and unchangeable. Consequently a scheme had to be thought up lest they lose the initiative. Amir Sher Hajji therefore, apprehensive of the machinations of fate, determined, in collusion with Pahlawan Husayn Dewana, to kill the Tarkhan amirs.

One day, on the pretext of a council meeting, he summoned them to a pavilion in the Bagh-i Zaghan. When the assembly was gathered, [65] Amir Ahmad Firozshah perceived what was in the air and got out of the garden on some pretext and headed for Tun, where his brother Amir Sultan-Husayn was governor. That very moment Amir Sher Hajji and Pahlawan Husayn's *nökärs* plunged their swords into the Tarkhans. Amir Uways, who had a knife in his hand and was slashing away with it, managed to reach Amir Sher Hajji and stab him in the stomach. Amir Sher Hajji threw himself on top of him, and his henchmen instantly killed Uways Tarkhan, his son Yusuf Tarkhan and Khusraw Tarkhan. Pahlawan Husayn Dewana killed Muhammad Tarkhan, even though he had asked him for quarter. That very day [Pahlawan Husayn Dewana] set out for his fief in Khwaf. Along the way he encountered Amir Ahmad Firozshah, and before a word was exchanged they drew swords of vengeance and fell to combat. Pahlawan Husayn overcame Amir Ahmad Firozshah, who was renowned for his good character, and killed him. Amir Muhammad Ghiyathuddin Tarkhan and Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul managed to escape the fray with their lives and reach Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim on the banks of the Murghab to report what they had seen.

When Amir Sher Hajji had plotted this affair, he took Mirza Shah-Mahmud from the Bagh-i Zaghan into the city. Now he shut himself up in Ikhtiyaruddin Fort and ordered Gawharshad Agha to move into the [Shahrukh] Madrasa opposite the fortress. A few days later Amir Sher Hajji's wound had healed.

Then came the news that Mirza Ibrahim had set out for Herat with a vast force intent on battle. Amir Sher Hajji took Mirza Shah-Mahmud to the Bagh-i Mukhtar, and there were no more Baburid amirs or supporters left in Herat. With Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha's approval, Qazi Qutbuddin Ahmad al-Imami made fast the city fortress, stationed guards at the gates and had heralds proclaim that no one should encroach upon the rights of the citizens or go beyond his own bounds "until we see what happens."

MIRZA SULTAN-IBRAHIM ASCENDS THE  
IMPERIAL THRONE, AND SHAH-MAHMUD  
IS DEFEATED BY DIVINE DECREE

Since divine decree had determined that, in accordance with the Koranic words, "We gave unto Abraham his direction,"<sup>99</sup> Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's stature would be robed with guidance and direction, and rays of divine friendship would shine upon him as in the words, "God took Abraham as his friend,"<sup>100</sup> an innumerable horde of soldiers rallied around that prince's world-conquering banner on the banks of the Murghab River as a result of the trials and tribulations that have been mentioned. Having been made hopeful by seeing the countenance of victory, he set out for Herat and after crossing the distances arrived near the Bagh-i Mukhtar on Tuesday morning the 7th of Rajab 861 [May 31, 1457]. When Mirza Shah-Mahmud [66] heard the news, he panicked and fled to Mashhad. Amir Sher

<sup>99</sup>Koran 21:51. Ibrahim = Abraham.

<sup>100</sup>Koran 4:125.

Hajji went to Tiratu Fort, and the divine decree rolled up the carpet of Baburid unity.

At noon that same day Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim dismounted in the Bagh-i Mukhtar, and a large group of amirs and soldiers set out in pursuit of the enemy. The leaders of the posse pursuing Mirza Shah-Mahmud arrested Malik Qasim, son of Iskandar Qara Yusuf, Dawlatkeldi Taghai, Qaraman Türkman, Hajji Khalil and his brother Hajji Abdullah and took them to Mirza Ibrahim. Malik Qasim and Qaraman were spared through the intervention of Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha, but the rest of those mentioned were put to death. The group who were pursuing Amir Sher Hajji caught up with him, gave battle and emerged victorious. Amir Sher Hajji left the fray wounded and took refuge in Tiratu fortress.

Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim expressed his thanks to the Giver of Bounty for these triumphs and threw upon the gates of reward and beneficence to all classes and mounted the throne of his fathers and forefathers, upon which occasion a poet composed the following:

A king who holds the reins of his kingdom in justice must have good fortune in his reign.  
When he sat upon the imperial throne, the date was ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF KINGSHIP.<sup>101</sup>

Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim concentrated upon ordering the affairs of state and kingdom and appointed to the vizierate Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Bukhari and Khwaja Sa'duddin Muhammad. Amir Qara Bahadur, one of Mirza Ala'uddawla's elite, was appointed as prefect of the city. After completing the taxation, military and fiscal affairs for the Year of the Ox, in the middle of Sha'ban of that year [July 1457] he marched toward Mashhad to do battle with Mirza Shah-Mahmud, entrusting Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Mawlana

Ahmad Yasaul, in whom he had complete trust.

Shah-Mahmud mustered his forces in Mashhad and set out in the direction of Herat. Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim too headed to meet his enemy, intent upon battle. Before the two sides clashed, Khwaja Wajihuddin Simnani, who had been a vizier to Mirza Baysunghur, Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur for many years, fled from Mirza Shah-Mahmud and joined Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim. However he was thrown into shackles and died in Fushanj. Also Mir Hubb, the prefect of Herat under Mirza Babur, was dispatched to the next world because of a slight he had given Mirza Ibrahim when he was holding the prince in prison.

In short, battle erupted between the two pugnacious princes between Ribat-i Shah Malik and the town of Kusuya, and the two armies clashed with the roar of the ocean, charging the battlefield with sword and spear. First Mirza Shah-Mahmud's troops were successful and put the enemy's right and left flank to flight, but in the end Amir Ahmad Tarkhan and the warriors of the center headed into the enemy and acquitted themselves with bravery and heroism. After almost being defeated, Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim gained the victory, and Mirza Shah-Mahmud retreated to Mashhad.

Mirza Ibrahim thanked God for his bounty, seized uncountable booty and went off in pursuit of the enemy. It was a strange coincidence that at mid-morning that day, [67] Monday the 25th of Sha'ban [July 18, 1457], news arrived in Herat that Mirza Shah-Mahmud had been chosen for victory, but a moment later a band arrived saying that Mirza Ibrahim had been singled out for triumph and Mirza Shah-Mahmud had taken flight. At noon Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's envoy arrived with a letter for the nobles containing this news: "Tomorrow morning the royal train will camp in splendor in the Bagh-i Shahr, and by the imperial

<sup>101</sup>*Julūs bar sarir-i mulk = 861.*



hand the gates of justice and beneficence will be opened to all.”

#### MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID ARRIVES IN HERAT

Since he first ascended the throne in Samarqand, Sultan Abu-Sa'id had been contemplating subjugating not only Khurasan but all provinces of Iran, and when he heard of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur's death he was tempted even more. At that time the governor of Balkh, Amir Shaykh Hajji, sent the following message to Abu-Sa'id's court, "The open field of Khurasan is void of an effective ruler. If your invincible banners move in that direction, the face of victory will be reflected in the mirror of desire, and your servant will be girded for service in the royal retinue." Consequently Sultan Sa'id crossed the Oxus with his army and headed for Herat with the speed of lightning.

On Monday the 25th of Sha'ban [July 18, 1457] he reached the other side of the village of Saqsalman, where the dome of his court tent was raised to the apex of the sun and moon, and he summoned for a meeting the dignitaries of Herat, who hastened to greet and pay homage to the padishah. The castellan of Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul, and Qara Bahadur the prefect of Herat first wanted to make fast the city, but in the end, because there was much confusion and they lost the opportunity, they did the next best thing and secured the fortress.

The next day when the sun entered the enclosure of the sky from above the horizon and mounted his turquoise throne, Sultan Sa'id entered Herat through the Qipchaq Gate and honored the Bagh-i Shahr with his descent. Mounting the throne of world rule, he gave glad tidings of quarter and amnesty to all and ordered justice to be established and tyranny and oppression uprooted.

That very day he sent a group of dignitaries to Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul to invite him, with promises of favor and reward, to come into submission and obedience. To this the mawlana replied, [68] "My benefactor entrusted this house to me, and I have endeavored to safeguard it. It is absurd to think that I would fly in the face of my patron and indulge in treachery by turning over the fortress to another. If stone and arrows rain down from heaven and the earth sprouts spikes and spears, I will not allow myself to fear, and I will never open the gates to an enemy."

Hearing this, Sultan Sa'id grew angry and withdrew from the city the next day. He met with Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha and camped in the Bagh-i Zaghan to concentrate upon taking Ikhtiyaruddin Fort. Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad the vizier and a group of his men laid siege and tried as hard as they could to take it through battle and bloodshed, but since the citadel was as impregnable as the castle of the celestial sphere and filled with warriors and arms, there was little profit in waging war, for Mawlana Ahmad did not relax his defenses for a moment.

Just then a group of seditious corruptors told Sultan Sa'id that Sultan Ibrahim's trusted men had continual comings and goings with Her Majesty Gawharshad Agha and were relaying news and reports. Furthermore, the envoy Sultan Sa'id had sent to Tiratu Fort to bring Amir Sher Hajji had returned and reported that the amir had said that although the Tarkhan amirs had been killed, he could not join the imperial retinue so long as Gawharshad Agha remained alive.

Therefore on the 9th of Ramadan [July 31] Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id gave an order for the execution of that Queen of Sheba of the age. This horrible act was the one blemish on the face of that praiseworthy padishah's career.

Gawharshad Agha was known for her chastity and fairness and was constantly engaged in building charitable institutions and in the promotion of charity. Among her monuments are a most beautiful and embellished congregational mosque to the north of Herat and an elaborately constructed Friday mosque at the shrine of Imam Riza in Mashhad. These edifices she endowed with rich holdings.

In short, after Her Majesty's death Amir Sher Hajji turned over Tiratu Fort to one of his trusted men and hastened to Herat, where he was taken into Sultan Sa'id's retinue.

At that same time a very strange thing happened in that fort. One day an obscure *yasaqi* named Berkä brought some sheep to the fortress gate and while talking to the guards asked if he could spend the night there. They agreed and took him in. After one watch of the night had passed, he pulled up a band of his comrades over the wall with a rope he had with him and, unsheathing the blade of audacity, attacked the castellan. The poor castellan fled with several wounds, and Berkä secured the fortress and declared himself a hero.

When Sultan Sa'id learned of this news and also of Mirza Abdul-Latif's sons' revolt in Balkh, he considered it impolitic to remain in Khurasan and set out on the 9th of Shawwal [August 30] for Transoxiana. He dispatched a group of amirs and soldiers as an advance party, [69] and in the vicinity of Balkh they encountered Mirza Ahmad, Mirza Abdul-Latif's son who had charged the steed of rebellion into the field. In the battle that ensued Mirza Ahmad was killed, and his brother Mirza Muhammad-Juki fled.

Under divine protection Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id reached Balkh, where he remained for the winter. When Mirza Ibrahim, who had bided his time in Khwaf and Bakharz while Sultan Sa'id was in Herat, learned of Sultan Sa'id's withdrawal, he had the drums of joy beat

for several days and sent Amir Ahmad Tarkhan as governor of [Herat]. Amir Ahmad ruled his subjects with justice and equity and nourished with kindness and beneficence the saplings of hope and aspiration that had come near to extinction by the buffeting of events. At the Feast of Sacrifice he had the Koran recited and food distributed to the poor and orphans in commemoration of Her Majesty.

MIRZA SULTAN-IBRAHIM GOES TO  
JURJAN, WHERE HE IS ROUTED BY  
JAHANSHAH THE TURCOMAN

When Mirza Shah-Mahmud met with defeat at Mirza Ibrahim's hands, he set out, after a few days in Mashhad, for Jurjan. The governor there, Amir Baba Hasan, had rendered good service to the prince and had maintained his fidelity.

When Mirza Ibrahim learned of his enemy's consolidation, he set out via Nasa and Yarz for Jurjan, and Mirza Shah-Mahmud headed with the Astarabad troops to meet his cousin in battle. However, along the way he heard that Jahanshah had reached Aqaba-i Sanduqshikan with the army of Iraq and Azerbaijan.

Now Jahanshah had led his armies thither because the governor of Sari, Amir Nizamuddin Abdul-Karim, having grown weary of Amir Baba Hasan's imperious demands, was constantly sending messengers to the prince of Azerbaijan saying that since Khurasan was void of an effective ruler and Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Shah-Mahmud were spending their time contending with each other, if [Jahanshah] would cast his shadow over those regions, the sun of victory and triumph would rise. Jahanshah, who had always coveted those realms, agreed with Amir Abdul-Karim, and

The courageous padishah hastened toward  
Jurjan.

When he passed through Aqaba-i Sanduqshikan and Mirza Shah-Mahmud re-

alized that the news was true, he took flight with Amir Baba Hasan. However, [70] Mirza Ibrahim attributed the news to a ruse on the part of the enemy and rushed as fast as he could until he came within a parasang of Astarabad. Despite his amirs and supporters' urging that he stop and verify the news of Jahanshah, he refused and marched on, sending out an advance party of warriors. When those men had gone a little way through the forests and marshes, a group of Turcoman scouts appeared through the trees. The Khurasanis had at once begun to do battle, but suddenly a massive group poured down on them, and the talons of destiny broke the cord of unity among the Khurasanis.

When the Turcomans emerged from ambush, the earth trembled in fear of them. The scouts shied from their onslaught like a shadow fleeing the sun.

Then Mirza Ibrahim, with fear in this heart, joined the advance party and withstood the enemy for a short time. When he realized that he lacked the strength to resist, he fled in confusion. The Azerbaijani army pursued the Khurasanis, put many of them to the sword and captured a contingent of champions. Amir Sayyid Khwaja's son Amir Sayyid Yusuf, Amir Firozshah's son Amir Sultan-Husayn, and Amir Sa'adat Khawandshah were among the men who were killed in that ambush. Amir Abu-Sa'id Mirim, another son of Sayyid Amir Khwaja, was taken alive to Amir Jahanshah,<sup>102</sup> who ordered him executed. This event took place on Tuesday the 25th of Muharram 862 [December 13, 1457].

When Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim fled from the battle, he went without halt until he reached Herat with a group of his re-

tainers on Sunday the 7th of Safar [December 25]. It has been heard on good authority that when Mirza Ibrahim entered the Khiyaban that day a dervish stood up on a platform and said, "Long life to the padishah—but if you mount one more campaign, the Chaghatay race will be extinct in the world."

In short, when Amir Ahmad Tarkhan the governor of Herat heard of the prince's approach, he hastened to meet him and present him with countless coins, fleet-footed horses, trains of pack animals bearing tents, pavilions, precious textiles and carpets. All the nobles and dignitaries of Khurasan performed the rites of homage, and once again Mirza Ibrahim sat in splendor upon the throne of the sultanate. Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul came out of Ikhtiyaruddin Fort and was allowed to kiss the prince's hand. Since the mawlana had put up a resistance to a padishah like Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id and had loyally defended the fort, he expected great reward from Mirza Ibrahim; but contrary to his expectations Mirza Ibrahim paid no attention to him and reckoned his bravery as nothing. Therefore Mawlana Ahmad went back to the fortress in open rebellion. Regardless of the people Ahmad Tarkhan sent to apologize to him, and no matter how he tried to coax that wild prey back with promises of reward and favor, it was to no avail: Mawlana Ahmad refused to leave the fort, and consequently Mirza Ibrahim ceased to summon him, [71] willy-nilly abandoning Ikhtiyaruddin Fort to Mawlana Ahmad's control.

A GROUP OF HIGH-RANKING COURTIERS  
GO AS ENVOYS TO SULTAN SA'ID;  
MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA RETURNS TO  
HERAT AFTER A LONG ABSENCE

When Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim had spent a few days relaxing in Herat, it was decided with the approval of his amirs and advisors to re-establish harmony with Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id and put an end to their disagreement. To expedite this mission

<sup>102</sup>In much of this and the following sections Jahanshah is called Mirza Jahanshah; in order to avoid further confusion, the title Mirza will be reserved for Timurids and Jahanshah will be called amir.

three great men were chosen, Shaykh Nuruddin Muhammad b. Shaykh Baha'uddin Umar, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad al-Kusuwi al-Jami, and Amir Baburuddin Khawandshah (the great-grandfather of the writer of these pages). Amir Ghiyathuddin Kichkinä, the father of the royal favorite Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher, was appointed to serve the three on the journey. When this respected group came into Sultan Sa'id's assembly they spoke, as was fitting, of accord and peace. Sultan Sa'id agreed with them and said, "With regard to strengthening the foundations of accord and peace, any entreaty Mirza Ibrahim makes is hereby granted, provided that he put Herat under my control. Any other province in all of the realms of Khurasan he desires he may have in exchange, and together we may repel the Turcoman forces." Having been shown great honor and respect, the noble lords withdrew and reported to Mirza Ibrahim what they had heard from Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id.

It is an amazing and strange thing that during this year throughout the regions and fortresses of Khurasan there were several effective rulers, none of whom was in obedience to another: Amir Jahanshah held from Astarabad to Sabzwar in his mighty grip; Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id governed in Balkh; Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim sat in Herat and bowed to no one else; Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul had made fast Ikhtiyaruddin Fort and took no notice of any of the sultans; Mirza Sultan Sanjar resided in Merv; Mirza Shah-Mahmud dreamed of independence in Tus; Berkä the Mughul held the Tiratu fortress; and Amir Abdullah Pirzada defended the citadel at Sarakhs; Malik Qasim son of Iskandar Qara Yusuf, along with Amir Khalil, controlled the kingdom of Sistan as far as Farah and Isfizar; in Khabushan Fort Hasan Shaykh-Temür was commandant; and the fort at Tabas was under the control of Amir Uways b. Khawandshah. [72]

After several years in the Qipchaq Steppe, Mirza Ala'uddawla returned and took up residence for a short while in Abiward. What had happened to Mirza Ala'uddawla is thus described in the pages of *Matla'-i sa'dayn*.<sup>103</sup>

When he lost Balkh to Mirza Babur's forces, he fled to Badakhshan, where he wandered a while in that mountainous region. Finally he went to the Qipchaq Steppe and lived among the Uzbeks until he heard of Mirza Babur's death. Then he headed for Khurasan via Khwarazm and the province of Nasa and Abiward. He sent a messenger to take the good news of his arrival to Mirza Ibrahim, and the prince expressed his pleasure and sent loving words and appropriate gifts. However, as the proverb has it, "Kingship is barren," and inwardly he was displeased at his father's arrival. Mirza Ala'uddawla set out from Abiward to Herat, and when he was not far from the city, Mirza Ibrahim hastened to greet him. On the banks of the Sanjab River Mirza Ala'uddawla set glad eyes upon his son.

Thank God that after a long and arduous journey, my eyes are once again brightened by seeing you.

Mirza Ibrahim too showed his joy and happiness to meet his father and expressed his gratitude to the divine bestower of favor.

It is I whose eyes are brightened to see my beloved. What thanks can I express to you, O gracious Effector?

Father and son discussed affairs of state, and it was decided that Mirza Ibrahim would remain with the troops in Takht-i Malik while Mirza Ala'uddawla went to Herat to rest from his travails. On Friday the 7th of Jumada II 862 [April 22, 1458] he reached Saqsalman, and the sayyids, cadis, lords and people met the

<sup>103</sup>Abdul-Razzaq, *Matla'-i sa'dayn*, II, 1159-62.

royal train and paid homage to him. More merchants and commoners came out of the city that day to watch than had ever turned out for a religious festival or new year's celebration.

There were so many, elite and common, on that day that no one could budge.

Mirza Ala'uddawla entered the Kh'iyan and went to the Gawharshad Agha Mad-rasa, where he paid his respects to his grandfather. From there he went to the Bagh-i Zaghan, where he ordered the carpet of pleasure and revelry to be spread.

The assembly-adorners rose quickly and prepared a banquet of frolic and joy.

That world-adorning padishah favored by fortune spent a few days drinking and enjoying himself surrounded by beauties. Scarcely had he finished when the news of the approach of Amir Jahanshah's troops arrived and he took flight.

Jealous heaven throws stones at every goblet of enjoyment you take in your hand.

#### AMIR MUZAFFARUDDIN JAHANSHAH COMES TO HIS LATE MAJESTY'S CAPITAL

When Amir Jahanshah had completely conquered Jurjan and spent some time in Isfarayin, [73] he set out with his massive army for Herat. Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim learned of his approach and took flight to the mountains of Ghur, sending a courier to his father with a message that it was no longer safe for him to stay in Herat. Mirza Ala'uddawla departed with regret on the first of Sha'ban 862 [June 14, 1458] to go to his son. After the prince left, all the residents of Herat, sayyids, ulema, and the poor and unfortunate, were in fear and trembling of the Turcomans, while hooligans and mobs set about pillaging and plundering.

When Amir Jahanshah reached Kusuya and heard of the turmoil in Herat and the flight of the population, he sent letters of conciliation to the lords and dignitaries. Amir Pirzada Bukhari was appointed as prefect, and the people were given hope of justice. Amir Jahanshah himself entered the Bagh-i Zaghan on the 15th of Sha'ban, [June 28] concentrating his efforts upon taking Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, which Mawlana Ahmad Yasaul defended for a few days before finally quitting with amnesty and being favorably received by Jahanshah.

After uncontestedly gaining the throne of Khurasan, Jahanshah showed appropriate honor and respect to the sayyids, cadis, ulema and nobles and carried on the traditions of the late emperor. While he resided for a time in Kahdistan Meadow to the east of Herat, the exaltedness of his fame and power surpassed highest heaven. "The earth is God's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the prosperous end shall be unto those who fear him."<sup>104</sup>

#### MIRZA ALA'UDDAWLA AND HIS FATHER FALL INTO DISCORD; THE PRINCE GOES TO HERAT AT AMIR JAHANSHAH'S INVITATION

When Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim fled in fear of the army of Iraq and Azerbaijan to the province of Ghur, the father chose to stay in Lower Ghur and the son in Upper Ghur.

Then Amir Khalil, one of Mirza Ala'uddawla's companions, and his son Muhammad Khalil made a surprise attack on Qara Bahadur, Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's *qaraul*, and plundered all his possessions and goods. Mirza Ibrahim sent a messenger to his father to complain, but Mirza Ala'uddawla replied, saying, "On my exalted mind lay the dust of vexation with Qara Bahadur, who is my slave. It

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<sup>104</sup>Koran 7:128.

was for that reason that such a calamity befell him.”

After this, bad feeling came between father and son, [74] and unity and harmony were exchanged for enmity and discord. When battle lines were arrayed on both sides, they set out to attack each other. During all this the Tarkhan amirs abandoned Mirza Ibrahim and joined Mirza Ala'uddawla, and Mirza Ibrahim was forced to go to his father, where he was made prisoner. At the same time Amir Abdullah Khwaja Tarkhan, who had gone at Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's order as an envoy to Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, returned and, enraged at the prince's imprisonment, joined with a band of Tarkhans who mounted a surprise attack, set Mirza Ibrahim free and headed for Sakhar and Tulak.

When Amir Jahanshah learned of this, he sent a court official to Ghur to summon Mirza Ala'uddawla, who considered this invitation a boon and went with the speed of lightning to the Turcoman king's camp. On the Feast of the Sacrifice Amir Jahanshah held a magnificent assembly, and the great amirs brought Mirza Ala'uddawla forward with great honor. The Turcoman prince bowed to him and sat him in an appropriate place, flattering him with kindness and attention. On the 18th of the month [October 27, 1458] Pir-Budaq, Amir Jahanshah's eldest son who was ruling in Fars, came to his father. He came because Jahanshah, in trepidation with regard to Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, had sent an envoy to Shiraz summoning his son.

SULTAN SA'ID SETS OUT TO DO BATTLE  
WITH AMIR JAHANSHAH, BUT PEACE  
AND HARMONY ARE MADE BETWEEN  
THE TWO RULERS

When Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id in Balkh learned of Amir Muzaffaruddin Jahanshah's occupation of Herat, he set out for the battlefield accompanied by a force more numerous than can be told. While

camped for a few days on the banks of the Murghab River, news of the might and great numbers of Jahanshah's army caused Sultan Sa'id consternation, and upon reflection he had second thoughts about making war and decided to sue for peace. On the Feast of the Sacrifice Mawlana Najmuddin Umar and Mawlana Yusuf Attar went as envoys from Sultan Sa'id to make an offer of peace. In the manner of powerful sultans Amir Jahanshah met with the envoys and sent his vizier Sayyid Ashur back with them for deliberations. When he arrived at the royal camp, [75] Sayyid Ashur was allowed the honor of kissing the foot of the throne and then spoke pleasing words of peace and harmony. Sultan Sa'id replied amiably and expressed his inclination for harmony and accord. Sayyid Ashur withdrew, successful in his mission, and Amir Jahanshah decamped from Kahdistan Meadow to the foothills of Mount Mukhtar, hoping for a peaceful interlude.

Then Ahmad Tarkhan and some of his clansmen abandoned Mirza Ibrahim and joined Jahanshah, by whom they were rewarded and elevated above their peers by regal favor. Amir Jahanshah proposed to spend that winter in Khurasan in the mighty padishah Mirza Shahrukh's capital indulging in pleasure and revelry, but suddenly news arrived that Sultan Sa'id had entered the province of Herat Rud on the Langar-i Mir Ghiyath road. Amir Jahanshah was thrown into a sea of consternation, and flames of zeal leapt from within him. Readied for battle, Mirza Pir-Budaq, the eldest of his sons, was dispatched on an advance party, Jahanshah himself following and camping in the village of Yahyaabad. Mirza Pir-Budaq clashed with the scouts of Sultan Sa'id's army, and a group of Turcoman warriors were taken prisoner. Pir-Budaq took flight, returning in confusion to the capital, where he reported what had happened.

Simultaneously an envoy from Azerbaijan arrived with the news that Amirzada Hasan-Ali, another of Amir Jahanshah's sons who had long been in prison, had escaped, seized control of the treasury and was gathering an army. Therefore Amir Jahanshah left to tend to him and sent Sayyid Ashur once more to conclude peace with Sultan Sa'id. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id said, "Between Mirza Jahanshah and ourselves the foundations of peace will be laid when he contents himself with the kingdom of Azerbaijan given him by Mirza Shahrukh. Fars and Iraq must return to the control of our representatives and the Supreme Divan."

After much deliberation and many comings and goings by several envoys, peace was concluded on the following terms. Amir Jahanshah would withdraw from all the realms of Khurasan, Jurjan and Mazanderan without causing devastation and return to Tabriz. Treaties to this effect were concluded, and Amir Jahanshah left Yahyaabad for Azerbaijan.

At the beginning of Safar 863 [December 1458] he marched out of the south of Herat, the village of Murghab and Ziyaratgah, and on Friday the 8th [December 15] Amir Sayyid Asil Arghun and Husayn Dewana's warriors from Sultan Sa'id's camp entered Herat and took control of the town and citadel. Quarter and amnesty were proclaimed to the citizenry, and the banners of justice and equity were unfurled.

MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID COMES TO  
HERAT A SECOND TIME, AND SOME  
RULERS' DAYS OF FORTUNE AND LIFE  
COME TO AN END

When the sun of divine favor rose over the horizon of eternal felicity and brightened Mirza [76] Sultan Abu-Sa'id's eyes by the sight of the withdrawal—if not to say retreat—of Amir Jahanshah to Iraq and Azerbaijan, the royal train marched from Herat Rud and camped at the foot of Mount Mukhtar on Thursday the 14th of

Safar [December 21, 1458]. The sayyids, cadis, ulema, lords and nobles who rushed out in greeting were shown favor. The next day the Bagh-i Shahr became the envy of paradise by the royal advent, and as Sultan Sa'id ascended the throne of justice and rule, the fame and magnificence of that sun of the caliphal sphere surpassed Saturn's heaven. Through his zeal to store up heavenly reward and his concern for strengthening the prophetic law, that very day he went to the congregational mosque and, after performing the prayer and offering his petitions, the sermon delivered by the Shaykh al-Islam Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Kusuwi was honored by the royal presence. The *khutba* was again proclaimed with the titles of that exalted prince, and coins were adorned and ornamented with his royal name.

When the hearts of coins were impressed with the design of his regal name, the sun filled the mouths of coins with gold from his seal. When the pulpit was adorned by the *khutba* in his name, Jupiter rained down pearls as tribute over the pulpit.

Since that year much damage had been done to the crops of Khurasan by the passage of the Turcoman armies and other events, a dreadful famine occurred in Herat and environs that winter. It was so bad that innumerable people died for want of food. In an effort to alleviate the suffering of the people, Sultan Sa'id sent most of the army to Transoxiana and opened with the hand of mercy the gates of charity and beneficence to the poor and suffering.

When Mirza Ala'uddawla, Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Sanjar learned that there were but few soldiers remaining, they exchanged envoys and messages and plotted with one another to make war on Sultan Sa'id, meeting in the vicinity of Sarakhs. When Sultan Sa'id learned of this, although at that time there were no more than two thousand armed men at his

disposal, he thought of the words, "Many a small group has defeated a large one," and marched off to dispel his opponents. As a stroke of divine favor, along the way Amir Sayyid Muzid Arghun and Amir Sultan-Ahmad Temürtaş from Samarqand joined the royal train with a fierce army.

In the middle of Jumada I [March 1459], between Merv and Sarakhs, the vanguard of Mirza Ala'uddawla, his son and Mirza Sanjar appeared. Battle lines were drawn and a pitched battle ensued. That day the brave sultan's right and left flanks were put to rout by the right and left of the enemy, some of those taking flight not halting until they reached Transoxiana, where they spread the news of the mighty padishah's defeat. [77] After the rout of the right and left flanks, Sultan Sa'id charged with the warriors of his center, unsheathed his blood-thirsty blade in vengeance, spurred his steed heroically and fought like doomsday.

His sword, drunk on pure blood, began to sever heads, and his spear stretched forth in mercilessness while his heart-piercing arrows shot through gore. Hearts were wounded, lives were taken—the wages of thirsty warriors were swords drenched in blood.

Not an hour had passed when the sun of victory came into conjunction with the finial of Sultan Sa'id's standard, and Mirza Ala'uddawla and his son took flight. Mirza Sanjar fell prisoner and was given a draught of martyrdom from the hand of the prefect of wrath. Sultan Sa'id thanked God for his infinite mercy and kindness and sent a notice of victory to all parts of Khurasan and Transoxiana. Amir Ali Farsi and Amir Sayyid Asil were sent in pursuit of Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim, who had fled to Mazniyan in Sabzawar. Sultan Sa'id himself set out for the Badghis winter pasture. There the amirs who had gone in pursuit of the fugitives returned and reported that Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim had left

Mazniyan for Bistam and Damghan. Then the royal train went in the embrace of divine favor and camped at the Idgah in Herat, where [the sultan] saw to the completion of that delightful edifice.

THE CONQUEST OF TIRATU CITADEL  
AND IMAD FORT AND SOME OTHER  
EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE AT THAT  
TIME

It has been previously reported with what stratagem Berkä overcame the citadel of Tiratu, which was the strongest of all mighty fortresses. For two years, due to the events of interregnum and other reasons, none of the kings or rulers was able to reconquer the fortress until now, when Sultan Sa'id, untroubled by other pretenders to the realm of Khurasan, could turn his attention to a reconquest of that peerless fort.

Amir Sayyid Muzid Arghun and the grand vizier Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad were ordered to Tiratu. They blocked all entrances and exits to the fortress and set an army of officers and soldiers to prepare implements of siege. When they realized that without the keys of divine favor it was not possible to attain their desire, and that it was useless to use force, they withdrew and waited for the power of royal fortune to perform a miracle and the hand of spiteful fate to pour the dust of misfortune upon the head of Berkä the traitor.

In accordance with the Koranic words, [78] "He cast into their hearts terror and dismay,"<sup>105</sup> during those days the inhabitants of the citadel became uneasy, and discord found its way among them. Berkä became mistrustful of his confederates and put a group of them to death. The others, suspicious of him, drew their swords one morning and attacked that old wretch, separating his head at once from his body and dispatching it to Herat. This victory took place near the beginning of

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<sup>105</sup>Koran 33:26.



Ramadan 863 [July 1459], and in the middle of that same month Mirza Sultan-Ibrahim's death occurred, the details of which are as follows.

When Mirza Ala'uddawla and Mirza Ibrahim fled from their encounter with Sultan Abu-Sa'id, they reached the vicinity of Damghan. The father and son separated, and Mirza Ibrahim gathered an army from that area and set out for Mashhad. However, along the way he fell ill, and despite the treatment the physicians applied, the brave prince turned his face toward the eternal world. Some of his retinue and faithful followers brought his body to Herat, where it was entrusted to the earth in the Gawharshad Agha mausoleum in Shawwal of that year [August 1459]. Sultan Abu-Sa'id's officers were ordered to perform the funeral rites of Koran recitation and distribution of food.

Also during that year the divine bestower favored Sultan Sa'id with a son. Since the boy was born of Ruqya Sultan Begim, the daughter of Mirza Ala'uddawla, he was named for Mirza Shah-rukh.

Also during that year Amir Ali Farsi was ordered to proceed to conquer Imad Fort. Upon his arrival in the area, Muhammad Dewana, who held the fortress on Amir Baba Hasan's behalf, capitulated, and Amir Ali Farsi carried out his instructions to destroy the towers and ramparts of Imad Fort.

Toward the end of the year Mirza Shah-Mahmud b. Mirza Babur, to whom Sistan fell after the withdrawal of Amir Jahanshah's troops, was martyred in the battle that took place between Amir Khalil Hinduka and Amir Baba the governor of Kabul. Also in that battle died Shaykh-zada Pir-Qiwam, one of the great Baburid *sadrs*.

THE REALM OF JURJAN IS CONQUERED,  
AND AMIR KHALIL HINDUKA TRAVERSES  
THE VALLEY OF REBELLION

At the beginning of 864 [November 1459] a contingent of Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza's army, which had invaded and occupied Jurjan, raided as far as Sabzawar, pillaging and plundering with undeniable power and dominion. When Sultan Sa'id heard this, he set out for Jurjan on Wednesday the 4th of Jumada I [February 26, 1460]. Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza, not considering it politic to engage in battle, retired to Ashtarabad. Sultan Sa'id spent a few days reveling in Jurjan [79] and then, turning the province over to his eldest son Sultan-Mahmud Mirza, he returned to the capital.

During the absence of the royal train, Amir Khalil Hinduka, a courageous commander who had governed in Sistan from the early days of Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur until that time, began to think of independence on account of the mistrust he harbored of Sultan Sa'id and set out for Herat with the army of Nimroz. On the 12th of Ramadan [July 1, 1460] he reached the outskirts of the city and laid siege. Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Barlas, who was governing in the city on behalf of Sultan Sa'id, and the prefect Amir Nazir, along with the sayyids, cadis and leaders, fortified the towers and ramparts and showed their courage and bravery in defending the city and repelling the Sistanis. All day every day Amir Khalil fought, and arrows and stones rained from inside and out, rising and falling like the prayers of holy people. Since Amir Khalil did not have a hair on his head, Mawlana Hasanshah composed a poem, wrote it on a piece of paper, tied it to an arrow and shot it into the camp. Amir Khalil and those present at his assembly were incensed by the verse, which is as follows:

O friends, deliver our message to Amir Khalil.  
Say, "If you are intent upon losing your head,  
don't give yourself and us a headache every  
day but come in celebration, for it is time to  
charge the *qabaq*."

One Friday morning that month Amir Khalil and his vast army determined to take Herat, and his men indeed made every effort. They crossed the trench and began to breach the towers and walls and were near to overwhelming the city, but after the Friday prayer the Heratis poured in droves through the city gates and attacked the Sistanis, mingling the dust of the road with the blood of the enemy, and shouting and beating the drums to announce the arrival of Sultan Abu-Sa'id. At this the Sistani soldiers' resolve failed, and Amir Khalil and his followers gave up on taking Herat and fled back to Nimroz.

Sultan Sa'id heard of Amir Khalil's audacity while returning from Astarabad and proceeded as fast as he could, but he reached the capital toward the end of Ramadan, after the Sistanis had fled. He rewarded those who had evidenced bravery and courage in repelling the enemy, and dispatched a brigade to deal with Amir Khalil, commanding them not to return until they had laid him low and taken him captive.

Hearing of the approach of the army, Amir Khalil was terrified. With visions of helplessness and defeat looming before him, he put the ring of servitude to the mighty sultan in his ear and turned the face of supplication toward the royal threshold. In Isfizar he encountered Amir Karimdad, who was on his way to him. As Amir Karimdad had been a friend of Amir Khalil's, he showed him kindness and escorted him to the court of world refuge, where Sultan Sa'id drew a line of pardon and forgiveness across the pages of his offenses. Amir Khalil rubbed his forehead in supplication before the throne [80] and was restored to the rank of amir. The governance of Sistan was transferred to Shah Yahya, a son of one of the *maliks* of the region, and Amir Khalil retired to his inherited estates, where his fortune took a turn for the better.

#### OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE; AMIR KHALIL IS KILLED IN ASTARABAD

At the beginning of 865 [October 1460] Mirza Ala'uddawla, who had wandered in destitution through the mountains and deserts after his battle with Sultan Sa'id, died in Qulzum in the house of Malik Besutun Rustamdari. On Friday eve the 21st of the month [November 6, 1460] his body was brought to Herat and laid to rest in Gawharshad Agha's Madrasa. His daughter, Ruqya Sultan Begim, the wife of Sultan Sa'id, performed the rites of mourning and feeding the poor.

Concurrently news arrived from Transoxiana that Mirza Muhammad-Juki b. Mirza Abdul-Latif had rebelled at the instigation of Amir Nur Sa'id, a protégé of Sultan Sa'id, and was pillaging and plundering throughout the province. Therefore on the 28th of Jumada I [March 11, 1461] the sultan set out for Transoxiana, and Mirza Muhammad-Juki, merely hearing that the imperial army was approaching, took flight and holed up in the citadel at Shahrukhiyya. Sultan Sa'id crossed the Oxus and hastened to Samarqand, where he indulged in pleasure for a few days before setting out for Shahrukhiyya. Arriving in the vicinity of the mighty citadel, the retainers of the invincible retinue kindled the fire of battle, shooting arrows and dealing with the enemy from dawn to sunset.

When the face of victory had almost smiled upon the triumphant padishah, an envoy from Khurasan arrived and reported that Sultan-Husayn Mirza had taken Jurjan and was intent upon taking Khurasan. Hearing this news, Sultan Sa'id grew irate and sent Amir Sayyid Asil Arghun and Amir Sayyid Murad to defend the borders. With the speed of lightning the amirs crossed the Oxus, entered Khurasan and hastened to Nishapur and Sabzawar. From there, verifying Mirza Sultan-Husayn's intent, they retreated to Herat, brought the people of the

outlying districts into the city and readied themselves to defend the citadel.

Mirza Sultan-Husayn arrived outside the city just after them, and battle erupted. When Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id heard that Herat was being besieged, he concluded a truce with Mirza Muhammad-Juki, crossed the Oxus and rode without stopping to Maymana and Faryab. Hearing of his approach, Mirza Sultan-Husayn withdrew from Herat and went to Sutuki (?) [81] to meet the padishah. From there he set out for Astarabad via Sarakhs, with Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id hastening behind him to Jurjan. Mirza Sultan-Husayn advanced as far as Kharaskhana and from there, on a rainy night as dark and black as an infidel's heart, he rode without stopping to Awaq. Sultan Sa'id stopped in Gul Afshan at Astarabad and passed a few days in pleasure.

At that time Amir Khalil Hinduka was requited for his evil deeds, and Sultan Sa'id announced his indifference whether Amir Khalil lived or died. The details of this are as follows.

Although Amir Khalil had given up the rule of Sistan, taken refuge at court and joined the retinue, he constantly dreamed of independence and, plotting to fell the sapling of the sultan's fortune, he bided his time waiting for an opportunity. Several times his intentions were made manifestly clear, but Sultan Sa'id promoted him, thinking that perhaps he would find his way from the valley of falsehood to the highway of fidelity. This, however, only served to make Amir Khalil more duplicitous, and on the night that most of the brave men of the royal train were in pursuit of Mirza Sultan-Husayn, he decided to reveal what was hidden in the recesses of his mind. Going to Sultan Sa'id, he said with great exaggeration, "It would be appropriate for you to go yourself in pursuit of the enemy."

His Majesty perceived what was in that traitor's mind and replied, "Khalil Beg, it is not usual for sultans to pursue their

opponents by night." Thereupon the sultan ordered the great amirs in Astarabad to seize Amir Khalil and put him to death. On the pretext of a council meeting, they took him to the booty room and killed him then and there. His sons too were dispatched immediately after him.

Then Sultan Sa'id once again assigned Jurjan to Mirza Sultan-Mahmud and returned to Khurasan, arriving at the Bagh-i Safed on the 22nd of Rabi' II 866 [January 24, 1462].

During those days the splendid sultan undertook an investigation of various people, and it became clear that Khwaja Mu'izzuddin the vizier had extorted vast sums from the people of Khurasan during the absence of the royal train on the pretext of raising money for the army. The fire of royal anger blazed, and an order was issued that the vizier be bound hand and foot and thrown into a cauldron of boiling water until the spark of his life was extinguished. The order was carried out at the foot of Ikhtiyaruddin Citadel.

Exuding favor, the just padishah nourished the garden of hope of the citizenry and ordered that henceforth no one was to make demands for the army on the citizens of Herat and outlying districts. A decree to this effect was carved in stone and set up in the congregational mosque of Herat.

Also at that time Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus Simnani, Khwaja Isma'il Kürk (?) the vizier and Khwaja Muzaffar Mukhtar were deposed from office for shortcomings and malfeasance. It is said that when [82] Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad the divan chief heard the news of Khwaja Mu'izzuddin's being boiled and Khwaja Muzaffar's deposition, he fainted in dread of being punished by the sultan. Mawlana Hasanshah the poet composed this verse in that regard:

When they seized Muzaffar and scalded  
Mu'izzuddin, Khwaja Shamsuddin  
Muhammad fainted dead away.

SULTAN SA'ID GOES TO TURKISTAN A  
SECOND TIME, AND OTHER EVENTS

When Sultan Abu-Sa'id returned from the Mazanderan campaign, he spent some time in Herat. Envoys were constantly coming to court from Transoxiana with reports that Mirza Muhammad-Juki had rebelled again, and so the world conqueror focused his attention upon uprooting the sapling of that prince's fortune and marched from Herat on the 27th of Jumada I [February 27, 1462] for Transoxiana. When he reached Balkh he stayed there for a time. On the 9th of Rajab [April 9, 1462] the invincible banners crossed the Oxus, and he arrived in Samarqand. From there he proceeded to Shahrukhiyya, where the towers and ramparts were seen to be strong. A detachment of officers and soldiers was ordered to make ready implements of siege, and he returned to Samarqand.

While the padishah was in Transoxiana, the plague broke out in Khurasan, especially in Herat and outlying districts, and the people were thrown into confusion, a great many of them taking up eternal residence in the earth.

At the beginning of 867 [September 1462] Sultan Sa'id once again went from Samarqand to the citadel at Shahrukhiyya and laid siege. For nearly a year there was no victory, but after that the inhabitants of the citadel were reduced to desperation when their supplies ran out, and Mirza Muhammad-Juki sent messengers to Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah to negotiate a truce and request the sultan to pardon his offense. The khwaja agreed to the prince's request and went to Sultan Sa'id's camp, asking for amnesty for the residents of the citadel. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id accepted the holy man's intercession, and the khwaja went to Shahrukhiyya. On Friday the 9th of Muharram 867 [October 4, 1462] Mirza Muhammad-Juki was taken before Sultan Sa'id, who received the prince kindly and then returned to Samarqand. From there he set

out for the capital, where he arrived triumphantly at the Bagh-i Safed on the 22nd of Rabi' II [January 14, 1463]. Mirza Muhammad-Juki was imprisoned in Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, where he remained until he died. [83]

This campaign had lasted for over a year, and when Sultan Sa'id returned he ordered an audit of accounts. Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus, Khwaja Isma'il, Khwaja Ni'matullah and Mawlana Amir presented the ledgers that they had filed, but Sultan Sa'id did not approve of the great viziers' transactions, dismissed Khwaja Taus and threw Khwaja Isma'il into chains. When it came Khwaja Ni'matullah's turn to be questioned, he informed on Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, who said, "I did take something for my services to the citizens, nobles and lords of Khurasan, but I never touched the royal property."

Sultan Sa'id said, "I forgive you for whatever you have taken from anybody, and I dismiss you from office because from time to time viziers are subject to my wrath. However, on account of the good services you have rendered, I am not going to harm you." When the khwaja heard this, he knelt, removed his ring from his finger, placed it on a corner of the throne and withdrew and stood in his place. Apparently no vizier has ever been so lightly dismissed from office.

In 869 [1464] Sultan Sa'id decided to winter in Merv, and the couriers took the news to officers and soldiers, the invincible banners moving out at the end of Rabi' II [end of December 1464]. Prince Mirza Sultan-Muhammad was left as governor of Herat to tend to affairs. Sultan Sa'id stayed in the town of Panj Deh for ten days, and at the beginning of Jumada I he arrived at his winter quarters, spending that winter in great success and good fortune. When spring was approaching and the equinox was at hand he returned to the capital, arriving at the Bagh-i Safed on Friday the 2nd of Sha'-

ban [March 30, 1465], when the sun was in the 17th degree of Aries.

During 870 the royal constitution lost its equilibrium to an illness, but when health was regained by the decree of the Absolute Physician, he forgave the peasantry and farmers of Khurasan the fruit tax, and thus the saplings and shoots of the people's hopes and expectations flourished "as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven."<sup>106</sup>

Also during that year a new rose blossomed by divine favor in the garden of fortune, and the necklace of the padishah's offspring was ornamented by a precious new pearl. At the beginning of Shawwal a boy was born in Sultan Sa'id's harem, and he was named Mirza Baysunghur. When His Majesty's eyes were brightened by the sight of that darling, he ordered a pavilion set up for the circumcision of the rest of the princes.

In accordance with the command, a pavilion was erected in the Bagh-i Zaghan, and the high domes and tall arches of that paradisiacal garden were bedecked with silks from Rûm and brocades from China. [84] Each guild also made a spectacular exhibit in line with its craft and thus displayed its skill.

That year the [greatest] craftsmen in the world were in the capital of Khurasan, and they all produced marvelous things with their powerful minds and talent for intricacy. Among them, Khwaja Ali Arizagar of Isfahan produced on a glass [vessel representations of] the thirty-two different craftsmen who exist in the workshop of creation such that the thirty-two shops and workrooms were open and each craftsman was [shown] occupied with his own particular task. Some of the images of those who have need of movement in their craft, such as the tailor, mattress-maker, carpenter and smith, were drawn with the brush depicting their

movement in such a configuration that no more beautiful picture could be reflected in the mirror of the imagination.

When Sultan Sa'id viewed that strange display he marveled greatly and rewarded that rarity of the age with various praise and beneficence. The assembly of pleasure and revelry begun, joy-giving vermilion wine watered the gardens of enjoyment, and the enchanting melodies of minstrels drew back the veil of sorrow from the hearts of all. Silvery-limbed cupbearers illuminated the assemblies of intimacy with the radiance of their cheeks, which were the envy of the Garden of Iram, and with brimful goblets they intoxicated bowed-backed old men and clothed them with the garments of the days of youth. Attendants of the royal threshold presented several times a day more varied foods than could fit into the scope of imagination. From the beginning of Shawwal until Friday the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja the festival and celebration continued, with king and beggar, young and old enjoying themselves and reveling. On that day a great feast was given, and the exalted princes were circumcised according to the rites of the Islamic religion.

Thereafter the mighty padishah turned his attention to weighty affairs of rule, and the court servants rolled up the carpet of play and sport.

In 871 [1466-67] Sultan Sa'id passed his days at the height of glory and magnificence in Herat. Once again the rays of royal favor encompassed Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus, who was reinstated as overseer to the Supreme Divan.

In 872 [1467-68] the emperor wintered in Merv, where he spread the carpet of enjoyment and raised the tent of might. He was still at the winter station when news of Amir Jahanshah's death arrived, and he set out for Azerbaijan.

Alas, he shall not return.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF AMIR JAHANSHAH AND MIRZA PIR-BUDAQ, AND HOW

<sup>106</sup>Koran 14:24.

BOTH FATHER AND SON WERE KILLED  
BY DIVINE DECREE

It has previously been reported of the rulers of Azerbaijan and Iraq that when the sun of Mirza Muhammad b. Baysunghur's fortune fell from the apex of perfection to the apogee of misfortune, [85] and the wind of fate uprooted the tree of his life at Chanaran, the final atop Amir Muzaffaruddin Jahanshah's standard of world conquest rose to the pinnacle of power, and all the realms of Azerbaijan, the two Iraqs, Fars, the coast of the Oman Sea, Armenia and Georgia were subjugated by that puissant padishah. Commanders and rulers of all parts and the mighty of all regions obeyed his command, paid tribute to him and were honored by his attention and favor—all except Amir Hasan Beg,<sup>107</sup> son of Amir Ali son of Amir Qara Uthman. He held several fortresses in Diyar Bakr and, refusing to submit to Amir Jahanshah, had constant ambitions of autonomy. This was vexing to Amir Jahanshah, who was always thinking how to deal with him, but Amir Hasan Beg's fortresses were so fast and strong that he could not bring his wish to fruition. In the midst of these affairs an event appeared from behind the curtain of destiny, and the hand of divine fate rolled up the carpet of Jahanshah's security. The details are as follows.

Mirza Pir-Budaq was the bravest and eldest of Amir Jahanshah's sons, and he ruled powerfully as his father's regent in Fars. When the affair between Sultan Sa'id and Amir Jahanshah in Khurasan was concluded in peace, Pir-Budaq returned to Shiraz via Tabas and Yazd. With fantasies and vain dreams he deviated from subservience to his father, but several times Jahanshah sent envoys and messages to his son and advised him to return to obedience, cautioning him of the

dire results of opposition. However, Pir-Budaq did not accept this advice and absolutely did not budge from his obstinacy. Finally Amir Jahanshah's wife, Pir-Budaq's mother, went to Shiraz and counseled her rebellious son to give up Fars and accept the rule of Baghdad. This done, Jahanshah ceased to worry. Shiraz was given to another son, Amirzada Yusuf, and Pir-Budaq settled in Baghdad. Within a short time he had made Arabian Iraq flourish, but the vision of union with the bride of Shiraz would not leave his mind, and in his grief he constantly harassed the borders of Jahanshah's territory and engaged in various acts of enmity and aggression. No matter how many times Amir Jahanshah winked royally at these acts and gave advice through messengers to his unwise son, it was to no avail: the self-willed prince would not cease his opposition and rebellion. Consequently Amir Jahanshah decided to uproot the sapling of his son's fortune. In 870 [1465–66] he marched with a large army to Baghdad. Mirza Pir-Budaq made fast the towers and ramparts of the city and got ready for a siege. Amir Jahanshah laid siege, but Baghdad was so strong and the prince's followers were so courageous that for a year no victory was won.

At that time the army of Iraq and [86] Azerbaijan fought hard from dawn to dusk, while Mirza Pir-Budaq and the Baghdadis defended themselves to the best of their ability with great manliness and bravery. Finally well-being turned its back on the Baghdadis, and great drought and scarcity of goods occurred and famine spread. Those who had never eaten lamb without delicate herbs now boiled rotten meat to eat, and those who had been too dainty to touch sugary sweets were now reduced to killing dogs and cats. The Baghdadis at their wit's end, their cries and wails rising to highest heaven, sent representatives to Jahanshah and sought amnesty. Amnesty was

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<sup>107</sup>Usually known by his sobriquet, Uzun Hasan of the Aqqoyunlu dynasty, ruled 857–82/1453–78.

granted, the gates were opened, and the hungry population rushed joyfully to Amir Jahanshah's camp. Pir-Budaq Mirza, on the other hand, withdrew his feet into the skirt of dignity and gravity and sat in his quarters, imagining that his father would never attack him. Just at that time Amir Jahanshah assigned another of his sons, Muhammadi, along with some amirs, the task of killing Pir-Budaq. Faces masked and swords drawn, they attacked the prince. Muhammadi intentionally stuck his sword into the wall, and the others finished off the prince. This deed, however, was not a good omen for Amir Jahanshah, for the people were horrified and ceased to follow him.

When the mighty padishah no longer had to worry about his son, he concentrated on repelling Amir Hasan Beg and set out for Diyar Bakr. When Amir Hasan Beg learned of Jahanshah's approach, he realized that he did not have the power to resist and so withdrew to an impregnable mountain summit. Amir Jahanshah went to the plain between Mush and Erzurum and camped near Amir Hasan Beg. The clever Amir Hasan Beg sent unctuous envoys to the padishah of Azerbaijan with humble messages. Amir Jahanshah attributed this to Hasan Beg's weakness and stayed there during the heat of summer. When autumn came and the cold of winter kept the soldiers from remaining there any longer, they begged permission to withdraw. The Turcoman prince gave permission, and he and his retinue reveled there for a few days.

Amir Hasan Beg learned of his enemy's inattentiveness and the dire state of the army, and with two thousand horsemen he set out to attack Amir Jahanshah. He reached the outskirts of the camp at dawn, and when the few Turcomans who were awake realized that the enemy was upon them, they began to flounder like fish caught in a net. Mirza Muhammad[i] and Mirza Yusuf went out to battle, but they were unable to withstand a single

attack. Returning to camp, they informed their father of this terrible event. Amir Jahanshah was getting into his mail and had strapped on one of his knee guards when the news was announced. Without attaching the other knee piece, he jumped on his horse and galloped off in flight. That very moment Amir Hasan Beg entered the camp, took Muhammadi and Yusuf prisoner and killed a number of Azerbaijani officers.

As Amir Jahanshah was fleeing, an obscure soldier named Iskandar happened upon him. [87] Desirous of his horse and clothes, he killed him and returned to camp without anyone learning of this affair.

Amir Hasan Beg mounted a search for his enemy, and during the search the head of a guard who resembled Amir Jahanshah was brought in as the shah's head. Amir Hasan Beg sent it to Muhammadi and Yusuf Beg to ask whose head it was. They replied, "It is the head of the guard who resembled our father." Again Amir Hasan Beg mounted the search. Someone reported that a soldier who was wearing regal garments might have some knowledge of Amir Jahanshah. Amir Hasan Beg summoned Iskandar and asked, "Where did you get these clothes?" He answered that he had killed a person of a certain description in a certain place and that the clothes had been his. Amir Hasan Beg immediately sent a courier there to sever the head from the corpse and bring it in, and it was obvious that it was Amir Jahanshah, for which Amir Hasan Beg thanked God. He had Muhammadi shot and Mirza Yusuf blinded.

When fortune forsook that family, one was killed and another was blinded.

NEWS OF AMIR JAHANSHAH'S DEATH IS REPORTED TO MIRZA SULTAN ABUSA'ID KÜRÄGÄN, AND THAT EXALTED PADISHAH SETS OUT FOR IRAQ AND AZERBAIJAN

When the sun of Abu'l-Nasr Amir Hasan Beg's fortune began its triumphal rise, and Amir Jahanshah had been disposed of as reported, the amirs and soldiers of Iraq and Azerbaijan turned hopefully to Amirzada Hasan-Ali,<sup>108</sup> the eldest [remaining] of Jahanshah's sons. Opening the doors of the treasury, he paid the stipends of 180,000 horsemen. Apparently no prince before has ever been able to do this, and no historian has ever written of such a thing.

Amirzada Hasan-Ali laid plans for making war with that army and sent a message to the court of Sultan Sa'id begging the invincible banners to march to Iraq and Azerbaijan in order that he might gird his loins in service and turn over to the servants of the caliphal threshold the keys to the realm and its fortresses. When he heard this news, the sultan was overjoyed and ordered the armies of the protected realm gathered. Since this exalted padishah had always made his decisions by consultation with the holy Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah, he sent Mirak Kamaluddin Abdul-Rahim the *sadr* to meet with him in Samarqand. The khwaja agreed to the sultan's proposal and went to Merv, where Sultan Abu-Sa'id discussed an Iraq-Azerbaijan campaign with the [88] saint. After much deliberation a favorable decision was made, and Khwaja Ubaydullah returned to Transoxiana while Sultan Abu-Sa'id set out toward the end of Pisces, or the beginning of Sha'ban 872 [end of February 1468], from his winter quarters for Azerbaijan and Iraq with a multitudinous and well equipped army. Along the way he visited saints' and shaykhs' shrines in every city and region he came to and made entreaty for success. To the same end he distributed charity and alms to the poor and deserving. When the sun had reached its height and the designer of vegetation had

made the vast plains and wildernesses the envy of the Gallery of China with blossoming flowers and herbs, the victorious standard was planted in Radkan Meadow, where the army camped for several days. From there they marched to Kalpush.

During this march the world-famous and renowned of Fars and Iraq turned in hope to the royal court, and at every station hosts of rulers and learned men paid homage. At Kalpush the padishah assigned a group of amirs and trusted men to take control of the area and sent them off. Among them, the administrator and soldier Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad went to Isfahan, and Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad, son of Amir Ali Farsi Barlas, went to Shiraz. Amir Jalaluddin Mahmud Barlas took the governance of Kerman, and Amir Sayyid Muhammad, the brother of Amir Sayyid Murad, undertook to rule Qazwin and Sultaniyya. Hamadan and Dargazin were assigned to Amir Husayn-Ali Qauchin, and Amir Qaraman Shaykh was appointed to Yazd. Each of the above-mentioned went to his assigned post, and divine favor so shone upon the padishah's wishes that most of the realm of Iraq came into the powerful grasp of the sultan's servants.

From the time that Amir Hasan Beg had ceased to worry about Amir Jahanshah until the royal train camped in Kalpush, several times Amir Hasan Beg's envoys had come to the court to reaffirm his loyalty and fidelity. Through these amirs the following was said to the royal ears, "The sons of Amir Qara Yusuf will never be sincere in their loyalty to or stable in their support of the house of Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän—unlike this servant, who, like his fathers and forefathers, has ever trod the path of sincerity and loyalty and has never allowed a rebellious thought to cross his mind."

At Kalpush Sultan Sa'id gave the envoys a banquet and rewarded them. For Amir Hasan Beg he sent a gold-embroidered *dägälä*, a *nawrozi* hat and a jewel-

<sup>108</sup>Hasan-Ali's name is consistently misspelled as Husayn-Ali in the text. See Woods, *Aqqyunlu*, p. 109.



studded sword belt, saying, "Amir Hasan Beg must march with his army from that side when the invincible army moves from this side so that together we can put an end to these people of obstinacy."

Amirzada Hasan-Ali's envoys also brought many gifts and presents, coins, and innumerable jewels to court [89] and expressed their servitude and submission, saying on behalf of their prince, "The kingdom of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Fars and their dependencies, with all their abundant treasures, are under my control, and what is under my control I consider to belong to that victorious padishah. 'We and all we possess are yours.' It is hoped that your favorable glance will not be withheld from this miserable one and that you will make it your exalted ambition to repel the enemy, who martyred my father with the sword of mutiny." Sultan Sa'id also received these envoys favorably and gave them permission to withdraw, saying, "The world-conquering banner is headed for Azerbaijan. After our arrival, whatever is politic will be done."

During those very days the royal train moved from Kalpush and camped in Rayy. From there Amir Muzid set out with a band of amirs as an advance party and galloped into Tabriz. Simultaneously Amirzada Hasan-Ali was vanquished.

AMIRZADA HASAN-ALI, VANQUISHED AT  
MARAND, JOINS THE FELICITOUS  
SULTAN

When Sultan Sa'id made camp at Rayy, Amirzada Hasan-Ali, son of Amir Jahanshah, was camped at Marand, planning to do battle with Amir Hasan Beg. When news of the approach of the enemy was announced, Amir Shah-Ali, Amir Ibrahimshah and a group of court amirs were dispatched as a vanguard. That group disregarded their obligations to Jahanshah and went to Amir Hasan Beg. When the news of these amirs' faithlessness and the approach of Sultan Sa'id's army to Tabriz was heard in Amirzada

Hasan-Ali's camp, the men panicked so that they could not be organized. Some of the soldiers joined Amir Hasan Beg's camp, and many of them took refuge with Sultan Sa'id, whose vision of subjugating Azerbaijan took a firmer hold on reality than before. He hastened from Rayy to Sultaniyya, and just as the royal train arrived, a report from Amir Muzid and the other amirs who had gone to Tabriz was received, saying, "Amir Hasan Beg had twisted his neck free from the noose of obedience and has sent us a decree that says, 'The Chaghatay amirs must leave Tabriz, for I have given that city to my son Ughurlu Muhammad.' As a consequence it is imperative that the royal army proceed as fast as possible to this region in order to gain our objective."

However, when Amir Hasan Beg heard that Sultan Sa'id was camped at Sultaniyya, he went out eight parasangs from Tabriz to Qara Bagh. Sultan Sa'id sent Pahlawan Yusuf Shirazi as prefect of Tabriz and hastened from Sultaniyya [90] to Miyana, where Amirzada Hasan-Ali, his son Sultan-Ali, his brother Amirzada Yusuf Makhul and a large contingent of Turcoman amirs with nearly fifty thousand soldiers came to the royal camp. Sultan Sa'id allowed Amir Jahanshah's sons the honor of kissing his hand and treated them well, creating hope in them with pleasing promises. Meanwhile Amir Hasan Beg sent his nephew Yusuf Beg as emissary to the court. Sultan Sa'id held a magnificent assembly during which the great amirs introduced Yusuf Beg with all honors. As ordered, he knelt twenty-seven times before he was allowed to kiss the king's hand. Through the amirs Yusuf Beg said on behalf of his uncle, "For nearly a century our fathers have been supporters of the house of Sahib-Qiran Amir Timur Kürägän. Now this devotee too, maintaining that path, has wrenched Fars and Iraq from the enemy and set them before the appointees of the court. It is hoped that I will be allowed to

spend the winter here in this swamp and permitted, when winter is over and the snows are melted, to return to Diyar Bakr." Amir Hasan Beg also sent a petition by Yusuf Beg in which he expressed the same wish and included the following line of poetry:

If you desire your beloved not to break his  
promise, see that he keeps his end of the  
bargain.

In short, when Sultan Sa'id heard Amir Hasan Beg's message, he answered, "The royal train is headed for that region. When we arrive we shall do what is in our best interests." To deliver this message to Amir Hasan Beg he sent his aunt's son Mirza Mahmud Khwaja-Laqa with Yusuf Beg. When Mirza Mahmud reached Amir Hasan Beg's camp, Hasan Beg held regal court, set up a golden throne on which he seated Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad (b. Mirza Sultan-Muhammad b. Mirza Baysunghur) and took his place with all magnificence on the left. The amirs and commanders of the army were ordered to stand fully armed and in full regalia in their respective places. Then Mirza Mahmud was given audience. Entering the assembly with all pomp and show, he knelt several times. At Amir Hasan Beg's order, he was presented first to Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad and then was allowed to kiss Amir Hasan Beg's hand. He reported what he had to say and was given an answer. Two or three days later he returned.

THE WIND OF DISPERSAL AND CONFUSION  
BLOWS OVER THE ARMY OF THE  
PADISHAH OF IRAN AND TURAN, AND  
THE LAMP OF THE KHURASANIS'  
SPLENDOR IS EXTINGUISHED NEAR  
QARA BAGH, ARRAN

Good fortune in this vale of sorrow is as transitory as the sun, and the sun of splendor and might is ever on the verge of passing away, like the shadow of sor-

row. When it is God's wish that royal fortune change, stability cannot be maintained by an army, no matter how huge; and when the divine will settles upon the dispersal of world-conquering forces, [91] they cannot be held together by any strategy of the clever or wise.

When God desires to change fortune, his  
decree will be done.

How can a kingdom remain without divine  
judgment? Stratagem avails not, for divine  
judgment is absolute.

When the Lord of All destined that the edifice of Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id's life would collapse, despite his many warriors and champions and many implements of war, he gained no victory in Azerbaijan, and the breeze of triumph and conquest blew through the furls of Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg's banner in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Victory is from God alone."<sup>109</sup> Divine favor opened the gates of rule and dominion to that sun of the sphere of success as follows.

While the sultan of the age was camped at Miyana with so many soldiers that it resembled the day of resurrection, all at once the troops of cold and ice swept down upon the world in pillage and plunder, and the prince of the stars threw an ermine cloud over his shoulders and refused to budge from his azure tent in fear of the cold. Therefore Sultan Sa'id summoned his amirs and *noyans* to discuss the selection of a place to spend the winter. All agreed that Amir Hasan Beg should be driven from Qara Bagh and that the mighty padishah should spend the winter there in his stead. To that end the army marched, and when they had camped within seven parasangs of Qara Bagh, the lords of strategy thought that, as they were low on supplies, it would be best to go to Mahmudabad so that the Shirvanshah, who always professed his

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<sup>109</sup>Koran 8:10.

support, might join the royal camp. To that end they marched and reached a plain where the grass was poisonous, and every quadruped that ate it fell prey to the claws of the wolf of death. When the Mahmudabad plain became the royal campsite, drought and scarcity reached such a degree that the price of a maund of wheat rose to ten Kepeki dinars.

Amir Hasan Beg was in control of the roads and did not allow anyone to go to the royal camp from Khurasan, Iraq or Fars. However, for a few days much food was taken to the camp from Shirvan by boat, but by that time the Khurasani soldiers' horses had grown very weak and the Turcomans, whose mounts were rested and fat, constantly attacked the perimeter of the camp and killed everyone they encountered. After some time had passed in this manner, the Shirvanshah rebelled under threat from Amir Hasan Beg, and this caused the royal train to move from Mahmudabad to Ardabil. Along the way they reached a place full of mud, and many horses and pack animals sank into the quagmire of death. King and soldier managed with great cunning to pass through and reach a place called Tabtan to camp. On Thursday the 12th of Rajab 873 [January 26, 1469] Amir Sayyid Murad set out on a scouting party for Amir Hasan Beg's camp, but on the road he encountered four hundred armed horsemen. Their commander, Amir Beg Türkmen, rode forward and said to Sayyid Murad, "Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id has turned a hundred-year-old enemy into a friend and a hundred-year-old friend into an enemy. Now, without [92] making either war or peace, where is he going? Tomorrow his great amirs must come, and Amir Hasan Beg will also send his advisors and counselors to discuss peace."

Sayyid Murad turned back, and the next day Amir Sayyid Muzid went out with a large group of high-ranking amirs, and the Turcomans came out to the place they

had been the day before. When Amir Muzid saw that he outnumbered the Turcomans, he attacked them with misplaced confidence and scattered the party. No matter how often Amir Sultan Arghun urged and said, "These people have reinforcements. We must stop," Amir Muzid refused to listen to him and pursued the fleeing group for several parasangs.

Meanwhile Amir Hasan Beg emerged with two or three thousand armed horsemen from an ambush and attacked the Khurasan party. Sultan Junayd, Pahlawan Husayn Dewana, Husayn-Ali Arlat, Sher-Muhammad Baghdadi, Pir-Muhammad Qorchi and nearly five hundred outstanding men were killed. Amir Sayyid Muzid was taken prisoner, and the rest of the soldiers returned to Sultan Sa'id's camp. Amirzada Sultan-Ali, the son of Sultan Hasan-Ali Mirza, fled to Hamadan, where he was killed. His son was at that time in Tabriz.

When news of this catastrophe was heard in the royal camp, in desperation Sultan Sa'id sent Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad, whose fathers and forefathers had been rulers of Mazanderan, to Amir Hasan Beg to negotiate a peace. After him he even sent his mother on the same mission, accompanied by Sayyid Sadruddin Ibrahim of Qum. Amir Hasan Beg showed much respect for the great sayyids and the queen mother, having decided in his own mind that he would give a favorable reply to whatever they might say to lay the foundations of harmony and accord; but suddenly Sayyid Ardabili, who had been sent by Amir Hasan Beg as an envoy to the royal camp, returned and reported that the Khurasanis were in dire straits and that under no circumstances should he agree to a truce because they would soon be forced to retreat in utter disgrace. Therefore Amir Hasan Beg sent the queen mother and Sayyid Sadruddin Ibrahim back unsuccessful and rewarded Amir Ghiyathuddin

Muhammad by appointing him governor of Sari.

THE HORRIBLE DEATH OF SULTAN  
SA'ID MIRZA SULTAN ABU-SA'ID

When Sayyid Sadruddin Ibrahim of Qum and the queen mother returned to the foot of the throne they had scarcely finished speaking when the vanguard of Amir Hasan Beg's army appeared. Some of the amirs of Khurasan left their stations and treacherously joined the enemy. Therefore Sultan Sa'id, at noon on the 16th of Rajab [January 30, 1469], beset by trial and tribulation, took flight. Amir Hasan Beg's two sons lit out in pursuit, caught him and brought him at midnight to their father's camp, where he was turned over to the guards for safekeeping. Two days later Amir Hasan Beg mounted the throne of fortune and victory and summoned that mighty padishah. As he approached the court, [Amir Hasan Beg] performed the honorific rituals, sat him in the place to which he claimed right, and then loosed his tongue in castigation and invective. Sultan Sa'id gave a reply that was appropriate to the situation [93] and withdrew to the assembly.

Amir Hasan Beg did not want to harm the exalted prince. On the contrary, his plan was to give him his arms and send him back to Khurasan. However, after much discussion, he gave in, at the instigation of the *cadi* of Shirvan and with the approval of a group of Turcoman amirs, to end that manifestation of justice and beneficence. On the 22nd of Rajab [February 5, 1469] the guards took Sultan Sa'id to see Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad. The prince greeted him, and the two padishahs embraced each other. Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad entered his tent, and the guards took Sultan Sa'id back [to his quarters], where they executed him.

Alas for that shah of exalted lineage, the likes of whom for justice was never born in the world. His life's blood was shed by the sword

of vengeance, and of him nothing more than a legend remains. There is nothing in this wilderness but the dust of beauties; there is nothing in this cauldron but the blood of kings. The world, with all its beauty and comeliness, is not worth the pain and suffering it inflicts.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF WHAT BEFELL  
THE COMMANDERS AND ARMY OF  
KHURASAN AFTER THE PADISHAH'S RE-  
TREAT

When Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id retreated in defeat, it was as though doomsday had befallen the army camp: indeed the purport of the words "on that day shall a man fly from his brother, and his mother, and his father, and his wife, and his children"<sup>110</sup> was manifested, and the cries and shrieks of young and old alike arose to the porticos of heaven.

Helpless at resurrection—no way to escape, no thought of flight.

That very moment Amir Hasan Beg's soldiers, fatal spears in hand and blood-spewing arrows to bow, attacked and began to pillage and plunder, dispersing and devastating Turk and Tajik alike. However, the padishah's tents and court enclosure were still intact when Abu'l-Nasr Muzaffaruddin Amir Hasan Beg arrived and, stopping mounted at the gate to the enclosure, forbade the Turcomans to commit untoward acts. He appointed eunuchs and guards to protect the harem as usual, and after the treasures and valuables had been secured, he turned his attention to other affairs and stopped the soldiers who were being overzealous in plundering and taking prisoners by ordering several of them to be shot. He commanded the Turcomans of Azerbaijan and the *yasaqis* of Khurasan to withdraw from the camp and the martyred padishah's commanders and soldiers to gather under Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad's pro-

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<sup>110</sup>Koran 80:34.

tection. He gave amnesty and opened the gates of mercy and clemency to most of the dignitaries. Among the great amirs and highly-placed *sadrs*, Amir Sayyid Muzid Arghun, Amir Mahmud Musaka, Amir Ahmad Yar, Mirak Abdul-Karim, Mirak Abdul-Rahim Sadr, Amir Abdul-Wahhab, and Mawlana Qutbuddin Tabib were put in chains and bonds. [94] In the end Mirak Abdul-Rahim was executed on account of some seditious things he had said, but the rest of the prisoners were released—some choosing to join Mirza Yadgar-Muhammad's service, while others headed to Khurasan. Most of the soldiers returned to their homes via Shirvan and Gilan. Of Sultan Abu-Sa'id's viziers, Khwaja Burhanuddin Abdul-Hamid, who had joined Amir Hasan Beg's service, was given the post of overseer of the *divan*. Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad, who had been ruling in Isfahan, went to the victorious padishah's court when he heard of his triumph and became a vizier. Khwaja Qutbuddin Taus, who had been a collector of revenue in Iraq, obtained permission to go to Khurasan...<sup>111</sup>

THE DISCOVERY OF THE HEAVENLY  
SHRINE ATTRIBUTED TO THE KING OF  
MEN IN THE VILLAGE OF KHWAJA  
KHAYRAN

In the year 885 [1480], when Mirza Bayqara had [172] unfurled the banner of rule and governance in Balkh, there emerged from the realm of the unseen a wonderful occurrence, a compendious description of which follows.

A mystic, Shamsuddin Muhammad by name, whose lineage went back to the great saint Abu-Yazid Bistami, went during the aforementioned year from

Kabul to Balkh. There granted an interview with Mirza Bayqara, he produced a history composed during the time of Sultan Sanjar b. Malikshah the Seljuq, in which it was written that the tomb of the King of Saints, the Conquering Lion of God, Prince of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi-Talib was in a certain place in the village of Khwaja Khayran. Accordingly Mirza Bayqara gathered the sayyids, cadis and nobles of Balkh and, taking counsel with them, went to that village, which was three parasangs from Balkh. In the very place indicated in the book he found a dome in which there was a tomb. He ordered the tomb excavated, and when, in obedience to his command, a little had been dug away, suddenly a tablet of white stone appeared on which was written: "This is the tomb of the Lion of God, brother of God's Apostle, Ali Friend of God." Of course, great shouts from all present went up to highest heaven, and everyone rubbed the forehead of supplication in that sacred dust and distributed alms to the poor.

As news of this [discovery] spread far and wide, those afflicted with chronic disease turned hopefully to that threshold to paradise. As related by those who were there, many of that group were immediately cured, returning to their homes with their wishes fulfilled. Naturally more throngs of common and elite alike gathered at that sacred spot than could be imagined, and so much money and valuables were brought as propitiatory gifts that the mind would be dazzled by the very existence of so much gold and jewelry.

When Mirza Bayqara realized the situation, he sent a courier on wings of lightning to the capital, Herat, to give a report to the court officials. When His Victorious Majesty learned of the contents of the report, he was astonished by such an occurrence and, girding his loins with the pilgrim's garb, set out for that focal point of hopes and desires with a host of offi-

<sup>111</sup>Here are omitted some 75 pages of text dealing with Sultan-Husayn Mirza's early career, which was adequately described in the readings from Dawlatshah. The remaining sections deal with events during Sultan-Husayn Mirza's reign and the Uzbek invasion of Herat after Sultan-Husayn's death.

cials. Upon arrival he performed the rites of supplication and devotion and had a dome of consummate height and vastness built over that holy tomb. Around it he caused gates and outbuildings to be constructed, and in the village he founded a market containing shops and a bath. One of the canals of Balkh, which is now called Nahr-i Shahi, he endowed to the shrine. As dean of the shrine he appointed Sayyid Tajuddin Hasan Andkhuyi, a relative of Sayyid Baraka known for his piety and lofty station, and the office of shaykh he delegated to the Shaykhzada Bistami<sup>112</sup> to supervise the endowments and donations. Thereupon His Majesty returned to the capital, safely reaching Herat, where he opened the gates of liberality and generosity to the military and civilian subjects alike.

To return to the narrative, when the discovery of the royal tomb by virtue of His Majesty's going there and the establishment of structures and the appointment of endowments [173] became known far and wide, everyone who was in the least able set out for that place, and for a while the coming and going of people to that "threshold of the Ka'ba" was such that every year nearly one hundred Kepeki tūmäns in cash and goods were brought in donation; and the dean, shaykh and employees of the shrine spent all the money in housing and feeding those who came, in salaries and in maintaining the buildings. The village of Khwaja Khayran flourished until it became a veritable metropolis, and in a short time the environs of the shrine became so populous that there is no way to say or write a description of it.

However, a master of deceit and deception, a carriage driver in Herat, imagined that he would fabricate a vision and, deceiving the people, would acquire gold and gems by means of a fake shrine and thus attain the ranks of the wealthy. One

evening at Gazargah, near the shrine of [Khwaja Abdullah] Ansari he began to shout and tear his clothing. People gathered around him and asked what the matter was.

"Just now four men in the guise of Arabs on Arabian horses appeared to me in the fields. They said that the tomb of the King of Saints was in that place," he said as he indicated a platform near the enclosure of Shamsuddin Sangtarash. The people accompanied the carriage driver to the platform, and immediately a large group of *qalandars*<sup>113</sup> and *tabarra'is*<sup>114</sup> gathered around and, making it in the form of a grave, began to cry out and shout. The next day when the news reached Herat, everybody, men and women alike, headed out to Gazargah, where they treated the carriage driver like a saint. They showered him with all they had, and that deceiver, taking dirt from the grave, bestowed a little upon all he wished to, taking in exchange a lot of gold and jewelry. When people heard that the imam's tomb had been discovered, a huge throng, especially the sick and ill, came to that spot to present gifts and make supplication. When a lame or blind person came to the grave and threw himself upon the ground, the *qalandars* and followers of the carriage driver would ask him whether or not his illness had been cured. If he said yes, they would cry out in thanksgiving, raise him up and shout at the top of their voices. If, however, he said that his affliction was unchanged, they would kick and stomp on the poor fellow, saying, "He is a skeptic, a hypocrite, and should be executed and burned!"

In short, within ten or fifteen days the carriage driver had amassed in donations more gold, gems and valuables than could be imagined and had become the spiritual

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<sup>113</sup>Antinomian dervishes, generally considered disreputable.

<sup>114</sup>The ill and afflicted who seek healing at a shrine.

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<sup>112</sup>I.e., the Shamsuddin Muhammad mentioned at the beginning of this section.

leader of vast numbers of commoners and nobles alike. Other dishonest people too had like notions of fabricating such visions, and each of them, in some place or other, both inside and outside of Herat, as well as in other provinces, broadcast news of the discovery of the imam[’s tomb]. The carriage driver, realizing how things were and fearing disgrace, withdrew.

As the falsehood of those people was clear to His Victorious Majesty and the nobles of Herat, Mawlana Kamaluddin Shaykh Husayn was charged with chastising them. He arrested most of them and had them flogged. [174] Some he jailed until the brouhaha died down. Never again did the embers of such a false notion sparkle in idle minds. However, the holy shrine at Khwaja Khayran flourishes until today and is circumambulated by throngs of people from near and far. And God knows best the truth of all affairs.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF MIRZA  
MUHAMMAD-SULTAN, KNOWN AS  
KICHIK MIRZA, AND A MENTION OF  
THAT GIFTED PRINCE’S TRANSLATION  
FROM THE VALE OF TRAVAIL TO  
PARADISE SUBLIME

Shahzada Muhammad-Sultan was a prince known for his comely features, good conduct and nature, and famous for his sweet speech, beneficence and praiseworthy qualities. He was inclined to keep company with the learned, and his concern was always to acquire both the general principles and the details of learning and to perfect his knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences. An account of the excellences of the wise would be but a grain in the desert next to his many talents, and a description of the writings of the eloquent but a drop in the sea in relation to his powerful phrases....

This apex of the constellation of success, in addition to having mastered the accoutrements of world rule and having attained the highest degrees of conquest,

read the books of the curriculum with Mawlana Kamaluddin Shaykh Husayn and acquired felicitous enlightenment from the inner sun of Shah-Qasim Nur-bakhsh. As has been mentioned previously, after the Battle of Qara Bagh he accompanied his father and mother, who was the exalted emperor’s elder sister, from Qara Bagh, Arran to Herat, where he found peace in the shadow of his excellent uncle’s affection. As the rays of imperial favor shone upon him, he took the reins of independence in matters administrative and financial into his own hands and managed the greatest of royal affairs according to his own mind. When several years had passed in this manner, he became conceited of his own intelligence, perspicacity, knowledge and cleverness, and traces of fantasies of autonomy loomed in his words and deeds. The emperor royally disregarded this conduct for a while out of deference to his dear sister, thinking that Mirza Kichik would surely act wisely and intelligently and not deviate from the highway of servitude, and so refrained from chastising him.

Break not with your own hand a sturdy limb  
that raises its head above you, for it will break  
you too.

One Thursday the emperor, accompanied by the conceited prince, went to Gazargah, where they performed the rites of visitation to the holy shrine of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari. While returning to the capital, the bold prince had the audacity to have a parasol raised to provide shade from the heat of the sun, while the emperor, nearby, traveled under the blazing sun. Seeing this breach of etiquette, the emperor blazed in ire, and when he reached [175] the royal precincts he ordered Mirza Kichik seized. As the affair was beyond supplication, the mighty amirs immediately arrested the prince and took him to Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, where he was turned over to watchful guards.

Thus is the custom of the high sphere: coupled with fortune is misfortune's blow. Who has plucked a rose of fortune from the garden of the world without suffering calamity from the thorns of misfortune?

When Mirza Kichik had languished for a time like a ruby in the bosom of a mine and like a pearl in an oyster's womb, the emperor's compassionate nature and innate commiseration stirred, and he set him free. Thereafter the prince served the majestic court in all passivity and, repenting of his former actions and words, apologized and sought pardon.

If offenses are to be pardoned, one must be ashamed.

In the end the idea of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and attaining the honor of visiting the illuminated tomb of the prophet took shape in his mind, and after obtaining permission by exaggerating and insisting beyond description he set out for that blessed place, accompanied by a group of learned men on a caravan assisted by divine protection.

Success a comrade, luck a companion, fortune a confidant during good times and bad.

When the air of Tabriz was perfumed by the dust of the hooves of the prince's steed, the padishah Sultan Ya'qub Mirza was delighted by his arrival and hastened to send appropriate gifts and presents. Intent upon discharging his duty as host as demanded by his highmindedness, he begged the honor of a visit. Mirza Kichik replied, saying, "Inasmuch as I have donned the pilgrim's garb to circumambulate God's house and have opened my lips to respond to God's call, I do not consider it appropriate to wait upon any creature during this journey or to sully the hem of my honor with the dust of the felicitous threshold of padishahs of the essentially unreal world. If His Highness would be so kind as to take pity on a stranger and come to this humble one's

stopping place, it would be in accordance with the *hadith*, 'It is best to visit a new-comer.' "

Sultan Ya'qub Mirza preferred to maintain his royal dignity and thus did not receive this request favorably. Mirza Kichik, on the other hand, had drawn his feet into a skirt of indifference. Several days passed while deliberations were going on, and finally it was decided that on a certain day Mirza Kichik would make a visit to a saint's shrine in Tabriz and Sultan Ya'qub Mirza would be there too. On the appointed day at the appointed spot they met, and the obligations of honor and respect were fulfilled. Sultan Ya'qub Mirza drew Mirza Kichik into the embrace of favor and beneficence and showered him with various kindnesses and attentions.

The prince departed from Tabriz inundated with honor and respect and went to Syria, and from there he journeyed to Egypt. There a meeting between him and the sultan of Egypt, Malik Qaytbay, took place along the lines of his meeting with Sultan Ya'qub Mirza. Departing from Egypt happy and respected, he set out for the Hejaz.

After performing the rites of pilgrimage and circumambulating the blessed tomb of the apostle, he turned his reins once again toward Khurasan. When he drew near Herat under divine protection, and Sultan-Ahmad [176] and Ākā Begim learned of the approach of their son, their hopes, watered by clouds of divine favor, bore the fruit of eternal happiness, and the breeze of good news caused flowers of optimism to blossom in the garden of anticipation of those two hermits in the retreat of separation.

Once again he comes with a countenance like the moon and features like the sun. Our eyes are brightened, for the light of our eyes comes.

May good fortune from God's favor shower down upon him eternally.



Sultan-Ahmad Mirza and Her Highness went out to meet the prince's train, and eyes that had been "cried blind from sorrow" in the House of Grief of separation were brightened by the breeze of the arrival of the Joseph of the Egypt of the sultanate. To show their gratitude for the prince's health and safety and his success in performing the pilgrimage they distributed alms and charity to the deserving. So also the sayyids, cadis, ulema, amirs, *sadrs*, viziers and the population at large came out to greet him. Even the emperor went out several parasangs to greet Mirza Kichik and showed him more favor and affection than can be imagined.

Mirza Kichik returned to his hearth and home in happiness and joy, where he passed his days promenading in the pleasure parks of Herat in conversation with an army of learned men, intent upon acquiring happiness for the next life.

Constantly he sat with the learned and derived his happiness from the acquisition of virtue.

The writing (*khatt*) in the divine teacher's notebook seemed better to him than the down (*khatt*) on the beloved's cheek.

Since it is impossible for the treacherous celestial sphere to leave the faithful in peace in this transitory halting place, in the year 889 [1484] the prince was stricken with measles. The physicians and doctors' treatment was to no avail—it was past medications and potions. The herald by whom "God inviteth unto the dwelling of peace"<sup>115</sup> proclaimed the words, "O thou soul which art at rest,"<sup>116</sup> into Mirza Kichik's ears, and the prince turned his thoughts away from worldly pleasures and strutted off to the banquet hall of paradise, wherein "shall they enjoy whatever their souls shall desire and whatever their eyes shall delight in."<sup>117</sup> The fruitful sapling of the orchard of

fortune was felled by the fierce wind of annihilation. ... The prince's noble father and chaste mother rent the garments of endurance, threw themselves into the dust of the road, filled the earth with torrents of tears and choked the Pleiades with the smoke of their cries.

They ripped their shirts with the hand of grief; they wet the dust with their eyes. With their heart's blood they reddened the earth; with the smoke of their sighs they darkened the sky.

The emperor went to the prince's house to offer condolences to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza and his dear sister and ordered the body prepared and shrouded for burial. The great amirs, *noyans* and servants of the celestial court placed the prince's body on a litter and carried it away with all the pomp of a royal procession—nay, with such magnificence and display that the most eloquent of pens admits its inability to describe it. All the sayyids, cadis, [177] ulema, nobles, grandees, dignitaries, elite and common folk accompanied the funeral procession on foot the length of the Khiyaban to the Idgah. There they prayed over the bier and took the gem of the royal mine to an enclosure built especially for him at Gazargah and entrusted him to the safekeeping of the earth in accordance with the glorious custom of the Best of Mankind.

O celestial sphere, the world lies in ruins because of your spite: injustice is your ancient custom. O earth, if they split your breast, many a precious gem lies therein.

The grieving and disconsolate distributed food to the poor and unfortunate for several days, as was customary, and had the Koran recited. Having gladdened the exalted prince's pure soul with alms and charity, they had his tomb decorated most elaborately. Mawlana Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami composed a *qasida* to have inscribed on the tomb. As I remember the first line, I record it here:

<sup>115</sup>Koran 10:25.

<sup>116</sup>Koran 89:27.

<sup>117</sup>Koran 43:71.

The shining orb of the sun in this blue vault is a candle in the tomb of the kings of the world.

Amir Nizamuddin Ahmad Suhayli also composed the following quatrain to be carved on the prince's tombstone:

Shamed by worldly rule, weary of the vicissitudes of fortune, you have set up your throne outside of the mortal world and closed a stone door in the face of time....

#### A MENTION OF THE PASSING OF THE ROYAL INTIMATE

May it be known to the learned and excellent that the Divine Majesty raised the human race to the pinnacle of honor and placed them at the apex of the heavens with the words, "We have honored the children of Adam,"<sup>118</sup> and addressed them, saying, "O son of Adam, the world I created for your sake, but you I created for my sake."<sup>119</sup> Therefore, it is fitting that this insignificant stage, this transitory abode be but a resting station for this precious race.

In the eyes of the wise, this world is paltry. O sun, you are worth less than a dust mote.

Nay, for the exalted position of a race whose robe of honor has been emblazoned with the words, "We have preferred them before many of our creatures which we have created,"<sup>120</sup> it is appropriate not to remain in this loathsome halting place for more than a few years. When they hear the cry, "O thou [254] soul which art at rest,"<sup>121</sup> it is meet for them to move on without the slightest regret to the pleasant gardens of eternal paradise, to strut stoically from the strictures of toil and travail to the infinite expanses, to look upon the kingdom of heaven and to rest "in the assembly of

truth, in the presence of a most potent king."<sup>122</sup>

Do not set your heart upon this mortal abode, for in another place palaces have been prepared for your domicile.

No matter how well one may guess what the purpose of this introduction is, or why we have thus introduced a report of an inevitable event, nonetheless the black-turbaned pen garbs itself in mourning to inscribe the following catastrophe.

On Monday the 5th of Jumada II [906, December 28, 1500] a messenger arrived in Herat from the royal camp bearing the news that the regal retinue was speedily approaching the capital. As the breeze of this felicitous news began to blow, the winter of the inhabitants' garden of hopes and expectations turned verdant, and elite and common alike were overcome with joy.

At noon Tuesday the royal intimate Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher set out with a group of nobles to greet the royal train. On Tuesday night they stopped in Ribat-i Pariyan, and the next day they made it to Ribat-i Payab. There the amir heard the news of the approach of the royal train, and, out of excitement in anticipation of meeting the royal retinue, he was awake most of the night.

As the grooms of destiny were lashing the golden chariot of the king of the planets and stars to the steed of the spinning sphere, he got on his horse, hale and hearty, and set out for Amir Muhammad Wali Beg's caravanserai, which was to be the emperor's halting place that night. After he had traversed a short distance, host upon host of the royal retinue appeared and were honored to kiss his hand. At a place known as Khwaja Abbas the emperor's litter came into view, and Khwaja Shihabuddin Abdullah rode forward and warmly greeted the royal intimate. Scarcely had they finished talking

<sup>118</sup>Koran 17:70.

<sup>119</sup>Hadith.

<sup>120</sup>Koran 17:70.

<sup>121</sup>Koran 89:27.

<sup>122</sup>Koran 54:55.

when the amir's complexion suddenly changed and he said in distress, "Khwaja Abdullah, be mindful of me!" Just as he said this, the royal litter drew near, and the royal intimate dismounted to embrace the imperial refuge of the world. As his feet did not have the strength to carry him, he placed one arm around Khwaja Abdullah's shoulders and the other around Mawlana Jalaluddin Qasim Khwandamir's and, thus disguising his state, got himself to the litter and kissed the royal hand. Overcome by weakness, he sat down right there, and no matter how kindly and compassionately the emperor addressed him, he was totally unable to respond. This caused the imperial mind much distress, and he ordered the amir placed in the royal litter. That very night he was taken in the direction of the city. Khwaja Abdullah was put in charge of him and went himself to Ribat-i Pariyan. Symptoms of a stroke then appeared in the royal intimate's pulse, [255] and a group who were acquainted with the science of medicine said that the patient would have to be bled right there if he were to recover. However, Mawlana Abdul-Hayy Tunī, who also lay claim to medical knowledge, opposed this procedure, saying, "We should not begin treatment until after we reach Herat and the physicians are gathered, lest a mistake be made."

Khwaja Shihabuddin Abdullah seconded this proposal, and they placed the royal intimate in the litter and started for Herat. A well-wishing servant who had been inundated by the amir's favor became upset and said to Khwaja Abdullah, "The pulse is racing so fast that if we delay in bleeding him it will be beyond treatment." The khwaja hesitated, not knowing what to do, and sent a message to the emperor informing him of the situation. The emperor said, "Act in accordance with my humble opinion and open a vein." However, by the time the messenger returned and a bloodletter was lo-

cated, a distance of three parasangs had been covered and the opportunity had been lost. Consequently, upon bloodletting not more than five or six seers of blood flowed, and the illness had become critical.

At midnight they reached the amir's house. The next morning all the physicians gathered, and once again he was bled. But it was too late. Just then the emperor came to the amir's bedside and found him completely unconscious. Realizing that there was nothing to be done, tears flowed from his eyes like fountains.

On Saturday the symptoms grew worse and worse, and on Sunday morning the bird of his pure spirit broke the bondage of its cage and took flight from the strictures of corporeality for the eternal gardens of paradise.

Alas, the pure falcon of the world has departed from the world. The pure one has departed just as he came. His spirit, which was a regal falcon hunting knowledge, heard the sound of the king's drum and departed.

The next morning, when the sun appeared from the indigo depths in the east like a spark of sadness from within the bereaved, the sad news became known in Herat, and the sun of mourning shone down into the chambers of elite and common alike and the sound of weeping and wailing rose from young and old, reverberating under the illuminating dome of heaven. In commiseration with the grief stricken and disconsolate the blue sky drew on an indigo robe of clouds and, instead of tears, poured down drops of rain. Renowned scholars cast off their turbans of dignity and wandered perplexed, wondering with whom they would find patronage, and respected men of letters ripped their robes of endurance, not knowing henceforth to whose assembly to go. What a hardhearted mountain it was that did not tremble in this catastrophe! What a merciless heaven that did not rain down a horde of stars like the

tears of the grief stricken from the pain of this tragedy!

Why did heaven's eyes not rain blood? Why did the moon and sun shine again? Why did the cord of days not break? Why did the months and years not become less?

The emperor, Her Highness Khadija Begi Agha and all the royal ladies went to the royal intimate's house, and the sayyids, shaykhs and ulema gathered to wash the peerless body in accordance with the noble *shari'a*. They carried the bier to the Idgah of Herat, and after performing the prayer they took him to the lofty edifice that charitable philanthrope had constructed for the purpose to the north of the congregational mosque and buried him there in accordance with the custom of the prophet. [257]

Earth, do you know what you hold in your embrace?

His Imperial Majesty passed three days in mourning for the royal intimate, commiserating with the other mourners. Then he ordered the *ash* of the seventh [day of the death] arranged. The *tovachis* and majordomos had so much food prepared that in a city of such magnitude there was no room to spread it all. Consequently a royal order was issued to the sayyids, shaykhs, ulema, literati, poets, amirs, *sadrs* and viziers—indeed, to all classes of men—to gather on the seventh day of this major disaster in the fields of Hawz-i Mahiyan, which lies to the north of the Idgah in Herat.

His Imperial Majesty sat enthroned in a regal dodecapodal pavilion that had been erected in those fields and presided over an assembly upon the likes of which no eye had ever fallen in past times or by-gone eras. Mounted *tovachis* served as sergeants at arms, and other *tovachis* and majordomos began distributing the *ash*. After the food was consumed, cantors began recitation of the Koran, and the servants of the princely court took the

mourning weeds from the bereaved and garbed them in splendid clothing. The emperor summoned most of the participants to the throne and spoke to them kindly and compassionately, advising them to have patience and fortitude.

Poets and literati had versified the eloquent amir's death with various expressions and composed elegies and occasional pieces on this magnificent man. Among them, Amir Sadruddin Sultan Ibrahim Amini produced the following occasional piece:

A prince and patron of religion that Ali-Sher was, his intellect and mind refuges for the state and nation, a guide and leader to the right way, a representative of God's religion in governance. In the end he wearied of this straightened world and went toward paradise in all glory. In the gardens of heaven the date of his death was asked, and Ridwan called him AWARE OF SAINTHOOD.<sup>123</sup>

The present writer thought up this occasional piece as a chronogram for the loss:

His Excellency the amir, refuge of right guidance, by whom were manifested monuments of mercy, went from the bramble patch of the world to a garden where the meadows of mercy are in bloom, and the lights of mercy descended upon his spirit. Seek the year of his death from the LIGHTS OF MERCY.<sup>124</sup>

Inasmuch as [this writer] has written a separate treatise entitled *Makarim al-akhlaq* on the good character, the poetry, the compositions of and the monuments and buildings erected by this praiseworthy man, and that work is well known, we will not repeat those things here....

A MENTION OF THE EARLY CAREER OF ABU'L-FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN SHAYBANI UP TO THE TIME BUKHARA AND SAMARQAND ENTERED HIS DOMAIN

<sup>123</sup>Walāyat-intibāh = 906.

<sup>124</sup>Anwār-i rahmat = 906.

Historians and chroniclers have ascertained from the plethora of information that Muhammad Khan Shaybani, son of Budaq Sultan son of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, was distinguished among the *khaqans* of the nation of Jochi Khan for his high status and might. As long as [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] lived he held aloft the banner of autonomous rule in perfect splendor and glory. It has been mentioned previously that Sultan Sa'id Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id achieved the conquest of Samarqand through the assistance of that khan,<sup>125</sup> and just as the victorious *khaqan* Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan-Husayn Mirza was rallying assistance from him he died.

Muhammad Khan's mother was Aq Quzī Begim, and he was born in 855 [1451]. He was still an infant when his father Budaq Sultan died. His grandfather, Abu'l-Khayr Khan, took it upon himself to appoint as his regent Bayghur Bay Shaykh, who had also been Budaq Sultan's *atākā*. When Abu'l-Khayr Khan's appointed time came to journey to the next life, Qara Chīn Beg, a great Uzbek amir, accepted the guardianship of Muhammad Khan and his brother Mahmud Sultan. After Aybaq Khan's victory over Shaykh Khadir Khan, the prince was taken to Qasim Sultan, who was one of the great amirs of the Qīpchaq Steppe. Qasim Sultan entrusted them to Temūr Beg, his chief amir. Concurrently Aybaq Khan and Ahmad Khan set out with a large army to conquer Qasim Sultan's territories. Since Qasim Sultan did not have the strength to face that innumerable horde, he holed up in the Hajji Tarkhan Fort. Aybaq Khan and Ahmad Khan surrounded that impregnable fortress as a ring surrounds its bezel. Muhammad Khan and his brother Mahmud Sultan, along with Qara Chīn Beg and forty veteran attendants, hurled themselves one night at the enemy and, battling with

sword, lance and dagger until dawn, managed to escape.

Since Muhammad Khan Shaybani laid claim to world conquest and expansionism, after the above-mentioned encounter he allied himself with a group of Uzbek amirs and soldiers, and every few days they raided the territory of one of the sultans in power until they received a crushing defeat at the hands of Ayranchi Khan b. Beg Khan in the vicinity of Savran and fled to Bukhara. Abdul-Ali Tarkhan, who was then the governor of Bukhara, honored Shaybani Khan and presented him with suitable gifts and tribute, sending a report to Samarqand to Sultan-Ahmad Khan. When Sultan-Ahmad Khan learned of [Muhammad Khan's] coming, he sent in return a document in which he expressed his yearning to meet the khan. A meeting in the best manner was arranged, and the rites of hospitality were carried out. Shaybani Khan remained there for a few days and then once again set out for Bukhara, returning there accompanied by Abdul-Ali Tarkhan. The length of his stay in [274] Bukhara was two years. Then he set out for his native land.

When shadow of the khanid *tuğ* fell upon Fort Arquq, Qazi Begchig, who held precedence over the other fiefholders of that citadel, shouldered the robe of obedience and hastened out in service with the key to the fortress, accompanied by a host of lords of the area. Presenting appropriate gifts and tribute, he was enrolled in the retinue. From Arquq Shaybani Khan went to Siğhnaq, which he also took. A few days later a messenger came from Musa Mirza, the greatest of the amirs of the Qīpchaq Steppe, with the following message: "If the world-conquering khanid banner casts its shadow over this area, I will stand in service and seat His Highness upon the khanid throne, and I will evidence perfect devotion and servitude, as is worthy of this firm pact of mine." Therefore, Shay-

<sup>125</sup>See Khwandamir, *HS*, IV, 50.

bani Khan decided to set forth. When he reached the steppe, Musa Mirza hastened to greet him and left nothing undone in honoring him.

Concurrently, the ruler of the Qipchaq Steppe, Burunduq Khan, set out with a large force to repel Shaybani Khan. A battle took place between the two, and the light of victory gleamed from the finial of Muhammad Khan's banner. Burunduq Khan withdrew to his campsites. Thereafter Shaybani Khan asked Musa Mirza to fulfill the promise he had made. Because Musa Mirza was unable to obtain the amirs' consent to Muhammad Shaybani's khanate, he reneged and [Muhammad Khan] returned to Siġhnaq. Once or twice confrontations took place between him and the ruler of Savran, Sultan-Mahmud Khan b. Jani Beg Khan. The last time Shaybani Khan was defeated and turned his reins toward Manqishlaq. From there he went to Bukhara via Khwarazm. When he reached the vicinity of Khwarazm, Amir Nāsiruddin Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah, who was the governor of the province on behalf of the Victorious Khaqan, arranged tribute and *peshkash* and trod the path of servitude. Shaybani Khan went from Khwarazm to Qarabigh Kōl, and from Qarabigh Kōl to Bukhara. As before, Amir Abdul-Ali Tarkhan joined him and took him to Samarqand. Sultan-Ahmad Mirza, considering the khan's arrival to be a cause for greater overlordship, opened the gates of beneficence to him, and with the conquest of Mughulistan in mind, together they set out for Tashkent. Upon reaching the vicinity of Shahrukhiyya, Shaybani Khan, who was the vanguard of the Samarqand army, became distrustful of Mirza Sultan-Ahmad and fled to Tashkent, where he met with Sultan-Mahmud Khan and took refuge with him. Consequently Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's plans were dashed, and he withdrew posthaste to Samarqand.

Shaybani Khan remained in Tashkent for a while, and from there he went to Fort Arquq, the fortresses of which area he fortified and then went to Siġhnaq. Thereafter Burunduq Khan took his army once or twice to Siġhnaq and some of the other fortresses of Turkistan, determined to fell the sapling of Shaybani Khan's fortune. However, since it was fated that Shaybani Khan rule Transoxiana and Khurasan for a time, Burunduq Khan's plans came to nought, and Shaybani [275] Khan seized the opportunity to set out to conquer Khwarazm, for during that time the governor of Khwarazm, Amir Abdul-Khaliq Firozshah, had gone to the imperial court, leaving behind one of his retinue in Khwarazm. When Shaybani Khan reached the vicinity he laid siege for a few days, but when he heard of the imminent arrival of Amir Abdul-Khaliq, Amir Muhammad Wali Beg and Amir Bihbud, who had been dispatched by the emperor to assist the Khwarazmians, he decamped and went to Buldum Fort. He made a truce with the inhabitants of the fort and took a small *peshkash*. Then he went to the city of Wazir, where he held his own for one or two days against a force that had come from Khurasan. However, he was unable to make headway, so he went to Avaq. From Avaq he took the road to Astarabad and, raiding the outlying areas of the province, headed for Tarsak Fort, which was under the control of his retainers. Then, at Muhammad Khan's request, Sultan-Mahmud Khan abandoned Anzar to Shaybani Khan and withdrew to Tashkent.

Concurrently the men of Savran, in support of Shaybani Khan, mutinied against Qul-Muhammad Tarkhan the son of Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan, who was their *darughha*, and sent the key to the city and citadel to Mahmud Sultan. His Highness entered Savran citadel, and the people of all the regions of Turkistan gave their allegiance to the two brothers.

However, in the meantime Burunduq Khan, encouraged by Amir Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan, took his army to Savran. The inhabitants of Savran could tolerate no more, and a huge throng of their leaders attacked, took Mahmud Sultan prisoner and turned the fortress over to Burunduq Khan. Mahmud Sultan was entrusted to Qasim Sultan, the most important sultan of the time, and Qasim Sultan kept him imprisoned and sent him accompanied by a group of trusted men to Suzaq Citadel. Mahmud Sultan found an opportunity one night and escaped, getting himself to Üküz Taghī and sending a messenger to his brother. Shaybani Khan went to that mountain, where he met with his brother. Together the two brothers hastened to Anzar. At the same time Burunduq Khan and Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan went to Anzar, where Shaybani Khan was holed up in the citadel. Battle was waged for several days and nights between the beleaguered and the army of the steppe. Finally, because auxiliaries reached Anzar from Sultan-Mahmud Khan, Burunduq Khan was forced to agree to a truce, and he left Anzar, headed for his own region.

I go to my own region to be my own prince.

After the beautiful region of Anzar was cleared of the annoyance of Burunduq Khan's army, Shaybani Khan took his army to Yasī, the seat of Muhammad Muzid Tarkhan. Amir Muhammad Muzid went out to meet the khanid train and was seized by Mahmud Sultan, who took him to Anzar and held him in prison. Learning of this, Sultan-Mahmud Khan hastened to Anzar, seized Amir Muhammad Muzid from Shaybani Khan and sent to Samargand to ask for Mirza Sultan-Ahmad's daughter in marriage....

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMPEROR'S  
NOBLE OFFSPRING

God gave the Victorious Khaqan Sultan-Husayn Mirza fourteen sons and eleven daughters, as follows:

Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza was born of **Bikä Sultan Begim**, daughter of Mirza Mu'izzuddin Sanjar.<sup>126</sup>

By **Chöli Begim**,<sup>127</sup> whom His Majesty married before ascending the throne, was Sultan[im] Begim, who was married first to Sultan-'Ways Mirza and latterly to Abdul-Baqi Mirza [Uzbek].

By **Payanda Sultan Begim**, daughter of Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, were: Haydar-Muhammad Mirza, Aq Begim, who was married to Muhammad-Qasim Mirza the son of Abu'l-Qasim Arlat, Bikä Begim, who was married to Mawlana Khwaja, Agha Begim, who died before reaching maturity, and Kichik Begim, the wife of Mirza Babur son of Muhammad-Qasim Mirza.<sup>128</sup>

By **Khadija Begi Agha**<sup>129</sup> were: Shah-Gharib Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza.

By **Latifa Sultan Aghacha**,<sup>130</sup> who was descended from the amirs of Cha-

<sup>126</sup>Mirza Sanjar b. Ahmad ("Mirza Mirak") b. Umar-Shaykh.

<sup>127</sup>In *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 156b) she is named Tüläk Begim, daughter of Husayn Sufi (an amir of Abu'l-Qasim Babur) and sister of Amir Yusuf Sufi Jandar.

<sup>128</sup>According to Babur (*Baburnama*, fol. 168a), Kichik Begim was married to Mulla Khwaja, a descendant of "Sayyid Ata" (Ahmad Yasavi), and Bikä Begim and Agha Begim were married to brothers, Babur and Sultan-Murad, sons of Muhammad-Qasim Mirza b. Muhammad-Badi' b. Soyurghatmish b. Miranshah and Rabi'a Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abu-Sa'id. If Babur is correct—and he knew the family well, especially the children of his aunt Payanda Sultan—perhaps Payanda Sultan's daughter Ulugh Begim (mentioned in *Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 160b) was the one who died young.

<sup>129</sup>Khadija Begi Agha, daughter of Amir Muhammad Sariq b. Amir Muhammad Khwaja (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 156b).

<sup>130</sup>Latif(a) Sultan, daughter of Amir Sultan Husayn Chaharshamba (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 157a).

harshamba, were: Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza and Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza, who was known as Kipik Mirza.

By Papa Aghacha<sup>131</sup> were: Farrukh-Husayn Mirza, Muhammad-Ma'sum Mirza, Ibrahim-Husayn Mirza, (Ibn-i Husayn Mirza, (Muhammad-Qasim Mirza, Sa'adat-Bakht Begim, who was known as Begim Sultan and was married to Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza, Sultan Nizhad Begim, the wife of Sultan Iskandar Mirza, and Munawwar Sultan Begim, who was married to one of Mirza Ulughbeg's descendants who had the honor to be a sayyid.<sup>132</sup>

By Mengli Bey Aghacha, who was an [Uzbek] Turkish slave presented to His Majesty by Shahrbanu Begim daughter of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Mirza at their wedding, were Abu-Turab Mirza, Muhammad-Husayn [321] Mirza, Faridun-Husayn Mirza, Maryam Sultan Begim, the wife of Sayyid Abdullah Mirza, and Fatima Sultan Begim, who became the wife of Mirza Yadgar-Farrukh Miranshah.

Ayisha Sultan Begim, who became the wife of Qasim Sultan, was by Zubayda Agha Jalayir.<sup>133</sup>

Seven of the emperor's sons died during his lifetime. They are: Farrukh-Husayn Mirza, Shah-Gharib Mirza, Muhammad-Ma'sum Mirza, Haydar-Muhammad Mirza, Ibrahim-Husayn Mirza, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, and Abu-Turab Mirza. Five of his daughters also passed away during his lifetime: Aq Begim, Bikä Begim, Agha Begim, Kichik Begim, and Fatima Sultan Begim.

Of His Majesty's wives Bikä Sultan Begim, Chöli Begim, Zubayda Agha Jalayir and Latifa Sultan Aghacha died

during his lifetime. Shortly after his death the others went each to a different country, and most of them died away from their native land—except for Apaq Begim, who is still alive....

#### THE OUTSTANDING MEN WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH SULTAN-HUSAYN

[348] *Mawlana Mu'inuddin Muhammad Isfizari* was the chief correspondence secretary of the age. He also engaged in the composition of poetry. He possessed a great talent for *ta'liq* calligraphy, and he spent much of his time teaching the rules of that art. Among his compositions is a history of the city of Herat, and his collection of documents, edicts and letters is well known....

*Mawlana Hajji Muhammad Naqqash* was the skilled artisan of the age. He constantly painted strange things and wonderful forms on the pages of time with the brush of imagination. In the art of depiction and illumination he possessed perfect expertise. For some time he attempted to make porcelain, and after many attempts and much endeavor the vessels he made came extremely close to china. However, the color and translucence were not as they should have been.

One of Mawlana Hajji Muhammad's inventions was a clock chest installed in Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher's *kitabkhana*. In the chest was fitted a figurine with a stick in its hand, and when one hour of the day had passed the figurine beat the stick against a drum. After the second hour had passed it struck twice, and so on. For a time the mawlavi was Amir Ali-Sher's librarian, but in the end he was so insulted by the amir that when Mirza Badi'uzzaman was besieging Herat in 904 [1498–99], he fled, joined the prince and was appointed to a similar post. He passed away during the early days of Muhammad Khan Shaybani's occupation.

<sup>131</sup>Papa Aghacha, daughter of Khwaja Ahmad Atäkä (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 157a), was Apaq Begim's *kükältäsh* (*Baburnama*, fol. 169b).

<sup>132</sup>Babuṛ calls him Sayyid Mirza of the Andhud sayyids (*Baburnama*, fol. 168b).

<sup>133</sup>Zubayda Sultan daughter of Hasan Shaykh Temür is listed as a slavegirl (*dukhtar-khana*) in *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 157a).



*Khwaja Mirak Naqqash* had no equal in depiction and illumination. In epigraphy he raised the banner of uniqueness, and most of the epigraphic inscriptions in the buildings of Herat are by him. He died during Muhammad Khan Shaybani's occupation of Khurasan.... [350]

*Amir Kamaluddin Husayn of Abiward* was one of the excellent sayyids of Khurasan. In the full bloom of youth he came from Abiward to Herat for study, at which time he became attached to the noble assembly of Kichik Mirza, and the prince took him as a companion and showered him with favors. However, when Kichik Mirza set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, Amir Husayn did not accompany him. After the prince had departed, he regretted not having gone and hastened after him; but by the destiny of the Omnipotent King, he was unable to see him ever again, on either that or any other trip. Having discharged the pilgrimage, he returned and found favor in Tabriz in the retinue of Sultan Ya'qub. After spending several years there, he returned to his former country and joined the service of Amir Ali-Sher, whose favor he enjoyed.

One of the curious events that happened to Amir Husayn is as follows. While he was in Amir Ali-Sher's retinue, he was appointed to a mission to Sultan Ya'qub Mirza, and it was decided that, along with other precious books from the royal library, he would take the *Kulliyat* of Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami to present to Qazi Isa and [Sultan Ya'qub]. When the excellent sayyid was getting the books from Mawlana Abdul-Karim the librarian, the mawlavi made a mistake and gave him [a copy of] the *Futihat-i Makki* that resembled Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami's *Kulliyat* in size [351] and binding. Amir Husayn paid no attention to the book and had it packed with the other gifts and presents.

When he came into Sultan Ya'qub Mirza's presence and made his presentation, the king, out of noble kindness, asked him if he had suffered weariness on account of the great distance he had traveled. Amir Husayn replied, "Your servant had a companion along the way that did not admit weariness to enter the mind."

Sultan Ya'qub asked what these words meant, and the noble sayyid said, "I had with me the collected works of Mawlana [Jami], which His Highness's intimate sent for the *cadi's* retinue. Whenever I felt a little weary, I would have a look at that excellent book."

"Bring the *Kulliyat* so that I may see," said the king. Amir Husayn sent someone to bring the volume into the assembly.

When it was opened, it was discovered that it was the *Futihat-i Makki*, not the *Kulliyat* of Mawlana Jami. As a consequence the sayyid lost face on several fronts and never again found favor with Amir Ali-Sher.

Toward the end of [Sultan-Husayn's] reign he went to Balkh, where Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza appointed him to the post of court shaykh. In the year 908 [1502-3] he gave up that post for the superintendence of endowments. In 910 [1504-5], when Badi'uzzaman Mirza was in Herat, Amir Husayn resigned his post and went to Abiward, where he spent a year or two in retirement. In 914 [1508-9] Muhammad Khan Shaybani sent him on a legation to the imperial court [of Isma'il I Safavi], and Amir Husayn achieved the honor of attendance at the angelic threshold, returning laden with favor and bounty. He settled in his old domicile of Abiward, and in 920 [1514] he made the next world his abode....

*Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadi* was known for his fine features and excellent conduct. In *naskh-ta'liq* calligraphy he attained such a perfect level of expertise

that he abrogated the calligraphy of masters past and present. [352] During the time of the Victorious Khaqan he was constantly engaged in making regal manuscripts at the order of His Majesty and at the request of Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher. Occasionally he also composed poetry such as the following:

The rose in spring is but a sample of that rose-red cheek—like my tears, which are a sample of my bloody heart.

He died in Mashhad in 919 [1513–14], and he was buried in that holy shrine.... [362] ...

*Mawlana Majnun*, son of *Mawlana Kamaluddin Mahmud Rafiqi*, was renowned for his calligraphy and poetic talent. *Mawlana Majnun* was of a dervish bent and quite unassuming. His poetry is fluid and even. The following is the first line of one of his *ghazals*:

You were faithless, but I did not at first recognize you as such. Alas for the time I wasted in pursuit of you.

The following first line of a *qasida* is also by him:

The turquoise of the heavens is in your ring;  
the entire face of the earth is beneath your signet.

Master *Kamaluddin Bihzad* is a creator of marvelous pictures and rare artistic manifestations. Wielding his brush like *Mani*, he has abrogated the monuments of mortal painters, and his miraculous hands have effaced the depictions of human artists.

The hair of his masterful brush has imparted life to inanimate forms.

This master owes his rise to fame to the patronage of Amir Nizamuddin Ali-Sher, and the emperor himself also favored him with much patronage. This rarity of the age even now enjoys the favor of sultans

and rulers, and without doubt he will continue so to do.

*Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad b. Mawlana Nurullah* is one of the outstanding calligraphers of *naskh-ta'liq* [363] and is also known for his good conduct and pleasant poetry.

*Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad Khandan* is known not only for his calligraphy but also for his poetic talent. He is addicted to the company of *bons vivants* and entertainers. At present he lives in Herat, where he occasionally deigns to produce calligraphic specimens. May success ever favor him.

It is no secret that in the time of the victorious *khaqan* a great number of talented men, artists, poets and men of learning, dwelt in the capital Herat and other regions, where they enjoyed the shadow of His Majesty's favor and protection. To mention them all would take too long....

#### BALKH ENTERS THE DOMAIN OF MUHAMMAD SHAYBANI KHAN, AND THE SULTANS AND GOVERNORS OF KHURASAN WITHDRAW

As can be gained from what has been written previously, Muhammad-Muhsin inauspiciously refused to tread the path of harmony with his brothers to repel the advance of Shaybani Khan [372] and remained in his own exalted post at Holy Mashhad, sending none of his amirs or pillars of state to help. For this reason a torpidity infected Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Kürägän's determination, and once again they began to take counsel.

Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun, a lion in the forest of courage and a crocodile in the river of bravery, said, "We will scarcely have another opportunity like the assemblage we now have of Amir Timur Kürägän's *ulus*. We must make the most of this opportunity and charge into the

battlefield with strong heart and great hopes and ask the King who bestows kingdom for triumph and victory so that we may attain our goal.”

Amir Muhammad Burunduq Barlas said, “If we go to Balkh, Kipik Mirza, who does not agree with his brothers because he desires to conquer the realm of Khurasan, will lead his army to Herat, and, since the people of the city are inclined by nature to support the government of Amir Muhammad Wali Beg, and Amir Shaykh-Ali Taghai and Amir Yusuf Ali Kükältäsh are incapable of defending the city, Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza will bring the capital of Khurasan under his control. After that happens, most of the amirs and soldiers, who have family and dependents in the city, will abandon us and go to Herat. It would be better for us to repel the domestic enemy this winter and then, at the beginning of spring, when there will be plentiful fodder for the animals in the plains, we can turn our attention with a free and easy mind to fighting the Uzbek army.”

During these deliberations news arrived that Amir Sultan Qulanchaq and the troops of Balkh, their supplies exhausted, had been unable to defend the city and sought quarter from Muhammad Shaybani Khan. The khan had tricked them with seductive promises, and Amir Sultan had opened the gates of Balkh and joined the khan’s retinue. The Uzbek army had then swept Balkh clean with the broom of pillage and plunder. After it reached the hearing of Muhammad Khan that most of the generals and soldiers of Khurasan were gathered on the banks of the Murghab with an eye to battle, he had withdrawn on wings of haste. When this news spread through the camp of the sultans of Khurasan—and to be sure, to cross the Oxus and do battle with Muhammad Khan Shaybani that winter was beyond the capacity of any mortal—Amir Muhammad Burunduq’s opinion gained favor.

In the month of Rajab of that year [November 1506] the stone of anxiety shattered the glass house of the Khurasani’s peace of mind. Muhammad Babur Padishah determined to go to Kabul, and Ibn-i Husayn Mirza went to Qayin. Abu’l-Muhsin Mirza took the road to Merv, and the sons of Amir Dhu’l-Nun and Amir Sultan-Ali Arghun set out for the Garmser region. Sultan Badi’uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza proceeded to the capital, and at that same time Abu’l-Mansur Muzaffar-Husayn Kürägän went to the town of Kusuya to deal decisively with Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza and there to winter over. Amir Muhammad Burunduq Barlas and some other amirs joined his retinue, while Sultan Badi’uzzaman Mirza stayed that winter in Herat with Amir Dhu’l-Nun and the other *noyans*.

During the blessed month of Ramadan [Badi’uzzaman Mirza] observed the fast and performed his obligatory and supererogatory prayers. [373] Close to the feast he ordered a magnificent distribution of *ash* for the repose of the victorious *khaqan*’s soul, and when the auspicious crescent moon of Shawwal unveiled itself, the train of splendor and grandeur went to the Idgah, where the festival prayer was held. On the way back, he ennobled the Madrasa-i Sharqi-i Sultani by stopping there, and the nobles and grandees of the capital Herat, sayyids, ulema and cadis were honored to attend court, and the stewards brought foodstuffs too numerous and delicious to describe and sweets beyond the imagination. All classes of people partook of that banquet. After the banquet and reading of the Koran, that splendid sultan mounted his swift steed and went to the Bagh-i Jahan-ara, where the carpet of pleasure and revelry was spread.

Make the most of any good time that presents itself: no one knows what the end will be.

SULTAN BADI'UZZAMAN MIRZA GOES  
TO THE MARAL SUMMER PASTURE AND  
THE BANNERS OF MUHAMMAD KHAN  
SHAYBANI'S FORTUNE ARE RAISED BY  
GOD'S DECREE

When the time of winter's supremacy came to an end and Sultan Badi'uzzaman led the springtime tracks of the army of vegetation and flowers into the field of the open plain, the soldiers of cold and winter were defeated by the onslaught of the forces of spring, and the *khaqan* of the orient, subduing the house of Bahram, took his banner of supremacy from the seventh sphere.

The world-traversing sultan of days pitched his tent in Bahram's throne room, raised his banners in the freshness of the steppe, and the world was filled with the army of vegetation.

Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza stationed Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun Arghun and Amir Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ali Taghai in Herat and went to the Badghis summer pasture. He stayed for several days in the Manzil-i Maral, a meadow like paradise. Just then Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza desired to see his elder brother and set forth from his winter quarters. At the end of Dhu'l-Hijja 912 [May 12, 1507] the two met at Manzil-i Maral. Happy to see each other, the two brothers discussed plans to ward off the enemy and spoke of the past and future, imagining that Muhammad Khan Shaybani would cross the Oxus that spring in search of conquest. To that end they sent emissaries to the princes and great amirs ordering them to gather, and this insignificant one was assigned to go to Qandahar to summon Shuja' Beg. At the end of that month this writer was given permission to leave and hastened from Maral to Herat to get my things and set out.

Just at this time the pearl of the casket of chastity, Badi'uzzaman's daughter Chüchük Begim, departed this sorrow-laden world in Herat, [374] and Amir Dhu'l-Nun and Amir Shaykh-Ali at-

tended to her funeral arrangements in the style of great sultans, buried her in the Badi'iyya Madrasa, distributed food to the poor and had the Koran recited for the repose of her soul.

When the crescent moon of Muharram 913 [May 13, 1507] rose from the east of fortune and magnificence over the green sea of the celestial sphere, news was received that Muhammad Khan Shaybani had crossed at Kirki and was headed for Khurasan. Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza summoned Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun and Amir Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ali Taghai to the royal camp, and they hastened from Herat to the court on Monday the 4th of that month [May 16, 1507]. The next day they were honored to pay homage, and in the company of all the great amirs they spread the carpet of counsel, thinking that they could repel the arrow of fate with the shield of machination and hold back the torrent of the Great Effector's will with a handful of chaff. Alas, alas,

There is no shield against the falling of the  
arrow of fate.

Since it was the absolute will of the Omnipotent King that the province of Khurasan enter into the domain of Muhammad Khan Shaybani and that the reign of the sons of the victorious *khaqan* [Sultan-Husayn] come to an end, there was no profit in gathering their brave forces or in the wise amirs' planning. At that very moment the mighty army of Transoxiana had crossed the Oxus like a torrent pouring down from on high and was enveloping Khurasan in a flood of calamity.

When divine decree is that the kingship of  
Khurasan be transferred, there is nothing either  
the brave or the wise of the realm can do.  
I heard these words from young and old:  
"What can be done against divine decree?"

The affair was as follows. At the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 912 [April 1507]

Muhammad Khan Shaybani set out on the road of conquest from Samarqand, crossed at Kirki and quickly reached Andkhud. Amir Shah Mansur, who was then Mirza Badi'uzzaman's governor of that region, learned of the might and strength of the khan's forces and capitulated. Next the khan flew on wings of haste from Andkhud towards the banks of the Murghab River. When he arrived, Maruchaq the castellan followed Shah Mansur's example and declared his allegiance to the khan. Until that time the news of the invincible army train's having crossed the Oxus had not been truthfully reported to Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Abu'l-Mansur Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza Kürägän. When Muhammad Khan reached the vicinity of Badghis, a torrent of terror swept the sultans and amirs of Khurasan into rout and, engulfed in a sea of perplexity and worry, once again they turned to council.

The courageous Amir Dhu'l-Nun was of the opinion that battle was the proper course of action, while it seemed to Amir Muhammad Burunduq that to hole up in Herat was the prudent thing to do. Before a decision on either of these courses could be made, on Thursday morning the 7th of Muharram 913 [May 19, 1507] Muhammad Khan Shaybani could be seen approaching with an army more numerous than the hosts of heaven. The vanguard of that army, under the command of Muhammad Khan's son, [375] Temür Sultan, and Ubaydullah Khan the son of Mahmud Sultan, entered the battlefield with right and left flanks arrayed. Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza also arrayed their forces and, like someone who wants to soak up the ocean with a chunk of dry earth or stop a catastrophic flood with a handful of sticks and twigs, stood in resistance.

Two armies stood aligned face to face. They drew their blades, intent upon each other.

The shouts of warriors as mighty as Rustam, the roar of the kettledrums, and the yell of the charge caused the earth to quake. The glitter of helmets and the gleam of maces and armor made manifest the Koranic verse, "The brightness of his lightning wanteth but little of taking away the sight."<sup>134</sup>

In the dust of the army the spark of the blade  
shone like lightning in a cloud.

The eagle of the arrow opened its beak to swallow lives, and the dragon of the spear stretched out its tongue to prick young and old alike.

In that field the tongue of the spark-shooting  
spear grew sharp to stab warriors. The beak of  
the eagle arrow turned red from the blood of  
the courageous on the day of battle.

Among the amirs and soldiers of Khurasan, Amir Shuja'uddin Dhu'l-Nun Arghun and Amir Nizamuddin Shaykh-Ali Taghai, with their companies of lions from the forest of pugnacity, made manifest the day of resurrection in that battle of vengeance, and with blows from crocodile-like swords and death-dealing arrows they scuttled in a whirlpool of annihilation the boats of life of a number of those who trod the highways of heroism. Nonetheless, since the invincible Uzbek force was many times that of the Khurasanis, and too they poured in as reinforcements like waves, company after company, the princes' army was incapable of resisting. Turning their reins toward the valley of defeat, every group fled in disarray in a different direction. However, Amir Dhu'l-Nun made this verse his slogan:

The malevolent enemy will never see from me  
anything but the face of my blade and the back  
of my bow.

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<sup>134</sup>Koran 24:43.

Like an enraged lion now he attacked the right and now the left, and with blows from his sword and dagger he reddened the dust of the battle with the blood of champions. Finally the Uzbeks overwhelmed that champion cavalier of the battlefield. They wanted to take him to the khan, hands and neck bound, but Amir Dhu'l-Nun refused to submit and kept fighting until he was martyred.

Amir Shaykh-Ali Taghai and a group of Khurasanis were made captive by the hand of fate, and the superior Uzbek force pursued the fleeing men as far as Toquz Ribat. They seized so much booty that the fingers of exposition are incapable of reckoning the quantity and the pen is unable to count even a small portion thereof, and only God Almighty knows the truth thereof.

#### THE LEADERS AND ARMY OF KHURASAN ARE ROUTED

When the victory-laden breeze of divine favor blew from Ribat-i Amir Ali-Sher and Manzil-i Maral [376] through the banners of Muhammad Khan Shaybani, Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar Mirza Kürägän, along with most of the great amirs and soldiers, acted in accordance with the dictum, "Flee from what cannot be borne," and each fled in rout in a different direction. Sayyid Abdullah Mirza went with a group of amirs to Mashhad to help [Kipik] Mirza. Abdul-Baqi Mirza and Amir Muhammad Burunduq Barlas joined Ibn-i Husayn Mirza in the vicinity of Sabzawar, and Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza hastened outside of Herat to stay the night in the Bagh-i Naw and rest for a moment. The next morning he headed toward Qandahar and Zamin Dawar.

Under the cover of darkness Muzaffar Mirza entered Herat and went to the Bagh-i Shahr, where he summoned the Shaykh al-Islam Mawlana Sayfuddin Ahmad al-Taftazani, Amir Ghiyathuddin

Muhammad b. Amir Jalaluddin Yusuf al-Razi, and Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Hasan. From them he sought assistance in defending Herat, but they replied, "It is not possible to protect the city with the army, and nothing can be achieved by our mere concern." Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza said, "Not more than three of my *nökärs* came into town with me." The dignitaries asked how then he expected to combat the Uzbek army. Therefore with much pain and anguish the prince bade farewell to his kingdom, possessions, mother and family. After dawn he left with a group of his servants and retinue through the Firozabad Gate and headed for Astarabad on the Turshiz road.

On Friday morning the 8th of Muharram 913 [May 20, 1507] the sayyids, judges, dignitaries and grandees of Herat assembled in the Shaykh al-Islam Madrasa to deliberate the situation. All were of one mind that they must submit to obey Muhammad Khan Shaybani, and they told this writer to compose a petition to this effect. The document was sent with the *muhtasib* Mawlana Uthman's nephew. As the young *mawlana* set out he was plundered on the Khiyaban but managed to get himself, naked and on foot, to the vicinity of Toquz Ribat, where he told Muhammad Temür Sultan what had happened, and Muhammad Temür sent him to his father.

At the end of the day, after learning of the contents of the Heratis' petition, Muhammad Khan Shaybani camped in the Kahdistan Meadow, assured of his mastery over the realm of Khurasan and with the standards of majesty and success raised high. "O God, thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt."<sup>135</sup>

#### AFTER WANDERING IN THE VALLEY OF PERPLEXITY THE DIGNITARIES OF

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<sup>135</sup>Koran 3:26.

HERAT PAY HOMAGE TO MUHAMMAD  
KHAN SHAYBANI

On the aforementioned Friday, in fear and trepidation of Muhammad Khan's retaliation, the citizens of Herat closed the city gates as tight as the gates of joy and waited in dejection and sadness. [377] Having raised their banners outside the city, the Uzbek soldiers were pillaging and plundering when a most strange event occurred, i.e., a group of Trans-oxianan soldiers were killed. The details of this event are as follows.

Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Husayn Shabankara'i, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Munshi and a few other servants of the royal family who had fled from the Battle of Maral stayed the night in the gardens outside of Herat. The next morning they thought to flee in order to save themselves by some ruse. Completely armed, they mounted their fleet-footed stallions and shouting, "The state is Kipik Mirza's," they told everyone they met that Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza had arrived with a large army and was about to do battle with the king of the Uzbeks. When the rabble of Herat heard this, they poured through the city gates like a shot and killed around three hundred of the soldiers who were looting in the quarters outside the city. A short while later it was ascertained that the news was false, and everyone began to be extremely worried over the killings. As the people fell into an ocean of perplexity, caravans of grief and sorrow unpacked their baggage in the courtyards of the minds of young and old alike. The sayyids, judges, ulema, common folk and peasants, indeed all creatures spent that night distraught and worried how to save themselves. On Saturday morning Mawlana Banna'i's brother came to Herat from the conqueror's camp to deliver a document that the secretaries of that royal court had written to the Shaykh al-Islam and Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Hasan, the contents of which were as follows:

"When the victorious banners reached the vicinity of Badghis, Badi'uzzaman Mirza was defeated by the onslaught of the conquering forces, Amir Dhu'l-Nun Arghun was killed, and Shaykh-Ali Taghai was seized by the talons of fate. We, having made the Kahdistan Meadow our regal camp, are determined to see to the welfare of all the inhabitants of the realm of Khurasan. When this document arrives be comforted and easy of mind. It behooves you to hasten to the world-receiving court, bringing with you any of the nobles you think fitting."

When the dignitaries learned of the contents of the order, they showered the messenger with gifts and presents. That very hour the Shaykh al-Islam, the Dean of Sayyids Amir Kamaluddin Ata'ullah al-Husayni, Amir Abdul-Qadir, Amir Ghiyathuddin Muhammad b. Amir Yusuf, Sayyid Sadruddin Yunus, Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Hasan, Qazi Sadruddin Muhammad al-Imami, Sayyid Raziyyuddin Abdul-Awwal, Khwaja Jamaluddin Ata'ullah, and Khwaja Nizamuddin Abdul-Hayy Sahib-Iyar set out for Kahdistan Meadow. As they approached the camp, Mawlana Nizamuddin Abdul-Rahim Turkistani, who not only held the post of *sadr* at Muhammad Khan Shaybani's court but was invested with unlimited power, and Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud Saghrichi, who was supervisor of the divan, met that honorable delegation and had them settled in a tent. When informed of their arrival, Muhammad Khan ordered that first of all the amount of tribute and *peshkash* the Heratis were to give [378] be determined. Then he had the dignitaries brought into the royal assembly. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim and Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud held deliberations in that regard, and it was decided that the general citizenry and artisan class would give the amount of one hundred thousand one-mithqal *tangachas*, with a *tangacha* at that time equal to six Kepeki dinars. The great lords and

fief-holders would present a personal gift to the khan of twenty thousand *tangachas*, and fifteen thousand *tangachas* to Mawlana Abdul-Rahim. Thereupon Muhammad Khan Shaybani, his court adorned by great sultans and amirs like Muhammad Temür Sultan, Ubaydullah Sultan, Hamza Sultan, Mahdi Sultan and Janwafa Mirza, gave audience to the nobles and dignitaries. Most of them entered the court tent with fear and trepidation, but the amirs rose to honor them, and the khan gave them permission to sit. That very hour he indicated that they might withdraw. Janwafa Mirza was appointed governor and prefect of Herat, and he left with the grandees. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim was assigned to carry out all other tasks. Janwafa Mirza stayed in the house of Amir Ghiyath's sons, and Mawlana Abdul-Rahim in quarters above the Khush Gate.

#### THE GRAND VIZIERS ENTER HERAT WITH SEVERE DEMANDS

When, in accordance with the Great Effector's scheme, the sun of Muhammad Khan Shaybani's fortune rose and he subjugated the capital of Khurasan, which has always been and is still the seat of mighty sultans, and set before his sight the wise words, "There is no kingdom without men, and there are no men without property," he concentrated entirely upon the acquisition of money, property and the amount the delegates had accepted.

On the 11th of Muharram [May 23] Khwajas Kamaluddin Mahmud and Abu'l-Wafa, who was known as Khwaja Khurd, entered Herat with a group of collectors of revenue and soldiers. They wrote orders of collection and demanded with severity the full amount from the lords and subjects, and within one week they had reaped their harvest.

The personal possessions of the noble wives and daughters of His Late Majesty

and the property of Badi'uzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza Kürägän were seized, and that group was sent to the royal camp, where they were received with honor. Her Highness Khanzada Khanım, who was the daughter of Ahmad Khan, niece of His Late Majesty and wife of Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza Kürägän, found favor in Muhammad Khan's eyes, and he proposed marriage to her. The khanım claimed that Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza had divorced her two years previously, and a number of religious people testified on behalf of her claim so that she could be legally married to the khan.

Mihrangez Begim, the daughter of Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza and the aforementioned [Khanzada Khanım], was married to Ubaydullah Sultan. [379] The rest of the royal harem were sent back to the city, where their treasures and valuables were sequestered. So many lustrous pearls, emeralds, Badakhshan rubies and other gems and gold vessels were obtained that not a decimal of a tenth could be contained in the imagination of any emperor. From the personal possessions of the amirs and ministers of that dynasty much cash and goods were taken, and the Uzbek soldiery seized every one of the rectors of Khurasan's benefices and endowments of Khurasan on some pretext and tormented and tortured them until they got from them what they could get. Indeed, the meaning of the Koranic verse, "Verily kings, when they enter a city by force, waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants thereof,"<sup>136</sup> was fully realized, and the cries of many people of quality and station, reduced to misery and degradation, rose to the celestial spheres. The delicate beauties of the inner sanctum of inviolability were taken captive and tormented by the merciless Uzbeks, and Venuses of the chambers of

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<sup>136</sup>Koran 27:34.



chastity were left by ravaging Mughuls to wander destitute in the lanes and bazaars.

The flames of tyranny licked at that region; the world turned dark from the cries of the oppressed. Wailing and gnashing of teeth came from the people; there was no mercy at all upon them.

Finally, through Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud's efforts, the severity was reduced, and the lights of security shone upon humanity. On Friday the 15th of Muharram [May 27] in the great congregational mosque of Herat the *khutba* was read in Abu'l-Khayr Khan and Muhammad Khan Shaybani's names. As Muhammad Khan ordered, his titles were announced as Imam of the Age and Viceroy of the Merciful, and that world-conquering khan commanded with high-mindedness that a demi-*dâng* (one-twelfth) be added to the old *tangacha*. When the royal coinage was thus ornamented, each one became worth six Kepeki dinars, and the old one-mithqal *tangachas* were taken for five dinars.

During all this, some of the viziers and other Persians who had served the sultans and governors of Khurasan and, holed up in the mountains around Herat in fear of the Uzbeks, had not drawn an easy breath since, sent petitions to the exalted court seeking security of their lives. Billets of safe pass were issued them, and all were admitted to royal audience, most of them receiving favor and patronage and reinstated in their posts. Among them, Khwaja Mu'izzuddin Husayn Shabankara'i and Mawlana Hajji Muhammad Quhistani were assigned to the vizierate, and Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Munshi and Mawlana Jalaluddin Qasim Khwandamir became chiefs of the Bureau of Derelict Property. Amir Jalaluddin Mahmud, a son of Sayyid Ghiyathuddin Muhammad Baghban, was selected to serve as steward to the throne, and Amir Sultan Mahmud was assigned as steward for Janwafa Mirza.

#### IKHTIYARUDDIN CITADEL AND TIRATU FORT ARE SUBDUED

As is patently obvious from previous reports, Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza assigned Amir Ashiq-Muhammad Kükältäsh, the son of Amir Sarban Junayd as custodian of the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, [380] and when he set out for Maral he left his wife Kabuli Begim, the daughter of Mirza Ulughbeg b. Mirza Sultan Abu-Sa'id, along with Ruqya Agha, who was known as Andalib, in that fort. After the debacle at Maral, Amir Ashiq-Muhammad Arghun, Shaykh Abdullah Bäkäül and some other soldiers who had managed to flee took refuge in the fastness of that fort. Khwaja Jalaluddin Miraki also went there, and Her Highness Khadija Begi Agha also, fleeing the severity of the collectors of revenue, holed up there. Since this group was petrified of an assault by the mighty Uzbeks, although the affairs of the city had reached the point we have described, there was no shortcoming on their own part with regard to the defense of the fort, and Muhammad Khan concentrated all his efforts on taking it.

He sent emissaries to Amir Ashiq-Muhammad Kükältäsh to frighten him with the consequences of opposition and mollify him with promises of the favor enjoyed by those who joined the sultan's court and thus get him out. When the emissaries failed to achieve their end, command was given, and the iron-clawed tunnelers began to dig a breach into the fort. When they had been at it for three or four days, the foundation of the tower facing the Bagh-i Shahr was breached and it began to topple. Seeing that, those within failed in their resolve and sent a messenger to the caliphal court seeking security of their lives. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim was ordered to go to the gate of the fort, and both Ashiq-Muhammads, Shaykh Abdullah and Khwaja Miraki came down. Mawlana Abdul-Rahim reaffirmed the principles of the pact in

good faith and swore on the khan's behalf that if they turned over the fort none of their people would be harmed. Consequently the inhabitants of Ikhtiyaruddin left their narrow confines, some willingly but most by force.

The two Ashiq-Muhammads and Shaykh Abdullah were rebuked, but they got their possessions and property out and were given quarter. Ashiq-Muhammad Kükältäsh remained in Khurasan, but Ashiq-Muhammad Arghun and Shaykh Abdullah Bäkäül went off to join Badi'uzzaman Mirza. Khwaja Jalaluddin Miraki got off scot free through the good offices of Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud, one of his kinsmen. Kabuli Begim was given in marriage to Qambar Mirza Kükältäsh, and Temür Sultan took Andalib into his harem. Custody of the fort was given to Pahlawan Darwesh-Muhammad, and Janwafa Mirza moved there from his quarters outside the Khush Gate.

When Muhammad Khan Shaybani's mind was at ease concerning the Ikhtiyaruddin Fort, he turned his attention to subduing the Tiratu Fort, which was under Amir Zaynuddin Ali's control. Consulting with his great amirs and pillars of state, and in view of the fact that this fort was one of the wonders of creation and to take it by force was beyond the capacity of the mightiest of kings, all were of the opinion that messengers and messages should be sent and Amir Zaynuddin [381] Ali should be persuaded to join [the Uzbek's] service. Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Munshi, who had a firm bond of friendship with the amir, was charged with that task. He went to Tiratu Fort, persuaded Amir Zaynuddin Ali with the strongest of oaths and assurances and brought him to court, where the amir turned over the keys of the fortress and its treasures to the servants of the court. He also presented his own personal possessions as tribute and escaped further retribution....

#### THE END OF SULTAN-HUSAYN MIRZA'S NOBLE OFFSPRING

It has been reported previously that when the victorious *khaqan* [Sultan-Husayn] raised his banners to the next world, he left behind seven sons born under lucky stars. Of these, Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza, Muhammad-Muhsin Mirza and Muhammad-Qasim Mirza quaffed the draught of martyrdom in Mashhad. Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza left one son, Sultan-Muhammad Bayqara by name, then aged three. On the day his father was killed some of the retinue took the prince and fled to Baward and Nasa. Apparently, after living in that region for several years, he died a natural death.

Abu'l-Mansur Muzaffar-Husayn Kükärän, as has been reported, died at Ashtarabad, leaving one daughter named Mihrangez Begim. When Muhammad Khan conquered Herat she was married to Ubaydullah Sultan. After living with him for a year or two, they separated and she came to Khurasan. At the present time, i.e., the year 929 [1523] that chaste lady is passing her days, without being under the command of a husband, somewhere in Iraq.

After leaving the Damghan fortress, Faridun-Husayn Mirza went among the Yaqa Turcomans. In the year 915 [1509-10], when Muhammad Khan Shaybani led his army against the tribes of the Qipchaq Steppe, Faridun-Husayn Mirza gathered a small army and entered Khurasan, taking Kalat Fort. When the governor of Merv, Qambar Bey, heard of this, [394] he set out for Kalat Fort with a large Uzbek force, and the prince had too few supporters to hold onto the fortress. The victory went to Qambar, and Faridun-Husayn Mirza fell into the Uzbeks' hands and was put to death.

Ibn-i Husayn Mirza lived in comfort for several years under the protection of His Felicitous Majesty [Shah Isma'il], and in 919 [1513-14] he died of an accident in Kashaan.

Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza, after spending three or four months in the royal camp of the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the globe [Shah Isma'il], was ordered to take up residence in Rayy. Because of the overbearing nature of Sultan Bayazid Barlas and Shaykh Abdullah Bäkäül, the prefect of that area Pir-Ahmad Warsaq was ordered to kill them both. Then he set out for Astarabad with the soldiers who had gathered around him. The governor of Jurjan, Khwaja Ahmad Qonqirat, faced him and a fierce battle broke out between them. Muhammad-Qulī, who was the dearest of all persons to Badi'uzzaman Mirza and was distinguished among his peers for his beauty, conduct and elegant nature, was killed in that battle. Badi'uzzaman Mirza's forces were defeated, and that once mighty padishah emerged from the fray with his retainers and set forth for Hindustan. Reaching Uchh and Thatta, he was met and honored by the governor of that province, who sent him abundant gifts, *peshkash* and tribute. Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza stayed among the Sindis for over a year before coming once again to the court of world refuge.

In the year 919 [1513] he arrived at court in Khurasan and was received with great favor. He accompanied the royal camp to Azerbaijan, where he submitted his resignation from the retinue, which was graciously accepted by His Majesty. It was settled that Badi'uzzaman Mirza should live in Shamb-i Ghazan and that the fiscal administrators of Tabriz should make over for his maintenance the amount of one thousand dinars a day.

In Rajab of 920 [August 1514], when the padishah of Rûm, Sultan Selim, came to Tabriz to fulfill the decree of the Lord of All, he honored Mirza Badi'uzzaman and took him to Istanbul. After three or four months in that country Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza was stricken with the plague, and the meaning of the Koranic verse "No soul knows in what land it

shall die" was applicable to his situation. When the time of his life came to an end, he responded to the call of death and passed on with a thousand regrets.

O heart, the fortune of this world is not forever. Beware lest you hope for fidelity from the world. The brilliance of your perfection will fade in the end, no matter at what zenith of kingship you may be, O sun. How can the sun of life last forever? The light of eternity will not shine forever. King and beggar, lord and slave, the messenger of death comes to all.

"Every thing shall perish, except himself: unto him belongeth judgment; and before him shall ye be assembled at the last day."<sup>137</sup>

When Sultan Badi'uzzaman Mirza died, one son remained, Mirza Muhammad-Zaman.

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<sup>137</sup>Koran 28:88.

