

from him "the outcome of life is no more than three words: 'I was raw, became mature and was burnt.'" خام بودم نادم سوختم

"It is in fact a quotation from Rāmī (with slight variations)."

"Kāhī seems to have remained in Gujarat from 940 A.H. to 956, A.H. for he addressed poems to the two Gujarat rulers, Sultān Bahādur Ghāsi (932-961 A.H.). He returned to Kābul and eulogized Humāyūn in a fine ode on the astrolabe and became a court-poet. In 961 A.H., he was put on the staff of Prince Akbar. He came down with the royal party to India. On the death of Humāyūn in 963 A.H., he wrote a threnody; the last hemistich :- همایون از بام افتاد

"Humāyūn fell from the roof is a chronogram giving the cause and date of Humāyūn's death but neither the cause and the date is precisely correct; for Humāyūn fell not from a roof but down a flight of steps and died not in 962 but in 963. But whether correct or incorrect, original or imitative, this single hemistich made Kāhī famous in a day.<sup>1</sup> Kāhī produced another famous and equally incorrect chronogram: شاه کامران یکم به مرد "King Kamrān died in the Ka'ba"-965 (really 964). In both chronograms the difference is of one year: that one was short and this one long. "Kāhī was in Banaras with Bahādur Khān (the brother of 'Alī Qulī entitled the Khān Zamān, who defeated Hemu near Panipat in 964 and restored next to Bairam Khān, the Mughal dynasty for Akbar). Ghazālī of Mashhad, on invitation from the Deccan, was with Khān Zamān at Jaunpur. The Khān brothers met. The two poets, Ghazālī and Kāhī, soon struck upon a friendship and a contemporary record of the graceful verses they exchanged when the genuineness of their friendship was questioned has been preserved in the Nafā'is-al-Ma'āthir (Rare copy in Rāmpūr State Library, p. 132b). Khān Zamān's victories eventually defeated him, for he was frequently in revolt, but, in view of his past services, Akbar continued to grant him pardon, until on 2 Jumāda I, 974, Khān Zamān proclaimed Hakīm Emperor. In the battle at Fatehpūr on 1st Zil Hajjah 974, the Khān brothers were annihilated.

"To serve rival masters is difficult, but even as a protege of Khān Zamān, Kāhī managed to retain his affiliations with the court of Akbar. In 971 Khān Mu'azzam, Akbar's mad uncle (who was subsequently imprisoned in Gwalior for killing his wife, and died in 971), had notwithstanding his lameness, come from Khayratābād in Oudh to visit the ailing Mullā Qāsim-i-Kāhī, whereupon the Mullā composed the following lyric extemporaneously and set it to music :-

(1) According to Nithāri, the author of this chronogram was Khwaja 'Abdal 'Alī. The Asiatic Society MS. of the Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb gives the text but does not mention the name of the author.

یہ عندلیب ندارد سر سخن گل سرخ

مگر کہ مہر تہاد است بر دهن گل سرخ

Mullā Ḥuzūrī Kāshgharī related to Nithārī that Ibrahīm Mirzā had sent his ghazal to Kāshghar and Khwāja Mu'in wrote an initiative poem. The opening verses of both ghazals are cited (p. 466)

(25) Qāsim Kāhī (pp. 469-470)

Nithārī notices him as a famous poet of long standing living outside Bukhāra and extremely popular among Indian poets. He was an expert in music; one of his ghazals which he himself set to good and pleasing music is quoted :

چو سایہ ہر مہم بہ ہر سوروان شوی شاید کہ رفتہ رفتہ بیا مہربان شوی الخ

"Wherever you go, I accompany you as a shadow ; perhaps, in due course, you may slowly become kind and affectionate towards me"

From the last verse of the said ghazal, it is evident that this ghazal, was recited when he was in Kābul. He proudly called himself a Kābulī and had a fling at the large number of Persian poets who left their hearth and home for India in search of fortune :-

کاهی تو بلبل چمن آرای کابل زاغ و زغن نی کہ بہ ہندوستان شوی

"O Kāhī, you are a nightingale in the garden of Kābul ; you are not a crow or a kite to flock to Hindustān."

To this we may quote *in extenso* what Dr. Ḥadī Ḥasan has written on the subject<sup>1</sup> :-

"Sayyid Najm al Dīn Muḥammad Abū'l Qāsim-i-Kāhī was born circa 868 A.H. at Miān Kāl, a hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā. In 813 A.H. he visited Jāmī in Harat. Then he went to Kābul, where he remained so long probably half a century, that he calls himself a Kābulī (already referred to by Nithārī). He remained a confirmed bachelor all his life. "The bride of the world is not a match for Kāhī, wherefore I have remained single all my life like Jesus."

"But he succumbed to the lure of visiting India. Kāhī was in Bakr (Sind) about 935 A.H. to meet the eminent mystic, Mīr Ḥāshim Kirmān Shāh Jahāngīr, the author of the Mazhar al Āthār, and improve his knowledge of mysticism.

"About 940 A.H. Kāhī was in Somnāth (Gujarat). At the gate of Somnāth, "he says," an elderly Hindu was reciting this verse which I learned

(1) Dr. Ḥadī Ḥasan: Qāsim-i-Kāhī, (868-988 A.H.). 'His Life, Times and Work—reprint from the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, July, 1953.

were engaged is given (p. 447). He is highly praised for his ghazals.<sup>1</sup> Three couplets of a ghazal beginning with the opening line are given :-

بر دهانت تهمت هستی گمانی بیش نیست  
آب خضر از لعل جان بخت نشانی بیش نیست

Nithārī includes him among young poets residing in India. According to Ethe', he is a calligrapher, chronogrammatic writer and a poet.<sup>2</sup>

(23) *Sahmī* (pp. 458-459)

He was a young budding poet personally known to Nithārī as having migrated to India and joined the service of Bairām Khān (killed 968 A.H.). In a mushaira presided over by Bairām Khān, in which his verse

درد نوشان خرابات عجب مستانند که به یک جرعه می هر دو جهان بستانند

"The wine-bibers of the tavern are wonderfully inebriate persons; they would fain take this world and the next for one draught of wine" was the model for the poets to compose poems upon. Maulānā Adham<sup>3</sup> and Qāsim Arsalān also recited their poems. But Sahmī carried the palm when he recited his ghazal beginning with

آن کسانی که سفیدی ز سپاهی دانند خط رخسار ترا آیت خوبی دانند

"Those who distinguish the white from the black regard the line of thy cheek as a beautiful verse (of the Holy Qur'ān)". Thereafter Sahmī gained wide and winning influence.

(24) *Khawāja Mu'in* (pp. 464-466)

He descended from the saintly family of the Khwāja-i-Ahrār, So the kings and rulers of the land venerated him and treated him generously. He migrated to India where the Indian rulers and nobles did not lack behind others in bestowing honours on him. On a certain occasion he betook himself to Kāshghar, where its ruler, 'Abd al Rashīd Khān (939-971), the dedicatee of Mīrzā Haidar, the author of the famous Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī (killed 958 A.H.), gave him the kind and amount of patronage he sought for. The Khwāja was well versed in several branches of learning. He was an adept in music. The Sultān wrote poems under the penname Rashīdī. One of his ghazals quoted by Nithārī was set to music by Khwāja Mu'in. It begins as follows :-

(1) A rare copy of his Diwān is available in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

(2) I.O.L., 724-726, 708.

(3) A rare copy of his diwān is available in Government Oriental Library, Madras.

Majma' al Fuḍalā MS. p. 138; Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb p. 295 No. 295 (Berlin MS. copy); Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. II p. 497; Ātashkāda, No. 724; Khulāṣat al Akār, No. 442; Storey Vol. I, p. 373; Āin-i Akbarī p. 513; Muntakhab al Tawāriḫ, Vol. III, p. 328; Saḥna-i-Khusbū, No. 310; Maḥzan al Gharā'ib, No. 237; Ethe' 1446.

(3) Vide my printed edition, pp. 452-457.

I may add that Dr. Abidi Head of the Department of Persian, Delhi University, was working upon Mushfiqī. (Vide his article on Mushfiqī contributed to the First All-India Muslim Studies Conference at Hyderabad, 1964).

(21) *Niyāzī* (p. 456)

Nithārī writes about him from personal knowledge as the son of Maulānā Sayyid 'Alī Qāḍī, who left for Kabul and India in his prime of youth and was living there. Only one couplet is cited. There was another Niyāzī of Badakhshān under Akbar.<sup>1</sup>

(22) *Qāsim Arsalān* (pp. 456-458)

He was the son of Arsalān Mashhadī, who was known for his bohemianism. During his early education, he resided with our author. He did not show much progress due to indolence. He became a scribe known for his quick penmanship combined with his professional skill and reliability. He was the friend of Darwesh Raushanger (the oilmonger), who wrote a touching elegy on the death of Jāmī (898 A.H.) beginning with :-

این کودش سپهر که خم شد چو دورجام

بر روح پاک حضرت جامی کند سلام

He was a ready wit and a satirist. His satire on Mashhadis is quoted :-

رباعی: پیر عارف که مشهدش بود وطن

بگرینخت ز بی بنی آب تا به یمن

عکس رخ خود در آب و آئینه دید

تا صورت مشهدی نه باید دیدن

"Due to disturbance of peace, an old gnostic ran away from his native city, Mashhad and took shelter in Yemen. There he saw his own face in a running brook and a mirror lest he should see the face of another Mashhadī (which he regarded as an evil omen)." (p. 456).

Instance of ready repartee in which both this poet and our author

(1) Ethe', I.O.L. 724-726, 591 X 1503.

(20) *Kamāl al Dīn Muṣṣḥiqī* (pp. 452-457)

Niṭhārī has included him among young poets personally known to him living outside Bukhārā (the exact place where he migrated is not given). Even in his youth, he acquired fame as a powerful poet, who wrote fine qaṣīdas and effective ghazals. He made a mark as a satirist.

Most of his satirical performances are astonishingly irreproducible. His house was the resort of poets. He practised astrology and geomancy also. He attained the enviable position of the Royal Librarian (Kitābdār). One full ghazal with the opening verse :

چون نسیم صبح دریابد می گفتم را  
چین موج او کل صد برگ سازد جام را الخ

a rubā'ī and two other verses are quoted. My friend, Prof. Pohand 'Abd al Ḥayy Ḥabībī of Anjumāni Tārīkh, Kābul, has given further particulars of this poet as follows:—<sup>1</sup> "He was originally from Merv. He resided in Bukhārā and studied under Maulānā Kaukabī (already noticed in the Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb as a famous musician and a musicologist (pp. 261-266). After 965 A.H. he held the post of Kitābdār in Samarqand under Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān (975-980 A.H.). In 980 A.H. he reached Samarqand to serve Sulṭān Jawānmard 'Alī Khān (980-986 A.H.), the younger brother of Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān. He wrote one diwān of ghazals and qaṣā'id and a versified book called Gulistān-i-Iram. Due to internecine quarrels among the nobles, he left Samarqand in 986 A.H. and reached Lahore in 987 A.H. As he could not get the audience of Emperor Akbar, he returned from India and got access to 'Abdallāh Khān, the ruler of Transoxiana, who conferred on him the poet-laureateship. He wrote the Jahānnāmā, a chronicle of 'Abd Allāh Khān. According to Storey, he was born in 945 in Bukhārā. He went to India twice during Akbar's time. On return from India he died in 994 A.H. in Bukhārā. His diwān of ghazals was compiled in 973 A.H. Its copy is available in the India Office Library, London.\* His second diwān was completed in 983 or 985. It is available in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Simanov refers to one more diwān of qaṣā'id and chronograms." In the foot-note to his article, Prof. Ḥabībī gives the following bibliography :

(1) Vide fn. of his article on Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb-i-Niṭhārī in the Aryana, Kabul, Vol. XIX, No. ii, Awwali Qaus, 1340, pp. 1-12, as well as in the Tehran University Publications, No. 774, (1341) Vol. II, Notices of Manuscripts 1340-1341 under the supervision of Md. Taqī Dānish Puzhōb and Iraj Afshār—contents of Vol. II, Item 3. Ḥabībī, 'Abdul Ḥayy: Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb of Khwāja Niṭhārī Bukhārī, pp. 30-42.

(2) Ette', I.O.L., 1446.

(19) *Khwāja Husain Mervī* (pp. 447-450)

He was personally known to our author as a young poet residing in India. He was the son of *Khwāja Mīr Dost Dīwān*. He had his higher education in *Bukhārā*. He was a good *nastaliq* writer. He had already acquired fame as a poet when he suddenly thought of India as the place where his personality would flower out. *Humāyūn* gave him a prominent place in his court. He was made a *Ṣadr* to which the poet refers thus:-  
(p. 448)

شد از التفات شهنشاه عادل حسین ابن منصور صدرا فاضل

On his fatal slip in 963 A.H. the poet wrote a very touching elegy beginning with: (p. 103).

در میان آنکه بایست از فلک خوشحال شد

حالی شد کز بیان او زبانت ها لال شد (p. 103).

He was so overpowered with grief that he went on the Haj pilgrimage and returned to India after a long sojourn. According to the *Nafā'is al Ma'āthir*, his return to India was some time after 974 A.H. (date of completion of the book). If this statement is accepted as true, we have the ticklish problem of an anachronism in the text. An elegant *ghazal* containing praises of the Emperor Akbar is cited (pp. 448-449).<sup>1</sup> He was a powerful *qaṣīda* writer also. He composed one long *qaṣīda* of hundred couplets in which cardinal numbers from one to hundred are used appropriately. He called this poetical performance "*Ast-i-Kārnāma*" and sent it to *Bukhārā* obviously as a challenge to the *Bukhārā* poets. *Nithārī* returned the compliment immediately with an imitative poem of the same length and rhyme. *Husain Mervī* begins this long 'obligatory' poem thus:

به بین که یک نظر لطف از آن دو تر کس شهلا

شده است چاره گر من ز قید پنجه سودا

and *Nithārī* replies as follows:

زیک کمان دو خدنگش گهی که خسته دها

بخانه دل بیچاره گشته پنجره پیدا

which is palpably a tame affair. This innovation of *Husain Mervī* provoked other poets especially under Akbar to write such poems in its wake. One such poem is by *Nūr al Dīn Tarkhān*<sup>2</sup>, a court-poet of Akbar.

(1) The same *ghazal* is reproduced in the *Nafā'is al Ma'āthir* Aligarh MS.

(2) Vide *Dīwān-i-Tarkhān*. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

required. So he migrated to India, where he died in his old age. He is mentioned as a writer of both elegant prose and exquisite poetry. The following is quoted :-

در خلعت سفید قد آن ابری خضال

(p. 340) سماخ شکر نه ایست بمقان اعتدال

(15) *Jānī Tīmān* (pp. 376-377)

He was a hotelier by profession, a good mixer and a genial extrovert. He migrated to India where he died in the prime of his youth. A fine rubā'ī is quoted :-

خط گرد رخت باعث حیرانی ماست      زلفت سبب پی سروسامانی ماست  
آن کاکل مشکین پی ویرانی ماست      این ها همه اسباب پریشانی ماست

(16) *Khwāja Mirakā* (pp. 409-410)

He was the son of Hāfiẓ Kalān (already noticed as the famous reciter of the Holy Qur'ān and teacher of the art of reciting the Holy Qur'ān in Samarqand (pp. 301-302). He was a Şadr in the service of Suyunich Muḥammad Sulṭān. Due to some unfavourable circumstances, he left for India with the following verse in his lips :-

زیداد رقیبات از دوت عزم سفر کردم

ز عشقت زوی یهودی ندیدم رخت بر بستم

He was well advanced in years and alive in 974 A.H.

(17) *Mīr Fahmī* (pp. 412)

He was a Sayyid related to Amīr Abu'l Baqā, the spiritual director of 'Abd al 'Azīz Khān, whose necrology is given (vide p. 74). He settled in Qandahār long time ago. He was quite old and alive in 974 A.H. Only one verse is cited by the author.

(18) *Muḥammad Amīn Bey* (pp. 412-413)

He was the eldest son of Amīr Qambar 'Alī Qushjī, one of the powerful nobles under Shaibānī Khān and 'Ubaid Allāh Khān, who died in the battle of Jām. He attained high positions in life. He was himself an enlightened patron of the learned and the pious. Though he wrote charming poems in different verse-forms, his specialised field was riddles. One of his rubā'īs is cited. As he was highly ambitious, he migrated to India where kings and nobles extended their generous patronage to him and treated him with utmost consideration. The author, who knew him well, prays for his further progress. He was well advanced in years.

The latter has received more encomiums as a poet than the former. Ethe' has mentioned him in his catalogue.<sup>1</sup>

(13) *Khawāja-i-Kābulī* (pp. 269-271)

He had his higher education in Bukhārā, where he was noted for his fine physical features and suave manners. Soon he acquired fame as a humourist. An example of his humour is cited. One maṭla' and a masterly ghazal beginning with the opening line are quoted.

خیال آن خم ابروی چو ب هلال خوش است  
اگر چه دور خیاست این خیال خوش است

Later on he became a cynic, and like Diogenes in the Tub, he retired from public gaze. When his old friend could not recognise him, he recited an impromptu verse :

برخ نشسته کرد غریبی بسی مرا  
نیود عجب اگر شناسد کمی مرا

"So much dust of strangeness has settled on my face that it is no wonder if none makes me out." He died young and was buried in India "unwept, unhonoured and unsung."

Now follows accounts of ten poets in seriatim (Nos. 14-23) who left for India. They were personally known to the author.

(14) *Amīr Nizām al Dīn Muẓaffar* (pp. 339-340)

He was a noble of the court of Ya'qūb Shāh of the Aq-qoyunlū dynasty (883-896 A.H.). This Sultān was given a poisoned drink by his own mother so that her other son, Yūsuf, might succeed and rule for some time. Accidentally the left over was gulped by both the conspiring mother and the aspirant for the throne with the result that the drink washed all the three out of existence (p. 137). The Sultān was an enlightened person, a good poet (pp. 131-133) and the patron of (1) the famous traditionist, *Khawāja Maulānā b. Rūzbhān Iṣfahānī* and (2) of *Bannā'ī* (pp. 136-138), who wrote an elegy on the tragic death of the Sultān, beginning with :-

نه از یوسف نشان دیدم نه از یعقوب آثاری  
عزیزان یوسف ار گم شد چه شد یعقوب را باری

and a book entitled *Bagh-i-Iram* containing a versified account of the dead king, (pp. 136). After the death of this Sultān, the said Amīr went over to 'Ubaīd Allāh Khān, whom he served with distinction. On the occasion of the conquest of *Khawārizm*, he wrote a poem in which he offered to help him with "hazārasp" (thousand horses), provided the Khān gave him the fortress of *Hazārasp*. Probably his services were not properly

(1) *Hamdam Kūka*—Ethe'. : I.O.L. 724-726, 416.



هر کرا در هند باشد این چنین کاشانه

دارد از فردوس اعلیٰ در جهنم خانه

Perhaps this is other than the Madrasah which he built in Agra, and wherein he was buried in 940 A.H. It may be added that he first translated into Persian the *Wāqī'āt-i-Bāburī* (The Memoirs of Babar). (Its second translation was by 'Abd al Raḥīm Khān Khānān). He is said to have written a history of the conquest of India, with an account of its wonders.<sup>1</sup>

(9) *Bairam Khān* (pp. 248-250)

Next to the Emperor Humāyūn, he occupied the highest position in the realm. Nithārī states that he was an Amīr al Umarā. Obviously this refers to his title, Khān-i-Khānān. All those who came in contact with him spoke very highly of him, especially as an able administrator and a conqueror. He was himself a poet of no mean order and a generous patron of scholars.

ارباب فضل را رعایت های خوب و ترتیب های مرغوب می نموده، بذل  
و سخاوتش بی نظیر و حسن اختلاطش دلیلی بر بوده (p. 248)

Due to the evil designs of the jealous, Akbar dismissed him. He was killed on his way to the Haj pilgrimage. The date of his assassination, 968/1560, is not recorded. Only one Persian verse and a Turki ghazal are quoted.<sup>2</sup>

(10) *Alī Beg* (pp. 257-258)

He was the confidant of Bābur. Only one verse is cited, which is in a way interesting:-

گفتم که عدم گشت وجودم ز غم تو  
گفتا که مساری است وجود و عدم تو

"I said that my love of you has rendered my existence into non-existence to which my beloved replied: your existence and non-existence are alike (to me)."

(11) *Mahram Kūkā* (p. 258) and (12) *Hamdam Kūkā* (p. 258)

They were both foster-brothers and confidants of Kamrān Padishāh, who died on his way to the Haj in 964 A.H. One verse of each is cited.

(1) Rieu: Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum p. 926b; Badāoni, *Muntakhab al Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, pp. 341 and 471.

(2) Vide *Nafāis al Ma'āthir*, (composed pp. 973-982) Aligarh MSS. f. 308-33a.

afterwards changed to Jamāl. He acquired fame as a poet first under Sultān Sikandar b. Bahlūl Lodī (1489-1517) and subsequently gained the regard of Bābur.<sup>1</sup> He wrote several qasīdahs in praise of Bābur and Humāyūn. He spent a part of his life in distant travels to Mecca, Medina, Yemen, Syria, 'Irāq, Irān, Rūm, Maghrib, etc., during which he became acquainted with Jāmī and Dawwānī and died in Delhi in 942 A.H. He left a Dīwān and a Mathnavi called Mīhr wa Māh. His son, Shaikh Gadā'i, was raised to the office of Şadr by Akbar.<sup>2</sup>

(8) *Shaikh Zain* (pp. 244-246)

According to Nithāri, he was a relative of Shaikh Abu'l Wajd, a descendant of Shaikh Zain al Dīn Khwāfi (pp. 243-244). Both Abu'l Wajd and Shaikh Zain enjoyed the patronage of Bābur. According to the appendix to the Memoirs of Babur, (Pavet de Courteille's French translation, Vol. II, p. 463), he is the grandson of his namesake, the famous saint, Shaikh Zain al Dīn, who died in the plague in Herat in 838 (see Maṭla al Sa'dain), held the office of Şadar<sup>3</sup> in the reign of Bābur (Rieu) and als under Humāyūn (Nithāri, p. 245 fn.) He was known as an elegant poet. He was bold and witty. Once Bābur asked particulars of his age to which he had the temerity to reply "I am now 40 years old; five years ago, I was 40 and two years hence I will be 40." He was good at chronograms. When the divine, Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf, offered to deliver lectures in Hari (Harat) for two nights in a week, Shaikh Zain wrote a wonderful chronogram :-

آن قدوة اهل فضل و ارباب فضل      کرد از پی درس خویش تعین دوشب  
شبه شب معراج و شبیه شب قدر      گشت از پی این دوشب دو تاریخ عجب

Both *شب معراج* and *شبیه شب قدر* give the date 913 A.H. He settled down in India and built a beautiful house which was praised by the proud owner and the contemporary poet, Shihāb al Dīn Mu'ammā'i respectively thus :-

این خانه که از خانه چشم است نشانه  
چون مردم چشم است درو مردم خانه

(1) Bazmi Taimuriyya, p. 22 under poets who flourished under Bābur.

(2) Rieu, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol. I, p. 354a-b.

(3) For the nature of the office of Şadr *vide* Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 272; translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 268.

Humāyūn enjoyed the humour and rewarded him. Our author does not record the date of his death.

Mīr Khwand's chronogram on his death **شهاب الثاقب** gives the date 942 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

(5) *Fāḍl Andijānī* (pp. 203-204)

He was a reputed scholar, who was held in much esteem by the rulers. Scholars of his age always sought for his learned company. He was an authority on poetics. Only one verse is cited. He migrated to India and died there.

(6) *Shaikh Jamāl* (pp. 221)

Nithārī notices him in four lines as one of the famous poets and quotes only one verse as specimen of his poetry. In Pertsch's Berlin Catalogue, he is mentioned as Shaikh Jamālī Hindī. In the second Aligarh MS. his name is retained as Shaikh Jamāl but the text is entirely different. The information contained therein is as follows:

"He is one of the poets of India. The rulers of that country have shown him utmost regard, behaved with him most respectfully and considered him as a saint. Once the king paid him a visit. At once the Shaikh jumped from the balcony to receive him<sup>2</sup> but he remained unhurt. The king regarded it as a miracle and revered him the more."

(7) *Jamāl Hindī* (pp. 222-223)

Nithārī disposes him of in four lines, as follows:— He was well advanced in years and a recognised traveller of the mystic path. One of his verses is cited. All the manuscripts agree as regards the name and the text. Probably Shaikh Jamāl (Shaikh Jamālī Hindī of Berlin Manuscript) and Jamāl Hindī are one and the same person, namely, Ḥamīd Faḍl Allāh Khān, known as Darwēsh Mullā or Shaikh Jamālī of Delhi (died 942 A.H.), author of the famous biography of the saints of the Chishtī order, namely *Siyar al 'Arifīn*, (composed in the reign of Humāyūn during the period 937-947 and printed several times). It is a source book of the *Akhbār al Akhyār* of 'Abd al Ḥaḳq Delhavi and of *Ferishta*. The confusion in the mind of Nithārī may be due to the fact that he had more than one name and one takhalluṣ. His original name was Jalāl Khān, later Shaikh Jamālī Kambu, etc. He adopted first the pen-name Jalālī, which he

(1) *Muntakhab al Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, p. 432.

(2) He belonged to the Chishtī order which insisted upon co-operation with the rulers. One of their maxims is

خدمت الملوك نصف السلوك

"Service to kings is half spiritualism."

He died some time before 974/AH/1566.

(3) *Khawājā Kalān Beg* (pp. 198-201)<sup>1</sup>

He was an Amīr and a confidant of Bābur, who sent him out of India for the governance of Ghazna and Kābul. This provoked him to indite the following lines since become proverbial:-

اگر بخیر و سلامت گذر ز سندانم سپاه روی شوم گر هوای هند کنم

and occasioned ready repartee in Turki between him and Bābur (pp. 199-201).

(4) *Shihāb al Dīn Mu'ammā'i* (pp. 202-203)

Nithārī mentions him as a renowned scholar, a great writer of riddles in prose and poetry and a poet with ideas, e.g.:

کار هندو همه عکس است مگر هندوی شب

درد سر داشت که مالید به بالش صندل

He wrote under the pen-name, "Ḥaḡīrī."<sup>2</sup> According to our author, he sought patronage of Emperor Humāyūn. But, according to Badaoni,<sup>3</sup> he along with Mīr Khwand, the author of the *Ḥabīb al Siyar*, and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Qānūnī received recognition and patronage of Bābur in 936 A.H., when the latter celebrated his recovery from a severe illness, contracted during his expedition to Gwalior. Nithārī has given us an interesting piece of information about Palam<sup>4</sup> (now an international air-port near Delhi). The pargana of Pālam, famous for its wood, was gifted to the poet by Humāyūn. One Janāb Muḥammad Falgharī made vexatious demands of wood on the poet who, in disgust, lampooned him as follows:-

ای عالم فاعری چه پالم از تو علامه عالمی و عالم از تو

تا چند زمن چوب پالم طلبی پالم از تو و چوب پالم از تو

چوب بای چوب لم شود صورت عجب انگیز می یابد

(1) Kalānbeg (Kalān Khwājāh) i.e., (Amīr) Nizām of Andijān, an occasional poet, pp. 724-726, 1515, q. ib 1516 (Ethe': Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library, London).

(2) Bazmi Ṭaimuriyya (Urdu) pp. 22-23. For specimens of his poems *vide* Badaoni: *Muntakhab al Tawārikh*, Vol. I, p. 342.

(3) *Muntakhab al Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 210.

(4) Pālam is described in the *Majma' al Gharāib* of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Darwēsh al Mughnī al Balkhī, a book of geography and travel written in 940 A.H.

fortress. An arrow from the enemy's camp killed him accidentally. His body was taken to Bukhārā where he was buried besides Khwāja-i-Abrār.

(2) *Khwāja Ayyūb* (pp. 188-193)

His father, Khwāja Abu'l Barakah, the Qādi of Samarqand, was a poet and a great authority on law. Nawā'i upbraided him for his felony. We are indebted to Niḥārī for quoting one charming ghazal by him under the pen-name, Firāqī, which was popular in his days.<sup>1</sup> Ayyūb inherited some of the qualities of his father. He was equally humorous and lax in his morals. His ugly physical features and mannerisms provoked laughter. He migrated to India. His talents merited Humāyūn's attention. He was sent on an important mission to Gujarāt, whose praises were sung earlier by Maulānā Shahīdī<sup>2</sup> of Qum, the poet-laureate of Sulṭān Ya'qūb (883-896 A.H.), who settled and died in Gujarat in 935 A.H. The following poem cited by Niḥārī may be considered as one of the earliest Persian poems on Gujarāt :-

گجراتیان همه نمکین دل کباب شان

می خواره آمد و خون شهیدان شراب شان

در شیشه چون نبات زیکتای آشکار

از غایت صفا تی چون سیم ناب شان

(pp. 190-191) این نظم مانند از تو شهیدی به یادگار

در پاسته تخت خسرو عالی جناب شان

There he got involved with the beauties of Gujarāt and forgot his mission :-

به جوانان زیبای ماه سیاه به عیش و عشرت مشغول شده هما نجا مانده (pp. 191)

After the conquest of Gujarāt, Humāyūn incarcerated him for dereliction of duty and later on pardoned him. But, according to Maulānā 'Ālim Kābulī, the King of Gujarāt imprisoned him. He wrote fine poems under the pen-name, 'Ayyūb.' One of his exquisite ghazals is quoted beginning with

(pp. 192-193) مهر که صحن چمن پر گل و شقایق بود

چمن به کام دل عندایم عاشق بود

(1) Vide Nafā'isat Ma'āthir, Bazmi Taimuriyya (Urdu) p. 44 with certain variations in the text.

(2) Tuhfai Sāmī, p. 106; Haft Iqlīm (MS); Riyāzushshu'arā, Taqī Kāshī Oudh Catalogue, p. 21; his diwān is available in the British Museum Asafia Library, Hyderabad, and Osmania University Library Hyderabad.

Bāb III	Faṣl IV	Personally met—young and outside Bukhārā. ( pp. 447-459 )	( comprising 10 poets )
Bāb IV	Faṣl I	Not personally met—old—alive in Bukhārā. ( pp. 460-463 )	( comprising 4 poets )
Bāb IV	Faṣl II	Not personally met—alive outside Bukhārā. ( pp. 464-478 )	( comprising 15 poets )
Bāb IV	Faṣl III	Not personally met—young—alive in Bukhārā. ( pp. 478-480 )	( comprising 5 poets )
Bāb IV	Faṣl IV	Not personally met—young—alive outside Bukhārā. ( pp. 481-492 )	( comprising 12 poets )
Khātima		An epilogue dealing with his forbears, grandfathers, father, uncles, brothers and other relatives. ( pp. 492-517 )	( comprising 8 poets )
The book ends with a long poem of Nithāri			( pp. 517-520 ).

In all he has discussed 285 poets, most of whom were his contemporaries, who lived in Māwarā al Nahr ( Transoxiana ), Balkh, Persia, and other neighbouring countries including Kāshghar and India. Invariably he gives specimens of their poetry.

#### CRITICAL APPRECIATION

Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb is also important for a proper study of Indo-Persian literature. Consequent upon religious persecutions, ban on the freedom of expression of poets and unsettled social conditions and virtually because of the generous patronage of the early Mughal rulers and their potentates, a good number of Persian poets of Central Asia, as well as of Irān, trekked to India in search of "pastures new." Twenty eight such poets are noticed in the Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb as follows :-

(1) *Amīr Niẓām al Dīn Abū'l Baqā* ( pp. 171-174 )

The author pays glowing tributes in prose and poetry to this learned Sayyid. In disgust he left Samarqand for India, which he enriched with his vast erudition :-

غالباً از اکابر سمرقند خاطر عاطرش را ملالی پیدا شده عنایت عزیمت  
را بجانب هند مصروف گردانیده و سواد آن بلاد را بانوار نجوم علوم فرخنده  
رسوم رسانیده ( p. 172 )

He was held in high esteem by Emperor Humāyūn. He, even, accompanied the royal exile to Sind. The fugitive king sent him on a mission to negotiate talks with the intransigent Sindhis, who had taken refuge in a

One *Maqālah* relating to kings in two bābs, each subdivided into two faşls.

Bāb	I	Faşl	I	Chingiz Khānī Sultans who are dead (Shaibanids). (pp. 14-80)	(comprising 5 poets) <sup>1</sup>
Bāb	I	Faşl	II	Chingiz Khānī Sultans (Shaibanids) who are alive. (pp. 81-88)	(comprising 4 poets)
Bāb	II	Faşl	I	Chaghatai Sultans who are dead. (Timurids) (pp. 89-123)	(comprising 6 poets)
Bāb	II	Faşl	II	Chaghatai Sultans (Timurids) who are alive. (pp. 124-127)	(comprising 2 poets)

The *Maqālah* is followed by four bābs, each subdivided into four faşls.

Bāb	I	Faşl	I	Poets not personally known to the author died in old age and buried in Bukhārā. (pp. 127-169)	(comprising 18 poets)
Bāb	I	Faşl	II	Not personally met—died in old age and buried outside Bukhārā. (pp. 169-230)	(comprising 43 poets)
Bāb	I	Faşl	III	Not personally met—died young and buried in Bukhārā. (pp. 230-235)	(comprising 7 poets)
Bāb	I	Faşl	IV	Not personally met—died young and buried outside Bukhārā. (pp. 235-275)	(comprising 31 poets)
Bāb	II	Faşl	I	Met personally—died in old age and buried in Bukhārā. (pp. 276-319)	(comprising 28 poets)
Bāb	II	Faşl	II	Met personally—died in old age and buried outside Bukhārā. (pp. 319-351)	(comprising 20 poets)
Bāb	II	Faşl	III	Personally met—died young and buried in Bukhārā. (pp. 352-363)	(comprising 8 poets)
Bāb	II	Faşl	IV	Personally met—died young and buried outside Bukhārā. (pp. 363-379)	(comprising 9 poets)
Bāb	III	Faşl	I	Personally met—old age—alive in Bukhārā. (pp. 379-404)	(comprising 17 poets)
Bāb	III	Faşl	II	Personally met—old age alive outside Bukhārā. (pp. 404-417)	(comprising 12 poets)
Bāb	III	Faşl	III	Personally met—young and alive in Bukhārā. (pp. 418-446)	(comprising 21 poets)

(1) Enumeration of poets is by the editor and reference to pages is from the book edited.

مذکر احباب means "Remembrancer of friends."<sup>1</sup> Here it is a book "Bright with names that men remember" (Eton: An Ode by Swineburne, 1837-1909). At the same time it is a chronogram (974=1566 for completion of the work).

چون درین تذکره زبان قلم ذکر احباب کرد ازهر باب  
نام و تاریخ سال اتمامش گشت از آن رو مذکر احباب

Immediately on its appearance, Amīr Muḥammad Badī' al Ḥusainī al Qāḍī, famous son of the still more famous father, Qāḍī Ikhtiyārī<sup>2</sup> (noticed by Nithārī, pp. 407-8) paid glowing tributes to this work by writing a quatrain on the reverse of the book.

این نسخه دلکشا که جامع بسی از شعر است  
مقصود از آن ذکر شریف صلحا است  
گر دیده بیان فضلا تاریخش  
زان رو که در آن همه بیان فضلا است

بیان فضلا = 974/1566 is another chronogram for the completion of the book.

In the matter of arrangement of topics, it is modelled on 'Alī Shīr Nawā'is Majālis al Nafā'is, which, in turn, is on the pattern of Daulat-shāh's Taḥkirat al Shu'arā. The basis of division of topics in the Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb is the same as that of the Majālis al Nafā'is, namely, the poet was personally known or not and the fact that the poet was dead or alive, with some more points of division added by the author, whether young or old; if alive, residing in or out of Bukhārā; if dead, buried in Bukhārā or outside.

The scheme of the book is as follows:-

(1) مذکر (A) Muzakkir=remembrancer, vide p. 1153, F. Johnson, Dictionary of Persian, Arabic and English. London, 1852.

مذکر کجاست یاد دهنده ۲۹۱۷ جلد ششم فرهنگ آند راج محمد بادشاه المتخلص به شاد ویجا زگری (از علاقه سابق مدراس حالا در آندهر اپردیش) کتابخانه خیام طهران ۱۳۳۰ هجری خورشیدی

(2) Vide Qāḍī Ikhtiyār, the chief judge of Harāt. Majālis al Nafā'is, ed. A.A. Hikmat, pp. 95 and 271. He was the author of many books in prose and poetry notably, Mukhtār al Ikhtiyār, the vade macrum of the judges. According to Nithārī, Shaibānī Khān prepared a Turkish Reader for him called Nisāb-i-Turkī (p. 23). Emperor Bābur had great admiration for him vide Şabbah al Dīn : Bazmi-Ṭaimūriya (Urdu) p. 7. Delhi, 1948.



Khān<sup>1</sup> among Persian poets, though he was much biased and grossly unjust in his treatment of them, especially Shaibānī Khān whom he ridiculed, whereas Nithārī exhibited his narrowmindedness and merely omitted their compeers, Shāh Ismā'il Šafawī,<sup>2</sup> poetically called "Khatā'i," Shāh Tahmāsp<sup>3</sup> and even the charming poet and biographer of contemporary poets, Prince Sām Mirzā,<sup>4</sup> out of sheer animosity.

Our author cherishes the hope that, on its completion, his work would meet the royal approbation of the de facto ruler, Abu'l Ghāzī 'Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān, his second dedicatee, for whom he has used equally apt but longer titles than those used for Iskandar Bahādur Khān, as the occasion demanded, with greater emphasis upon his military prowess, e.g., his three major expeditions, the siege of Kirmineh, the reconquest of Samatqand (chronogram فتح های مکرر = 964/1557 and of Bukhārā) all recounted with much admiration (p. 12).

About nomenclature there is a German proverb, which says "Who knows the real name of the child." Nithārī has entitled his work, *Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb* for the following reasons:-

چون این تذکره از هر باب مذکور احباب  
بود نام و تاریخش مذکور احباب  
گردید-

(1) Vide 'Ubaid Khan, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

در واقع این عبید الله باوجود آنکه طبع خوب و ذهن مرغوب داشت و در سخاوت بی مثل و در شجاعت بی بدل بود باز بدین اخلاق ذمیمه و اطوار مبادرت می نمود و پان همه شعر می فرمودند - این مطامع از دست بیت - دوست ساقی شد دلا حام محبت نوش کن  
نیست وقت گفتگو دم در کش و می نوش کن

(2) Vide Shāh Ismā'il, *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

بی ستون ناله زارم چو شنید از حاشد کرد فریاد که فرهاد دگر پیدا شد

(3) Vide Browne: 'Persian Literature in Modern Times,' p. 85. "Author of an autobiography suggested by Bābur's incomparable Memoirs far inferior to that most interesting and, amusing work."

(4) Vide Conclusion of the *Tuhfat Sāmī* ed. Wahid Dastgardī, p. 191.

حاصل عمر نثار ره یساری کردم شادم از زندگی خوش که کاری کردم  
ریاحی خون در جگرم ز اهل جان پر و رتست  
تسگی دلم ز حلقه گوهر تست  
هر تار ز کاکلت جدا فتنه گری است حاصل که تمام فتنه ها در سرتست

بعضی از اخوان و خلان با صفا به این بی بضاعت قلیل الاستطاعت امر نمودند که در چنین وقتی که حضرت و اهب العطیات و دافع البلیات دفع بلا یا نموده، عامه برابا را در ظلال عاطفت و معدلت خواتین نامدار و سلاطین کامگار در طرفه حال و فارغ بال دارد، جمعی از فضلا که بعد از تذکره مجالس النفایس امیر مدکور به ظهور آمده اند که اسامی سامی ایشان در تحت ضبط در آمده از روائح انفایس نفیسه ایشان شمیم به مشام جان طالبان و اصل گردد الخ (p. 9)

He calls it the third *tadhkira* تذکره ثالثه, the first and the second being the *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* of Daulatshāh Samarqandī composed in 892/1487 and dedicated to 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī and the *Majālis al Nafā'is* of Nawā'ī composed four years later in 896/149 and dedicated to Sultān Shāh Husain of Harāt (873-911/1469-1506) respectively. It may be observed that Nithā'ī mentions only the original Turkish version of the *Majālis al Nafā'is*, even though his first Persian translation entitled *Laṭā'if-nāma* was done by Fakhrī Harāt in 927/1521 and the second Persian translation was rendered by Hakīm Shāh Muḥammad Qazwīnī in Constantinople during 927-929/1521-1523.<sup>1</sup> His silence about the *Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī* (compiled in 957/1550) of Prince Sām Mirzā, the son of Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafawī, (murdered in 984/1526), containing notices of 652 Persian poets, who flourished from the end of the ninth to the middle of the tenth century, more or less a continuation of Daulatshāh's *Tadhkirat al Shu'arā* and Nawā'ī's *Majālis al Nafā'is*, is intriguing. Either he is really ignorant of this fact or he commits the fallacy of *suppresio veri*. On the basis of some obvious phraseological resemblances between the *Mudhakkiri-i-Aḥbāb* and the *Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī*, one may hazard the opinion that Nithā'ī was aware of the biographical performance of Prince Sām Mirzā seventeen years before the completion of his work. All the same it is possible to trace the origin of these resemblances to a common source like section IV of the third volume of the *Ḥabīb al Siyar* compiled in 927-930/1521-24 by Ghīyath al Dīn b. Humām al Dīn Khwandmīr (d. 941/1534-35), which contains notices of the learned people of the age. In all fairness, it must be said to the credit of Prince Sām Mirzā that he was generous enough to include in his biographical work such inveterate enemies like Shaibānī Khān<sup>2</sup> and 'Ubaid Allāh

(1) ed by A.A. Hikmat, Tehrān 1323 Hījri Shamsi.

(2) Vide Shaibak Khān—*Tuḥfai Sāmī* ed Wahīd Dastgardī pp. 19-20.

در محلی که هرات مسخر شد این مطلع به نزد ارباب هرات فرستاد و چهل  
تومان کیکی که دویت تومان تبریز است خواهی نخواهی صله این شعر  
گرفته - بقیه اشعار را ازین معلوم نما :

قاضی و قاز قوزی و قیزو قمز کرک ای مرد مان شهر همری یار چه مز کرک

Nithārī's claim to posterity is his *Tadhkira-i-Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb* (chronogram 974/1566 for the completion of his work). The book begins with the usual doxology in ornate prose (Praise of God, Prophet Muḥammad and his successors) (p. 1-2). Then there is a striking passage on the recognition of time factor and emergence of conditions favourable for the promotion of art and culture, generally after the death of the formidable 'Ubaid Allāh Khān (940-946 A.H.), whose whole life was a struggle for retrieving the position of the Shaibanids immediately after the terrible defeat and ghastly murder of Shaibānī Khān, the founder of the dynasty named after him, by Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty, in the battle of Merv in 916/1511 and particularly under Abu'l Ghāzī Iskandar Bahādur Khān (968-991/1560-1583), the nominal ruler of the empire extending from Harāt to Kāshghar, the real ruler being 'Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān, whose praises are sung in a section called *در منقِب عالی گوید* (p. 3-7), with proper emphasis on the former's mystical tendencies. The qualities of head and heart of this ruler have already been discussed earlier (vide pp. 36-38 of the Introduction). Nithārī pays the following tribute to the propitious time under his rule thus :-

گر از فتنه آید کسی در پناه ندارد جز این کشور آرا، آگه

سزد گر بتازد بدورش زمان چو سید به دوران نوشیروان (p. 6)

and ends with fervent prayers for his perpetual glory.

Then there is the traditional *tour de force* on the definition of poetry and its place in society. Our author has before him what the previous anthologists of poetry, especially his immediate predecessors, Daulatshāh Samarqandī and 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī have stated in this regard and how they have rendered service to poetry and benefitted all lovers of poetry. He regards the *Tadhkira-i-Daulatshāhī* as :

آن نسخه مرغوب مطاوب از باب قلوب است (p. 8)

and speaks of Nawā'ī's *Majālis* thus :-

اکنون آن نسخه دلفریب که به امت ترکی یافته مطبوع صیدهای سلیم و عقابهای

مستقیم است و فوائدش مورث زوائد انشراح صدر می گردد (p. 8)

Here and now reasons for the compilation of this book are set forth in the section *در سبب تالیف کتاب گوید* (p. 9-11). During the propitious time and in deference to the wishes of his friends to write a supplement to and a follow up of the said *Majālis al-Nafā'is*, which, in itself, is complementary to the *Tadhkira-i-Daulatshāhī*, he compiled this work. It was undoubtedly the result of his daily toils and midnight lucubrations spread over a number of years.

prevented an open rupture between father and son. The son yielded but still this rivalry between father and son had its own repercussions. "The nomads penetrated into the region of Tashkent and Samarkand. Before he would punish them severely, 'Abd Allāh Khān died in Samarkand in 1006/1598. 'Abd al Mumin could only rule for six months, for he was killed by his own subjects. All the conquests in Khorāsān and Khwārazm were lost and in the Ozbeg's own country, the power fell into the hands of another dynasty. Of greater consequence were the results of 'Abd Allāh Khān's work in home affairs; administration, especiallay coinage system was remodelled by him; many public works (bridges, carvanserais, wells, etc.,) were completed. Even at the present day, the people ascribe all such monuments, either to Timūr or to 'Abd Allāh" (W. Barthold).<sup>1</sup> Details of his life upto 996/1587-8) are recorded in ornate prose by his eulogist, Hāfiz Tanīsh in his *Sharafnāma-i-Shāhi* (a chronogram for 992/1584) usually called 'Abd Allāh-nama.'<sup>2</sup> "It was at this juncture (death of 'Abd Allāh Khān and the murder of 'Abd-al-Mumin, April, 12 1598) that Shāh Abbās was at length able to attack the Uzbeks in force and drive them out of Khurasan which at last enjoyed a period of peace and tranquillity."<sup>3</sup>

"Soon after Abdullah's death, there was anarchy in Transoxiana. The way was prepared for a change of dynasty. The line of Shaybani, after a rule of nearly a century, gave place to the dynasty of Askarkhan."<sup>4</sup>

"His son Abdul Mumin Khān, 1004/1595 was unable to retain long his seat on the throne. He was murdered, after the invasion of the Kirghiz Chief, Tōkōl, who laid all the country waste, fell even the last opportunity of the house of Sheibani. In the especially long disturbance and civil war that ensued, The candidates who disputed the throne were Veli Muhammad Khān (a remote collateral representative of Sheibani = i.e., the descendant of Jānibeg, the son of Khojoghom, the son of Abu'l Khair) and Beki Mehemed Khān, as latter fell in the battle of Samarcand in 1025/1616, the former founded his dynasty (called the Janids of Astrakhan) which is said to have survived at the time of Ebul Feiz Khān, who in 1740 was compelled to implore Nadir Shah for peace."<sup>5</sup>

"The Shaibanids reigned till 1597 (correctly 1599 for 'Abd Allāh Khān died in 1006/1598). They were succeeded by a new line of sovereigns called Astrakhanids who maintained their rule for nearly 200 years"<sup>6</sup> until overpowered by Russia.

(1) *Vide* article on 'Abd Allāh Khān, Ency. of Islam, new edn. p. 46.

(2) C. A. Storey, *A Bibliographical Survey of Persian Literature*. Section III, Fasc. 2, p. 374, 5. Luzae, London, p. 63.

(3) Browne: *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 105.

(4) Skrine and Ross. *The Heart of Central Asia*, p. 192.

(5) A Vambery: *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 378.

(6) Lansdell: *Russian Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 71.

Khwarzmians. Astarabad was surprised and taken; the Prince of Gilan, an ally of Sultan Murad III, had to take refuge at Constantinople and the frontiers of the empire of the Shaybanids were extended in this direction further than they had ever been before. For the moment Abdullah got possession of a great part of Khorasan including the towns of Meshhad, Sarakhs, Merv, etc., all of which he retained very nearly to his death." (Skrine and Ross).<sup>1</sup>

"One of the ablest among his successors was Abdullah Khan (b. 1544). He conquered Badakshan, Herat and Meshed afresh. From his efforts in favour of civilisation and commerce, he deserves to be placed at the side of the great sovereigns of Persia, like Shah Abbas. In his time the routes of Bokhara were provided with caravanserais and fine bridges, the way through the deserts with cisterns of water and the ruins of all his construction of this description still bear his name." (Vambery).<sup>2</sup>

"The greatest monarch of this line was Abdullah Khan. He was born in 1533. During his life-time trade relations were proposed by ambassadors sent in 1552 from Bokhara and Samarkhand to John the Terrible. Six years later the English merchant, Master Anthony Jenkinson, landed at Mangishlak on the Caspian and having travelled across the Turkoman desert to Bokhara, retired the following year. To Abdullah Khan is attributed the building of many caravanserais, bridges, cisterns and other works of public utility in Bokhara. The part of the bazar at Bokhara that is now best preserved was built by him in 1582. So was the bridge at Kerminch, besides the one crossed at Karshi. His tomb is near that of Bahauddin, the patron saint of Bokhara, a short distance out of the town. His reign, Vambery says, may with truth be called the last ray of the glory which had at various times surrounded the throne of Transoxiana."<sup>3</sup> (Lansdell)

Though beyond the scope, a word about the final collapse of the Shaibānid dynasty (905-1007/1500-1599) may not be out of place. The striking power of 'Abd Allāh was so formidable and threat to Khurāsān so great, that even Shāh 'Abbās the Great, had to make peace with the Turks on humiliating terms just to fight the Uzbeks. Still he was not able to prevent 'Abd Allāh from capturing the holy city of Mashhad and Sabzwār in 1002/1593-4. The last days of 'Abd Allāh were unhappy due to a quarrel with his only son, 'Abd al Mumīn, the ruler of Balkh since 990/1582, who wanted to become the Chief Khaqān and occupy the same position as his father did in the case of his grand-father, Iskandar Bahādur Khān. The 'Ulema and the Mashā'ikh used their great influence and

(1) The Heart of Central Asia, pp. 191-2.

(2) Travels in Central Asia, p. 377.

(3) Russian Central Asia, Vol. II, London, 1885 p. 70.

proved his power as a ruler in 958/1551; the country had been attacked by Nawrūz Aḥmad Khān of Tāshkent. (959-963/1551-56) and 'Abd al Latīf of Samarqand (947-959/1540-51). Iskandar had fled across the Amu. 'Abd Allāh assumed his father's duties and successfully repulsed the attack. In the following years 'Abd Allāh tried to extend his possessions westerly in the direction of Bukhārā and south-easterly in the direction of Karshī and Shahri Sabz, at first without permanent success. In 963 (1555-6) he was even obliged to evacuate the lands inherited by his father and fled to Maimana. In the same year, Dhu'l Qa'da 963/September-Oct., 1556, died his powerful enemy, Nawrūz Aḥmad Khān, the Khān of the Ozbegs and lord of Tāshkent, since 959/1552. 'Abd Allāh immediately re-asserted his supremacy in Karmīna and Shahri Sabz and in Radjab 964/May 1557 conquered Bukhārā, since that time his capital. There he had his uncle Pīr Muḥammad declared as deposed and his weak-minded father proclaimed in 968/1560-61, Khān of all the Ozbegs, in order to rule himself in the latter's name. Only in 991 (1583) after the death of his father, did he accept the vacant throne." (W. Barthold)<sup>1</sup>

"In 964 (1556) 'Abdullāh had put an end to the sub-dynasty of Bukhara. In 968/1560 he proclaimed his father in that town as 'Khakan of the World.' In 986 (1578) he similarly abolished the sub-dynasty of Samarkand, which had sprung up during Iskandar's reign at Bokhara. In 991 (1583) on his father's death, he became Khakan.

In imitation of Shaybani Khan and Ubaydullah, who, although practically sovereigns of that country, had actually left the seat of the Khanate to others, the more freely to pursue their military career, Abdullah placed his father Iskandar on the throne and put himself at the head of the army to reconquer the original frontiers of Shaybani's empire. The greater part of his life was spent in this enterprise but he was more fortunate in his conquests than any of his predecessors and also contributed more to the restoration of prosperity to the countries of the Oxus and the Jaxartes..... Under him the frontiers of the Khanate of Bokhara were pushed forward in the north as far beyond the inhabited provinces of Turkistan. In the east not only Ferghana but also Kashgar and Khotan were subdued by the Shaybanids. In the south, an aggressive policy has been pursued, on the one hand by the family of Baber and on the other by the Safavis who both coveted the position of Balkh; but the power of the Uzbegs was even greater than in the time of the first Shaybanids. Balkh was fortified, Tokharistan and Badakshan were incorporated with Transoxiana and once more the bright green waters of the Murghab became the frontiers of Turania. In the west, the armies of Abdullah were again victorious in spite of the united opposition of the Iranians and the

(1) Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, Vol. I, p. 46.

comme son père et son grandpère."<sup>1</sup> But Nithāri, who was in the service of Iskandar, speaks of him from his own personal experiences and praises him thus :

محمد خوی یوسف روی سلیمان جاہ و بحر دل

سکندر نام و خضر الہام و موسی دست و عیسی دم (p. 31)

At the time of the composition of this book (974/1566), 'Abd Allāh Khān was ruling on behalf of his father and only on his father's death in 991/1583 did he accept the vacant throne, which he occupied till 1006/1598. To Nithāri, his protegee, Iskandar was اعظم السلاطین فی الآفاق in the sense that he ruled over a vast empire wholly recovered, fully restored and virtually extended for him by his son, 'Abd Allāh, "the greatest prince of this dynasty" (Barthold). Our author says that the name of Iskandar was read in the Khutba not only in the whole of Māwarā al Nahr but in lands extending from the borders of Herat to those Kashghar. If this statement is taken literally and not metaphorically, then we are confronted with another anachronism, for 'Abd Allāh, who really ruled in the name of his father, subjugated Balkh in 981 A.H./1573-4, annexed the sub-dynasty of Samarqand in Rabi II 986 A.H./June 1578 A.D. after severe fighting against the insubordinate supporters of the ruling house, Tashkent and the remaining country north of the Syr in 990 A.H. (1582-3) and Farghāna in 991/1583 (the year of the death of Iskandar and succession of 'Abd Allāh), conquered Badakshān in the south-east, Khurasan, Gilān and Khwarazm in the west in 1002/1593-4 and laid waste the provinces of Kashghar and Yarkhand about the same time. Further 'Abd Allāh Khan's rebellious son, 'Abd al Mūmin, was the ruler of Balkh from the end of 990 (1582) who wanted to rule in the same way as his father did in the case of Iskandar.

The author has not recorded any single event of his glorious reign first as a regent and then as a ruler. Here some authorities are cited:-

"'Abd Allāh, son of Iskandar, the greatest Prince of this dynasty, was born in 1532 at Āfarīnkent in Miyānkāl (an island between the two arms of the Zaratshān—the gold sprinkling river). Iskandar was at the time of the birth of the son, lord of Āfarīnkent; later probably after the death of one of his brothers<sup>2</sup> he migrated to Karmīna. There 'Abd Allāh first

(1) E de Zainbaur: Manuel de genealogie, etc., 1927. Hanover p. 270.

(2) Perhaps this refers to Rustam Bahādūr Khān, the son of Jānī Beg (vide pp. 47-63), who ruled for some time in Karmīna, etc., and built for his spiritual director, Qāsim Shaikh 'Azizān a Khānqah at Karmīna praised by the great traditionist and exegetist Khwaja Iṣfahānī thus:

لوحش الله ز آب کر مینہ می جنت شراب کر مینہ

and died of a wound in the battle of Nasaf (circa 958/1551), p. 63.

Our author mentions one Fadli Naushād as a young living poet who caught the public gaze and acquired quick fame by his qasida, in praise of Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān in which every first hemistich gives a chronogram for the birth of the ruler and the corresponding second hemistich, the regnal year. Unfortunately an example of it could not be cited. Nithārī quotes his chahar bahri and his own reply thereto (p. 488). He was a patron of men of letters and skilled persons whom he rewarded lavishly. The author expressed the hope that his benefactions would multiply.

- (2) Jawānmard 'Alī Khān b. Abū Sa'īd Khān, brother of the aforesaid Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān poetically called Kohkan (pp. 85-7). Like the former he is also mentioned under living rulers. In history he is regarded as the last ruler of the sub-dynasty of Samarqand (980-986) which was put an end to by 'Abd Allāh Bahādūr Khān. This is another serious anachronism for the account of the book said to have been completed in 974/1566 goes further. Our author speaks of him as a gallant young man. He was a patron of the literati, sincerely devoted to saintly persons, especially Shaikh Khudā'idad, the spiritual adviser of his father, with whom also he maintained happy relations. He liked the company of the learned. He was an adept in the art of writing riddles (معما) enigmas (لغز) and excelled many poets in writing chronograms.

تخصیصش در فن معما بوجه آکیل بوده و تحلیلی ترکیبات مشکله را تسهیل

نموده و در گفتن تاریخ از شعراء گوی فصاحت بچوگان بلاغت می ر بوده (p. 86)

By way of illustration, examples of each are given (pp. 86-87).  
He is repeatedly mentioned as the patron of men of letters and skilled persons.

مری فضلا است (p. 85) طبع لطیف سلطنت پناهی بفضلا میل تمام دارد (p. 86)

از الطاف عمیمش عموم فضلا را بهره مند ساخته اهل هنر را احترام می نماید (p. 86)

Certain statements of Nithārī in respect of the two Khāqāns, Iskandar Bahadur Khan and 'Abd Allāh Khan require further elucidation in the light of history. According to Barthold, "The father (Iskandar), grandfather (Jani Beg) and great grandfather (Khw. Muḥammad or Khojoghōm, the son of Abu'l Khair) of this ruler of genius ('Abd Allāh Khān) are all described as very ordinary, almost stupid men."<sup>1</sup> Zainbaur takes the cue from Barthold and remarks about Iskandar thus: 'Un imbecile,

(1) W. Barthold, vide article on 'Abd Allāh Khān, Ency., of Islam, Vol. I, p. 1913, reproduced verbatim in the new edition, Vol. I, p. 25.



Before discussing the role of 'Abd Allāh Bahādūr Khān, let us deal with the following two members of the ruling dynasty as stated by Nithārī:-

- (1) Abu'l Fath Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān b. Abū Sa'īd Khān b. Kuchunji Khān b. Abu'l Khair (pp. 81-85). It is to be noted that our author mentions him under "rulers who are still ascendant on the throne," when in history books, he is the ruler of the sub-dynasty of Samarqand from 975 A.H. to 980 A.H.<sup>1</sup> This appears to be an anachronism for the author completed his book in 974 A.H. He speaks of this ruler as follows:

بادشا هیست نیکو شمائل و خصائل و طبع لطیفش به عدالت مایل اهل سمرقند از  
ثمره شجره التفاتش محظوظ اند و خواص و عوام در کنف حمایتش محظوظ (p. 81)

He was the sincere believer of Hazrath-i-īshān.<sup>2</sup> His spiritual guide was Shaikh Husain Khwārazmī, whose necrology is given on pp. 81-84. This Shaikh died while returning from hajj in Shām. It is related that, when his spiritual adviser dug a canal in a village called Shaṭrī, the ruler helped him by hewing down huge massive stones. The Shaikh was mighty pleased and called him *کوهکن ما* "Our hewer of stones." The ruler adopted this appellation "Kohkan" as his pen-name. Specimens of his poetry are given (pp. 84-5).<sup>3</sup> The Shaikh dissuaded him from calling on him frequently as this would stand in his administrative work. Kohkan versified this remonstrance in a piece of poem, the last couplet of which runs thus:

شیرین دهنا خاطر خود در نجه مفر ما هر لحظه به کوی نواگر کوهکن آید

It is said that this whole poem was set to music and this musical score was the rage of the assemblage in his days.

مصنقان در صورت دلکش باین آیات ترنم می نمایند و به نعمات ملایم دل می  
ربایند (p. 85)

(1) Lanepole: Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 272; E de Zaubaur: Manuel de Geneologie de Chronologie pour l' 'Histoire de l' Islam, etc., 1927-Hanovre, p. 270.

(2) "The Persian pronoun third person plural is used in Turkestān in the meaning of Shaikh, *murshid*, *ustādh*, *pir* teacher, guide in contrast to *murīd*, adherent, pupil; the celebrated Khodja Ahrār (d. 895=1490 in Samarqand) is always called *īshān* in biography. For details article on *īshān* by W. Barthold Ency. of Islam, Vol. II, p. 533.

(3) For further poems of "Kohkan" cf., *Nafā'is al Ma'āthir*, Aligarh MS. f. 163ab.

It is said that Shaikh Jalāl, already mentioned above, as the spiritual director of Abu'l Ghāzī 'Abd al Azīz Khān (947-956/1540-1549) related to Nithārī the incident of trees bowing before Shaikh 'Imād al Dīn Faḍl Allāh b. Khwājā 'Alā al Dīn 'Alī b. Khwājā Kamāl al Dīn Ni'mat Allāh Buzdashabādi al Tūsi, one of the great spiritual successors of Shaikh Hājī Muḥammad Khabushānī. When the author communicated this information to the ruler, Iskandar Bahādur Khān observed:

شیخ جلال صورت نیاز خود را مشاهده کرد اما بمضمون کریمه والنجم  
والشجر یسجدان سجده از درخت غریب نیست (p. 238)

He maintained religious institutions and he was of an extremely generous disposition. He always enjoyed the company of savants and saints to their mutual advantage and ever tried to give solace and comfort to them.

بیت لولفه صحبت خان از وساوس جمع می سازد دلم

رخنه بر یا جوج بستن خاصه اسکندر است (p. 5)

He never made a promise which he did not fulfil. He was punctilious in the observances of religious matters. He promoted peace and prosperity among his subjects who were spread over his vast empire extending from Māwarā al Nahr to Harat and even far flung Kāshghar. (p. 6)

Above all Bukhārā, his capital city, flourished under him in a remarkable manner.

به تخصیص خطه بخارا حجت عن البلیا به یمن مقدم شریفش در شک سائر بلاد

گردیده مرجع اکابر دین و جمع افضل روی زمین است (p. 6)

The author ends this section with the avowed hope and sincere prayer for the continuance of this just and benevolent rule.

As for 'Abd Allāh Khān, his second dedicatee, Nithārī in his section just remembers him with a long imposing list of his full royal titles (p. 10) and ardently hopes that his book will receive his royal approbation.

این نسخه دلکشا که بنموده بحال پاکیزه تراست نظمش از آب زلال

خواهم که ز لطف خسرو دهر رسد بوجه حسن معانی او بکمال

(p. 11)

The author has not recorded a single event of his glorious reign. He has not even mentioned how these two rulers were related to one another. He presumes that the reader knows that they were both father and son, the former as de jure and the latter as de facto ruler.

yasak, already referred to above, namely, division of the empire into a number of appanages among the several members of the ruling dynasty; election of the eldest as *Khāqān*, who usually assumed leadership of the rest of the rulers in their own right; the appointment of the heir apparent, *Kaigha*, among them, who, in his turn, became the *Khāqān* and the Prince, who was elected *Khāqān*, always retained his hereditary principality and usually lived in his former capital and naturally paid more attention to the town he resided in than the official capital of the kingdom and the 'noble' *Bukhārā*, taking rank with other towns, Samarqand, Tāshkent and Balkh as the headquarters of successive chiefs. Moreover, a reference to the history of this period explains in unmistakable terms this rather ticklish problem of dedication as well as the other intriguing situation, namely our author's studied silence, while dealing with other members of the ruling dynasty, because their relations are a somewhat tangled story.

*Nīhārī* gives the following details about Iskandar Bahādur Khān,<sup>1</sup> the first dedicatee in a section called *در مناقبت عالی* (p. 3). He is at his best in his account of this ruler, his real patron, which is written in an elegant manner and in a felicitous style. Making all allowances for the usual exaggeration and hyperbole on such occasions as his enumeration of long titles of this ruler under whom he was employed and whose patronage he sought for, the impression given is that the ruler was a mystical person, mad after spiritual powers rather than temporal, and that he was a devout follower of the *Naqshbandī* order. He began to tread upon the path of self-abnegation even from his young age, with an ever increasing constancy of purpose; that his kingship did not stand in the way of his spiritual journey.

در زمان شباب که محل شباب نفس است به مشتهیات طبیعی بمضمون حقیقه  
 الاسلام ذبح النفس بسیوف الحالفه عمل نموده توبه متابعت سلسله شریفه  
 خواجگان قدس الله ارواحهم که اقرب طرق است نسبت به وی مشرف گشته  
 باوجود روح روی افزای سلطنت بی هوش نمی زده اندویای اقامت  
 در سالک استقامت نهاده ملتفت ناشده نظر از قدم نمی داشته در کثرت شغل  
 سلطنت هیچ مشغله را از احوام مسئله توحید نشناخته بوحدهت وجود پرداخته ،  
 علم خلوت در انجمن می افراشته اند بیت :

بله بجز ابدیت دلت صورت کثرت صدف ساحلش (p. 4-5)

(1) Vide W. Barthold's article on Iskandar Khān. *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 535. According to Abu'l Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 84), the Khān had only two good qualities: he observed with painful exactitude all prescribed (*tarīda*) and recommended (*nāfila*) prayers and was unrivalled in his skill in falconry.

Shaṣval to Khorezm where I met Doṣṭ Mā. Khan, the ruler of Khorezm and his brother Ash Sultan, both sons of Budjuga. Their rival to the throne was Hadjim Khan who conquered both in turn and put them to death. I visited the graves of Najmuddin Kubra, Shaikh Ali Rametin, Molla Hussain Khorezmi, the expounder of the Koran. (He is apparently different from Shaikh Husain Khwārazmī, the spiritual director of Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān b. Abū Sa'īd Khān (pp. 81-84) who, accompanied by his son, Shaikh Sharaf al Dīn Husain performed the ḥajj but, while returning, he died in Shām and was buried there, whereupon his son, on reaching Samarkand, succeeded his father as the spiritual director, and compiled his father's mystical sayings under the title جادة العالقيين = chronogram 970 A.H./1562). Here I heard that the holy Sheikh Abdul Latif, my spiritual adviser, died in the city of Wazir.<sup>1</sup> I at once made pilgrimage to his grave and cooked a pilaf (a rice dish) and wrote a chronogram in commemoration of his death." This is no other than Shaikh 'Abd al Laṭīf Jāmī, the son of Shaikh Sūfī 'Alī, the chief successor and son-in-law of Shaikh Ḥājī Muḥammad and a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad i Jām, discussed by Niṭhārī as one whom he had seen (pp. 364-368). He went on pilgrimage to Hijāz, visited the Sulṭān of Rūm (Suleimān Qānūnī, "the Magnificent") and accompanied him in his military expeditions. The Sulṭān of Rūm showered honours on him and heaped wealth before him which he gave away with own sacred hands.

رنگین نه از خزان شده سر پنجه چنار دست سحای تست زرافشان بر آمده  
(p. 367)

On return from his travels, he died in Khwārazm and was buried in the city of Wazir, near his spiritual master (p. 368). Obviously Sīdī 'Alī Reis became his *murīd* when he came in contact with him in Rūm.

#### ISKANDAR BAHADUR KHAN AND 'ABD ALLAH KHAN

Now we come to the reigns of Iskandar Bahādur Khān (968-991/1560-1583) and 'Abd Allāh Khān the Second (991-1006/1583-1598) as Khāqāns with Bukhārā as their capital. It may be noted that Niṭhārī dedicated his book, *Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb* (chronogram for 974 A.H./1566 A.D.) to both these rulers. On the face of it, it is peculiar and contrary to our accepted notions of dedication that two contemporaneous rulers should be dedicatees for one and the same book. This otherwise ticklish problem is partly solved when we peep into the administrative set up of the Shaibanids, which was essentially based upon the Chingīzī custom, the *tūrā* and the

(1) The town of Wazir in Khwārazm was founded by Khān Muṣṭafā, the overlord of Uthmān b. Muḥammad Sūfī, a member of the native dynasty of Sūfī (which ruled over Khwārazm) about 868/1464.

Transoxiana, Khorasan, Kharezm, Deshtai Kiptchak, then by Meshhad, and the two Iraks, Kazwin and Hamadan to Bagdad." Among the many achievements of Suleimān, the Magnificent (1520-1566), whose 400th death anniversary is being celebrated this year by the United Nations Organisation, is the great naval activity of the Turkish fleet especially in the Mediterranean under Khair al Din Barabossa and in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean under Suleimān Pāshā. But Sidi Reis has gone down in naval history along with his colleague Piri Reis for his expedition and adventures in the Indian Ocean. Here some of the experiences of Sidi Reis in Transoxiana bearing upon the period under discussion are set forth.<sup>1</sup> "At the time of my arrival, Abdul Latif Khan, the ruler of Samarkand was dead (d. 959=1551) and Borak Khan had taken his place (correctly Nawrūz Ahmad Khān), the same Borak Khan to whom His Majesty the Padishah = Suleimān the Magnificent (926-974/1520-1566) had sent cannons and guns through Shaikh Abdul Latif (the Dubash).... Pir Md. Khan in Balkh and Burhan Seid Khan in Bokhara declared their independence and Borak's first business was to settle this matter with Burhan Khan, an uncle of Obaidallah (correctly he was a grandson of 'Ubaidallah) who reigned only for a short time and died in 964/1556) .... When Borak Khan entered Samarkand (after its capture) he communicated to me all this, (Sultān Suleimān's despatch of Janisaries under Ahmad Tchaush from Constantinople to Samarkand to support the authority of the Eastern Turks); he added 'I am now a hair before his Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, for I can do nothing (and wanted my help to oust Seid Burhan completely out of power). He decided to send Sadri Alam, a descendant of Ahmad Jesawi (Yesawi, founder of the Yesawi branch of the Naqshbandi order) with a letter expressing his loyalty to the Sultan.... In Samarkand I visited the graves of some important persons.....among them of Kazi zadeh of Rum.<sup>2</sup> Borak Khan apologised to me, for his son, Khorezm Shah, (correctly Khw Sultān<sup>3</sup> son of Nawrūz Ahmad Khān) made peace with Seid Burhan through the medium of the Ghidjiwani Abdul Sultan. Thus peace and security were once more restored.... When I stayed in Bokhara, Seid Burhan gave me a banquet and visited me every day for a fortnight. Here I visited the graves of Bahauddin Nakshbandi, Seid Mir Kalal (the spiritual head of Bahauddin, etc. .... end of

(1) Vide p. 68 et seq. Mir'āt al Mamlūk (Mirror of Kingdoms) of the gallant Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis - translated by A. Vamberv, London Luzac & Co 1899 & Ency. of Islam article Suleiman, I, p. 525.

(2) Qādi zāda Rūmī was one of the famous astronomers who helped Ulūgh Beg in the construction of his world famous Observatory - Mudhakkiri Aḥbāb, p. 8.

(3) S. Lanepole — Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 270.

According to Nithāri, he died of a wound in the battle of Naṣaf at the age of 54 with the following lines on his lips:-

آن کو مرا بفضل تن و عقل و جان بداد زان پیش کلید از من بیچاره بندگی  
با آنکه جز گناه نسکردم دی مرا بی نعمی نماید در ایام بندگی  
شاید که لطف باز نگردد بوقت مرگ هنگام بی کسی وزمان فگندگی  
(pp. 62-3).

Nithāri does not give the date of his death. Obviously this refers to the valiant resistance of the citadel of Karshī when attacked by 'Abd Allāh Khān of Bukhārā in 965/1558. Naṣaf is a town near Bukhārā (ancient Nakhshab where an artificial moon was made to rise and set as the term Māh-i-Nakhshab denotes) near Karshī, the summer encampment of the Mongols who erected palaces.<sup>2</sup> Karshī = (Turkish) places. He lies buried near the bridge of Shaburghān besides his spiritual master, Shams Khalaf (p-63).

NAWRUZ AHMAD KHAN AND PIR MUHAMMAD:

'Abd al Latīf Khān (947-959/1540-1551) was succeeded by Nawrūz Ahmad Khān, the son of Suyunij Khān as the Khāqān with Tāshqand (also known at that time as Tāshkent) as his capital. He ruled for 4 years (959-963/1551-1555) followed by Pīr Muḥammad, the son of Jānī Beg, the ruler of Balkh, as the Chief Khān from 963-968/1555-1560. Their contemporary was Burhān Sulṭān (961-964/1553-1556), the ruler of the sub-dynasty of Bukhārā. Nithāri is reticent about them apparently because insubordination among the ruling class started soon after the death of 'Abd al Latīf Khān and a clear evidence of this is found when we read the travels of Sidi 'Ali Reis, the Turkish admiral, who entered Transoxiana in Rajab 963/1555 and left it in Shawwāl of the same year. To quote A. Vambery:

"The incidents connected with his reign (Nawrūz Ahmad Khān) are more valuable to us, as we find no mention of them elsewhere."

It may be observed in passim that in 960/1552 Sidi 'Ali Reis (= Sidi Reis) was appointed an admiral of the Egyptian fleet to avenge the terrible defeat by the Portuguese. He started from the court of the Sulṭān of Turkey at Aleppo in Ramadān 960 (1552) and travelled through "Gujrat, Hind, Sind, Balkh, Zabulistan, Bedakshan, Kotlan, Turan and Iran, through

(1) Vide Barthold article on 'Iskandar Khān.' Ency. Islam, Vol. III, p. 535. He died on Wednesday 1st Jumada II, 991 (22nd June 1583). "Pādishah-i-darwīshān" Prince of dervishes is the chronogram of his death.

(2) V. Minorsky article on 'Nasaf.' Ency. of Islam, Vol. III, p. 840.

شرف گردید با وجود نسبت سیادت طاهره و سلطنت طاهره بمضمون الطریقه  
کلیها آداب عمل نموده هر یکا مولانا تعلیم را از پامی کشیده آن را گرفته درصف  
نعال هر یا استاده بزبان حال مترجم این مقال بوده بیت :

اگر بصدور جلالم بر تند سر نقر ازم اگر بصف نعالم کنند عار فلدا رم (p. 51-2)

and on his death under (2) Qāsim Shaikh 'Azīzān (alive at Soghd in 974 A.H.)

بعد از وفات مولانا با اعزه و محادیم عظام ملاقات کرده بافاده و استفاده مشغول  
گشته برویشان زمان مصاحبت می نمود به تخصیص مرشد زمان و مقتدای

دوران قاسم شیخ عزیزان سلمه الله الخ (p. 52)

for whom a Khanqāh was built at Kirmine. خانقاه قطب الزمان is the  
chronogram 966/1558. It was personally visited by our author. He drank  
deep at the fount of mysticism and no wonder that he progressed well  
therein. Soon he began to show extraordinary spiritual powers. One such  
personal observation of the author is recorded :

واز خان مذکور مکاشفات ظاهری شد - روزی باستراحت مشغول بود و این فقیر  
پیش ایشان نشسته محرمانه سخن می گفت در اثنای تکلم چشم پوشید و فقیر را  
فرودگی دست داد این بیت بخاطر خطور کرد بیت :

قبول خاطر اندر دست کس نیست

بمقبولی کسی را دست رس نیست

حرفی که تجدید اختیار نمودند و مقبول مزاج نیفتاد اگر به یکی از ملازمان که  
مناسب باشد بدهند بعید نخواهد بود باز گفته شد که مزاج بی انقلاب نیست  
معلوم نیست که باین مقید شود خان مذکور از نوم به یقظه مشغول گشته فرمودند  
که مردم طور سخنان بخاطر می رسانند اگر اظهار آن بکنیم می باید داد و اگر بدهیم  
بی قبلی نیست و اگر اظهار نکنیم می گویند که رستم دیوانه است (pp. 59-60)

In fine, he practised mysticism well.

و علم تصوف را بیکروز زینده بود (p. 62)

He was no mean poet of Persian and Turki and his later day poems  
are saturated with high mystical thoughts.

سخنانش چاشنی باند داشت (p. 62)

امتیاز ذات باشکوهش در گروه سلاطین زیاده ازان بود که رستم داستان در جمع  
 پهلوانان داشته چوب دستی او هیجده من بود کرز گران سنگش شش من بود  
 He himself composed the following lines in praise of his massive mace called  
 "fil paikar" thus:-

گرز رستم بوزن شش من بود - گوئیا قلعه دماون بود  
 از برای غزاة رهبر شد نام او گرز فیل پیکر شد (p. 61)

The following lines of Nithāri are inscribed on it:-

شاه رستم چون بگیرد پیل پیکر را بدست  
 بست سازد روز میدان پیکر پیلان مست  
 بر سر هر کس که آمد بر سر آمد روزگار  
 هر کرا زد بر کمر دیگر کمر هر گز نه بست

His sword and bow are praised respectively by our author thus:-

جای نهنگ بحرو و عجب این که تیغ تو بحر است و می کنند نهنگان از و فرار<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \*

چون کان رستم ثانی درین عالم کم است گر بود قوس قزح آن هم کان رستم است

"*Kaman-i-Rustam*" is another word for the rainbow.

He was entrusted with the governance of such places like Soghd and Balkh but, due to his mystical tendencies and, by virtue of his family connection with the Sayyid family of Badakshān, he relinquished it and spent most of his time happily, doing spiritual exercises under the direction of such eminent spiritual guides as (1) Maulānā Zain Salaf suggested, on royal request by Nithāri and duly recommended by Nithāri's father.

با وجود آنکه همگی سفدیخان رستم نشان میسر شده ترک آن کرده در کمال  
 ریاضت قیام می نمود و بعد ازان سلطنت بلخ میسر شد فقیر ملازم موکب  
 همایونش بار که عالی درآمد سریر شاهی ملتفت نگشت و چون ابراهیم ادهم  
 از دور گذشت

با وجود آنکه در بزم شباب از جام سلطنت شرب مدام می نمود در عالم ملک  
 بی هوش دم نمی زد... بعد ازان خان مذکور بشرف متابعت و مباحثت مولانا

(1) These lines are quoted in *Nafaisal Ma'āthir* under Nithāri Bukhāri.



course with the metropolis being maintained by means of some 300 asses plying for hire" (Vambery).

The following poets flourished under 'Abd al Aziz Khān:-

(1) Khw. Rukn al Din Mihna, poetically called *Āthim*, آثم When the ruler went to Balkh with an army, he wrote the following chronogram:

در پناه خدای بیچون باد ( = ۹۰۰ ) ( p. 236 )

Obviously this refers to insurgence of Pir Muhammad Khān in Balkh who subsequently declared independence.

(2) Maulānā Shaidā ( pp. 348-50 ). He was one of the relatives of Maulānā Qiyām al Din Balkhī who was an eminent scholar, famous for his teaching of exact sciences and study of fiqh and exegesis, a teacher of Nithārī also in astronomy and astrology :-

این کمینه را بواسطه شفقت بدرجه احسن تقویم نامه رسانیده هنوز درس  
وقوف بود که کوکب مستقیم حیاتش از صعود بهبوط مائل گشته از اوج به  
حضيض رجعت نمود ( pp. 348-9 )

But Shaidā was a popular poet of long standing and was for some time in the service of Bābur. He was well known for his ex tempore performances. His poems, like his face, evoked laughter. Once 'Abd al 'Aziz Khān wanted to teach Mullā Baqā'ī a lesson, who instead of taming the shrew, his nagging wife, vented his spleen on fellow-poets. The ruler arranged a *mushā'ira* and he himself initiated it with the following line:

ای به بالا ها که بی دانی تو گلی ما همان که بی دانی

Many poets participated in it. At one stage Shaidā's lines on Baqā'ī's wife threw the whole gathering in laughter. Baqā'ī was floored.

اهل مجلس شگفته منبسط گشته ، شهیدا را بانعام ممتاز گردانیدند ( p. 350 )

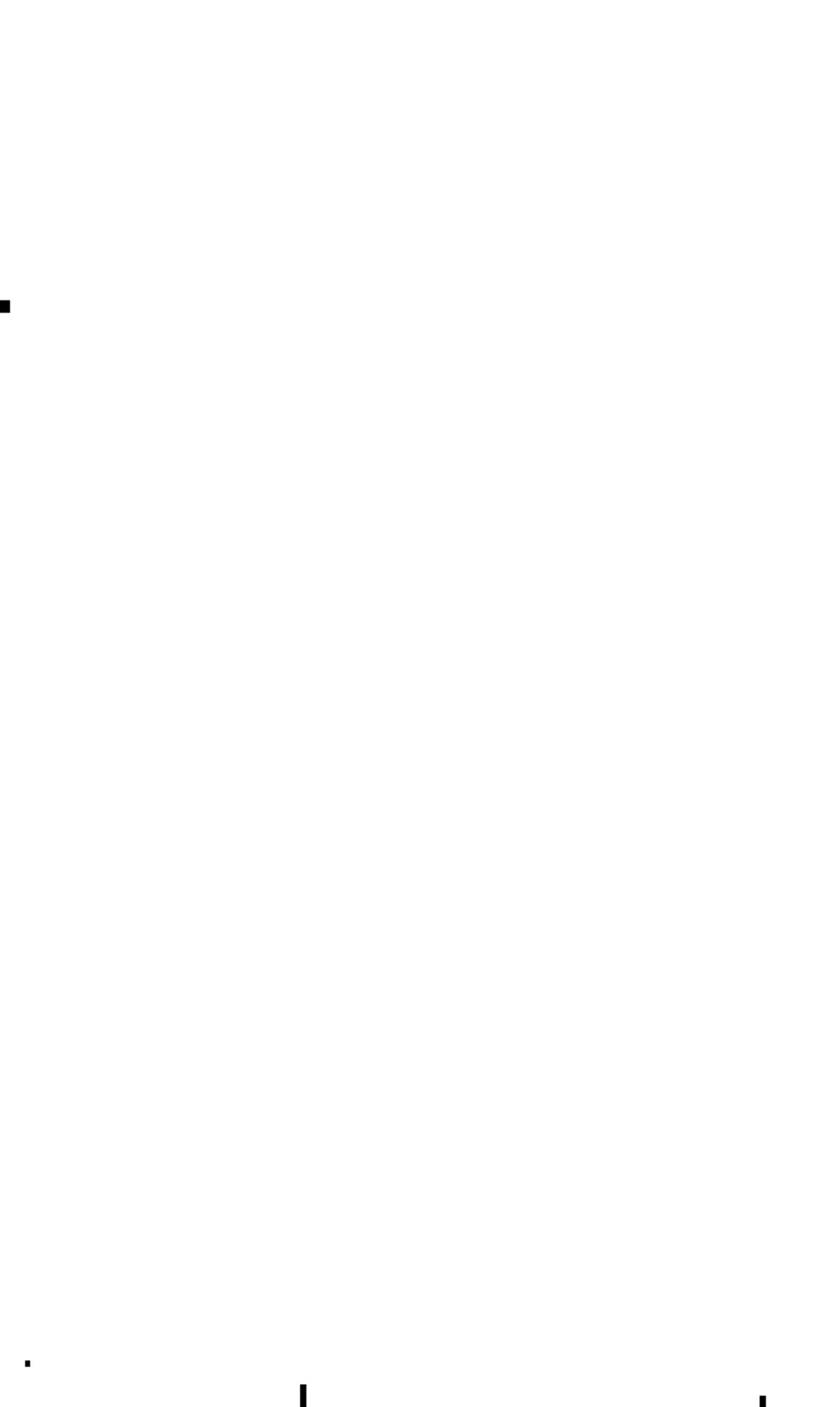
#### RUSTAM BAHĀ UR KHĀN

His full name is Abu'ī Muẓattar Rustam Bahādur Khān b. Jānī Beg Sulṭān b. Khojoghom Sulṭān b. Abu'l Khair Khān ( pp. 47-63 ). He was the junior contemporary of both 'Abd al Laṭīf Khān and 'Abd al 'Aziz Khān and a minor ruler. Nithārī relates of him from personal knowledge. He was in his court. His brother, 'Abd al Salām b. Khwājā Pāshā was Shaikh al Islām under him ( p. 515 ). He was known for his physical prowess. The Khān has written a verse about himself thus:

منم رستم آن شهر یار دلیر - ترسم ز تر اژدها و ز شیر

He was fond of wielding maces.

(1) Vide his Travels in Central Asia, p. 364.





Durbar Scene of Sultān 'Abdal 'Azīz Khān of Bukhārā (947-957, 1540-1550). Reproduced by the kind permission of the Director, Salarjung Museum and Library Hyderabad from a rare Persian MS. Raudatal Muhibbīn—A Nm 1116 No. 988 Jade Room, Copied in 950 A.H. by Mirak Kitabdar (Librarian) for the Royal Library. The same Scribe copied the Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb in 980 A.H. the oldest copy in the world preserved in the 'Aligarh Muslim University.

مذهبان و مصورانش تذهیب و تصویر را بدرجه کمال رسانیده بسر موی روی می آراستند که در چهره کشای سرموی نقصان نداشت و هر گه که اسپ جادو می ساختند گویا بصر می پردازختند - هر يك در فن خویش ثانی مانی و بهزاد زاده بودند (p. 79-80)

The custodian of the Imperial Library was Sulṭān Mīrak Munshī about whom Nithārī records thus :

کتاب دار فضایل مآب مولانا سلطان میرک منشی بود که علمی و عملی خط و نقاشی را چنان ورزیده بود که وصفش به تحریر نمی گنجد نظم :

وصف تحریر و شرح تذهیبش

هست بیرون زحیر تقریر

و این بیت را نقش رنگین خود ساخته بود

سلطان میرک ز لطف یاری عم منشی وهم کتابداری<sup>۱</sup> (p. 80)

According to Nithārī, the Khān died on Wednesday—26th Rabi' II 956 A.H. at the age of 41 but the chronogram of Amīr Sayyid Mīrak quoted by him: حیف از عبد العزیز خان gives 958 as the date of his death. He was buried beside his father in the Khānqāh of Khw. Bahā al Dīn Naqshbandī (now a village called Bevedin two leagues from Bukhārā) "whither pilgrimages are made from the most remote parts of Bukhārā, where it was the practice of Bukhārā to go thither every week, inter

(r) 'Alā al Daulā Kāmī Qazwīnī, who draws largely upon the Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb, states in his Nafāis al Ma'āthir thus:-

کتابخانه او مشهور است که در زمان او در ربع مسکون مثل آن نبوده و الحاق کسی را که کاتب نادره زمان و اعجوبه دوران ملک الکتاب مولانا میر علی بوده چنین بود علی الخصوص که می گویند که کتابخانه بادشاه منصور سلطان حسین میرزا بدست او افتاده بود شعر :

بهر ز کتاب در جهان یاری نیست در نمکده زمانه هم خواری نیست  
هر لحظه از او بگوشه تنهایی صد راحت هست هرگز آزاری نیست

و خیر جلیس فی الزمان الکتاب (ق ۱۲۵ الف وب نمبر ۴۰/۹۲۰ سبحان الله علی گڑه) محرره سنه ۱۰۸۵ هـ

The ruler was a great patron of savants and poets and was of a very generous disposition. He was good at naskh. He was of a poetic temperament. He wrote excellent poetry under the pen-name 'Azizi.' His two complete ghazals, one in Persian and another in Turki, written in reply to those of Kamrān Pādishāh (d), son of Bābur, are reproduced (pp. 75-78).

It is stated that, in spite of many political disturbances, (obviously insubordination among supporters of the ruling class), he paid attention to architecture. He enriched Bukhārā with some magnificent buildings, especially the Khānqāh and the Khaṭira of Khwājai Buzūrgwār, namely Khw Bahā al Dīn Naqshbandī (now a village called Bavedin).

که بغایت خوش و دلکش و افیع شده (p. 78)

Nithārī has contributed one qaṣīda in its praise the opening line of which is

کعبه است ابن خاتمه زان سرور انور و صفاست

سدره گر خود را با یوانش رساند منتهاست (p. 70)

and also a nice chronogram

لفظا و معنا شود تاریخ او بسال بھرت نہصد و پنجاہ و یک = ۹۵۱ (p. 79)

This was visited by Sidī Ali Reis, the Turkish Admiral, seven years later.

This ruler was a great lover of books. He is to be ranked next to Bāysonghor, son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr, one of the greatest bibliophiles of Persia, nay of the whole Muslim world, who died at the age of thirty-six in 837 1433, having founded a library in which forty copyists, pupils of Mīr 'Alī, the inventor of the nasta'liq, were appointed to copy manuscripts, and given to the world a critical edition of the Shāhnāma of Firdawsī with a preface. Obviously under his influence, this ruler also founded a library which is described by Nithārī thus:

کتاب خانہ داشت کہ معلوم نیست کہ در ربع مسکونی در آن وقت مثل او بود

باشد و ملک الکتابش میر علی حسینی بود کہ کتابت نستعلیق را بی بدل می نمود

و ریخان خطش غبار از چشم بیننده می زدود و باقی کتاب بخط صفائی آبیات

در نظامات جاری کردند (p. 79)

He was not himself an artist, a designer and an illuminator of books, like Bāysonghor but he patronised craftsmen of books.

(1) Vide his travels (p. 78).

who was the chief Khān at Samarqand. Nithārī says that he was in his service for some time, especially as Šadar under him.

مدتی فقیر در ملازمت آن سلطنت پناهی می بود و هرگز بخلاف ادب چیزی  
از ایشان در نظر نمی نمود

This fact is borne out in the incident of the gift horse, with a defect in the eye, by 'Abd al 'Aziz Khān under the chieftainship of 'Abd al Latif, to the saintly person, 'Abd al Haq, the patron saint of Kāmran Pādishāh, on his visit to Bukhārā, the ...rage of the saint and the role of Nithārī, etc., (pp. 108, 9). In spiritualism he was the disciple of Shaikh Jalāl (d. 961-1554),<sup>1</sup> who was the disciple of Maulanā Shams al Dīn Muḥammad Rūhī, the maternal grandson of Jāmī.<sup>2</sup> The Khān acquired religious knowledge from such an eminent person like Nāṣir al Dīn Muḥammad b. Qiwām al Dīn 'Abdallāh (84 years and alive in 974/1567).

خدمت ملا به هشتاد و چهار رسیده و با وجود کبر سن و کثرت امراض درس  
بر دوام می گویند و خواص و عوام از خوان فائده و افاده پر فائده از ایشان می کردند  
(p. 72)

His antecedents and attainments are related with special emphasis upon his "chain of handjoining" which goes up to the Prophet Muḥammad (p. 72-73). According to the Ṣufis, the Prophet has indicated the significance of handshaking thus :-

من صافحتی صافحتہ یوم القيامة وجبت علی شفاعتہ و کذاک «من صافح عن صافحتی  
الی سبع مراتب صافحتہ یوم القيامة و رجبت شفاعتہ» هذا حدیث معتبر من  
المشائخ (p. 73)

Not satisfied with this, he had additional spiritual lessons from another Sūfī of high spiritual pedigree, Amīr Abu'l Baqā (alive aged 60 at the time of completion of the book 974/1567) whose achievements are also related.

له الحمد که اکنون در مسند خلافت ایشان متمکن گشته و طالبان را بکسب  
کمال ترغیب نموده سبب فتوحات می کردند و بمن شریفش به شصت رسیده  
است امید چنانست که مضاعف گشته ظل ظلیل ایشان مستطیل گردد (p. 73-74)

(1) Nithārī says that he died at the age of 70 and was buried in Khayābān. His chronogram of death is  $961 = \text{ور هر دین حق ز دنیا شد}$  (p. 71). For particulars of Shaikh Jalāl vide pp. 69-71.

(2) For additional information on Jāmī not available elsewhere vid pp. 64-69.

The author describes the natural beauty of Samargand and sheds light on its horticultural and pomological aspect especially the grapes for which it was famous in the world :-

سمرقند در ایام دولت و سلطنتش رشك بلاد شده بود و حدایقش خوشتر از باغ ارم می نمود (p. 42) حدایق وسیع دارد و اثمار بسیار و نیکو می شود و خوبی اعتبارش به تعریف راست نمی آید ع ذوق این می شناسی بخدا تا نه چشی (p. 46)

Sidi 'Alī Reis, the Turkish Admiral, who visited it in Sha'bān 963/1553 and met Nawrūz Aḥmad Khān (not Borak Khān), showers encomiums on Samargand which he calls it "a perfect paradise." "At the time of my arrival, Abdul Latif Khan, the ruler of Samargand, was dead (d. 959/1551) and Borak Khan had taken his place."<sup>1</sup>

Nithāri remarks that this ruler moved occasionally with poets and boon-companions. Obviously he was a serious minded person with a scientific outlook and shunned the company of those who were given to fulsome praise and cajolery. He wrote poems scarcely; only one verse and that too Turki is quoted.

گاهی بشعرا وند ما صحبت می داشت اما بشعر گمنی کم اشتغال می نمود (p. 44)

Our author is very particular in furnishing details of the spiritual directors of each ruler of the Shaibānī dynasty, all of whom were followers of the Naqshbandī Order:

سلسله الذهب حضرت خواجگان نقشبندیه قدس الله ارواحهم العالیه

e.g., Shaibānī Khān was the disciple of Khwāja Niẓam al Dīn Mīr Muhammad Naqshbandī, the grandson of Khwāja Baiā al Dīn Naqshbandī (p. 18); 'Ubaid Allāh Khān of Amīr 'Abd Allāh Yemenī (pp. 23, 24) but in the case of 'Abd al Latīf Khān, even though he speaks of him from personal knowledge and from close quarters, he is silent. It may be presumed that this ruler had spiritual affiliations with the saints of the Naqshbandī Order but was more concerned with exact sciences and not much bothered about matters connected with the high-soaring spirit and the 'bi-nishān' and the 'la-makān,' etc. Date of his death is not recorded. It is 959/1554.<sup>2</sup>

'ABD AL 'AZIZ KHAN, (947-956/1540-1549)

The son of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān (940-950/1533-1539) was the ruler of the sub-dynasty of Bukhārā, contemporaneous with 'Abd al Latīf Khān,

(1) Travels of Seid Ali Reis, Turkish Admiral translated by A. Vambery p. 69.

(2) Ende Zainbaur: Manuel de Genealogie, etc., p. 270.

'ABD AL LATIF KHAN, (947-959/1540-1551)

Here it may be added that 'Uba'id Allāh Khān's immediate predecessor, Abū Sa'īd Khān (936-940/1529-1533) and the two rulers in quick succession, 'Abd Allāh Khān the first (946-957/1539-1540) and 'Abd al Latīf Khān (947-959/1540-1551) were all sons of Kuchunji, the Khaqān (916-936/1512-1529), with Samarqand as their capital, while his own son, 'Abd al 'Azīz Khān (947-956/1540-1548), continued to rule from Bukhārā. Nīthārī is silent about 'Abd Allāh who ruled for a year or so but he gives a very intimate account of 'Abd al Latīf Khān and of Samarqand which flourished in his rule based on his own personal experiences thus:-

فقير صفات حميده ازان جناب بسيار مشاهده نموده (p. 44)

He was of mild disposition and he eschewed force as far as possible. He encouraged the company of the learned and showed the greatest consideration to the reciters of the Holy Qur'ān. His rule was characterised by proper administration of justice. He divided his time and worked according to schedule. He was a strickler and a punctualist. About his marvellous power of memory it is stated:

حافظه نوي داشت چيزي كه بسمع شريفش رسيدى يا منظور نظر كيميا اثرش  
گشتى در خاطر عاظر نشسته بزودى از صفحه ضمير مهر تنويرش محو نگشتى (p. 44)

He was well versed in history. He had fascination for astronomy. As a matter of fact he maintained the famous Observatory of Ulugh Beg killed 853/1449 at Samarqand and improved appreciably the status of the astronomers.

خان كيوان رفعت بر محيس خصلت را بواسطه نسبت فرزندى سلطان شهيد  
السخ بيگ كورگان نورالله مررده بامنجمان عطار د فطنت نظر محبتى بود  
و كوكب طالع ايشان بواسطه آن نظر محبت اثر از حضيض مذلت باوج عزت  
صعود نمود و در دوره تدوير راحت مستقيم مرثى مى شد و از زوال و هبوط  
مصئون و محفوظ بود (p. 44-45)

The ruler promoted sound scholarship and solid research. Consequently Samarqand showed its pristine glory as the seat of learning humming with research activities.

درو علما و فضلا بسيار بوده اند اکتون نیز دارالعلوم است و موالى انجا بیشتر  
حقیقه اشتغال مى نمایند (p. 44-45)



Allāh Khān, for whom he rendered yeomen service. When Khwārazm was captured, he wrote a congratulatory poem in which he offered a cavalry of thousand men on condition the ruler gave him the fortress of Hazārasp punning on the word 'hazār and 'asp.' He was an expert on the art of composition and drafting of letters. He went to India and died there (pp. 339-340).

- (15) Mir Muḥammad Munshī, a famous Sayyid who wrote a fragment on the accession of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān containing the striking chronogram معین الدین عید الله بن محمود شیبانی = 940 A.H. (p. 395).
- (16) Sarwarī, son of Hāfiz Mirāthī (already noticed on p. 212). He was the accredited Wāqī'ā-nawīs of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān and recipient of several royal favours. He was the cynosure of all eyes, for he had access to the royal harem. He was good at kutaba script (pp. 398-9).
- (17) Shaikh Zakariā, the descendant of Khwāja Aḥmad Yesawī, the founder of the Central Asian branch of the Naqshbandī order. He was held in high esteem by the ruler (p. 402).
- (18) Şāleḥ, the famous Mufti of long standing of Kermine, who combined in his person both scholarship and piety of a high order. He was very popular with the people of Soghd. خان جهانگیر = 940 A.H. is his interesting chronogram for 'Ubaid Allāh Khān's accession (pp. 410-411).
- (19) Mir Muḥammad Bāqir Yemenī, the famous son of his more famous father, Amir 'Abd Allāh Yemenī, already noticed before. The latter came directly under the spiritual influence of the Khwājai Aḥrār and, in turn, influenced the ruling Khāns. In his young age, both by virtue of eminent family and personal attainments, he attracted the attention of the ruler, who gave him utmost respect and others followed suit. Occasionally he imparted instruction in his own Madrasa founded by his father known as Madrasai-Mir 'Arab. He had a flair for calligraphy. When Nithāri celebrated a certain event, he, on his part, composed a poem in imitation of the na'th-i-muḥammad of Khwāja 'Iṣmat. He wrote under the pen-name Yemenī. His best ghazal is quoted and really it is the best. He was alive at the time of the completion of this taḥkīra (972 A.H.) (pp. 418-421).
- (20) Şawtī, the renowned mutazzin of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān engaged in the royal mosque of Ark, Bukhārā. He had a craze for collecting poems (p. 446).
- (21) Mīrzā Dost Muḥammad, son of Utūnān, the treasurer, who distinguished himself in the service of his royal master (pp. 451-2).

- Allāh Khān heaped favours on him. He laid a garden for the ruler (pp. 284-5). He was of a very generous disposition (pp. 283-6).
- (10) Mīr 'Alī Kātib, the famous calligrapher, who, in the opinion of some of his contemporaries, was superior to Sultān 'Alī Mashhādī but he truly adjudged himself inferior to his master. He commemorated the accession of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān in a fragment with the chronogram..... **والى ملك عميد الله خان** (= 940) He was an adept in writing poems containing Izhāri Muḍmar. Two examples relating to Bābur are given. In his wake, Nithāri wrote two rubā'is on Bābur in the same strain. He appeared in a dream of Mīrzā Beg Diwān, wazīr of Satirān and gave the date of his own death in a chronogram **میر علی فوت شدہ** = 951 A.H. He lived for about 80 years. He was buried near the grave of Shaikh al-'Ālam in Fatehābād, Bukhāra (pp. 295-297).
- (11) Afsarī, a bilingual poet of Persian and Turkī, of the court of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān, who considered himself as second only to the great Chaghataī poet 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (d. 906) and wrote poems in Turkī with "Thāni" as his pen-name. His Turkī lines are quoted; among them is a mu'ammā (pp. 300-301).
- (12) Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hādī Pārsā, son of Khwāja Abū Naṣr Thānī, third in descent from the famous mystic, Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā. He adorned for a long time the post of Shaikh al-Islām of Balkh. On account of his social service, he was extremely popular with all classes of people. When 'Ubaid Allāh Khān returned from Herat, he wrote a complimentary ghazal praising the ruler as "the promoter of religion, defender of faith." etc. (pp. 319-321).
- (13) 'Isām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, a great scholar and teacher of Arabic, an authority on rhetoric and master of several works on diverse subjects. He spent most of his day in teaching and wrote incessantly in the night. During the composition of his famous exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān, prophets like Adam and Joseph appeared in his dreams and helped him clear his doubts concerning themselves. It is recorded that 'Ubaid Allāh Khān sent his Arabic quatrain to him for his approval; for his complete Arabic ghazal (vide, pp. 38-39). On his part, the Maulānā wrote a commentary on it, between the short hours of 'Aṣr and Maghrib prayers, in which he gave six hundred and fifty-six meanings for one hemistich only. (pp. 321-323).
- (14) Amīr Nizām al-Dīn Muzaḥfar. He was for a long time attached to the court of Yāqūb Shāh (d. at the young age of twenty-three years in 898 A.H.). Then he sought the patronage of 'Ubaid

- (2) **Ḥusain 'Alī al Dīn**, a businessman, who had financial dealings with kings and the nobility. The ruler was indebted to him to the extent of four thousand tankas. As the amount was not forthcoming, he submitted, by way of a mild reminder, a Persian quatrain written in a very subtle manner playing upon the words 'farz' and 'qarz.' The Khān was mightily pleased and he discharged the loan with suitable rewards for his ready wit (pp. 166-167).
- (3) **Ḥāfiz Mīrāthī**, the royal Imām. Both he and the ruler were well-versed in the art of reciting the Holy Qur'ān by seven different methods (قرأت سبعة). Both were calligraphists, the former a specialist in kutaba and the latter in naskh. His verses disclose that the ruler strictly enforced prohibition of wine but the proverbial offender was the custodian of law. He died in the battle of Turcoman (p. 212).
- (4) **Qātlī**, a notable poet known for his ingenuity (p. 224).
- (5) **Mīrzā Malālī**, the royal attendant of the Bunūn tribe, who was very friendly with the poet Mīrzā Qātil. He died young (p. 232).
- (6) **Mīrzā Hindū**, the royal attendant of Uzbek nobility. He showed his temerity in writing poems in praise of wine, to which he was apparently addicted, in the face of condign punishment by the law enforcing ruler.
- (7) **Kaukabī**, the renowned musician and musicologist of Bukhārā. He dedicated his 'Risalai Mūsīqī' to the ruler, not as a formality for the sake of royal patronage but because the dedicatee was himself a great expert in music already noticed before (pp. 27-28). His Persian poem on the theory of music is also quoted. While returning from the pilgrimage to Meshhad Imam Ridā, the highway robbers killed him (pp. 261-266). Obviously he is the same Kaukabī noticed in the Majālis un Nafāis (p. 100) and the Tuḥfai Sāmī (pp. 136-7) and is definitely other than Ḥasan Sipihri Kaukabī, the musician and author of musical works also noticed elsewhere (p. 318).
- (8) **Maulānā Muḥammad Amīn Zāhid**, a great divine and a wonder of his age, for whom 'Ubaid Allāh Khān had the highest regard. Once he invited the attention of the Khān to the high-handedness of the corrupt tax-collectors and obtained relief for the poor sufferers (pp. 278-280).
- (9) **Mīrak Sayyid Ghiāth** mentioned earlier as the famous horticulturist who laid a beautiful garden in the west of Bukhārā (pp. 37-8.) He was already famous in Herat when he came down to Bukhārā to fight the Qizilbāsh and settled there. 'Ubaid

he himself could not perform the Haj, as he eagerly wished, he sent at his own expense some scholars to the Holy Land. He died at the young age of 54 on Monday in the month of Zi'l Qa'da in 946 A.H., آه از حانی اهل دل عید الله خان is the chronogram of his death.

Here I may add that, due to religious differences, the contemporary historians like *Khwandamir*, *Hasan-i-Rūmlū* and *Iskandar Munshī* have depicted him as a diabolical monster without any trace of refinement whatsoever. However, *Sām Mīrzā*, though on inimical terms, includes him in his *taḥkīra* among Persian poets worth noticing and pays him the following tribute:—

در واقع این عید الله با وجود آنکه طبع خوب و ذهن مرغوب داشت و در سخاوت  
بی مثل و در شجاعت بی بدل بود باز بدین اخلاق ذمیه و اطوار نئیمه (عداوت  
بذریت حضرت رسول صلعم) مبادرت می نمود و باین همه شعری فرمودند این  
مطلع از وست بیت

دوست ساقی شد دلایم محبت نوش کن

نیست وقت گفتگو دم در کش و می نوش کن<sup>1</sup>

Both *Nīḥārī* and his father basked under the sunshine of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān's favours. A reference is already made to the promotion of his father to the trusteeship of the tomb of *Khwāja 'Abdallāh Anṣārī* in consideration of his services on the occasion of the capitulation of Herat. The author wrote its chronogram هر دهم شهر صفر which gives the date as well as the month and the year 18th Ṣafar 936 A.H. (pp. 29–30). Then there is a reference to his panegyric poem on 'Ubaid Allāh Khān with the epithet خلد الله ملکه (p. 468), which signifies (1) the upper limit of the date of beginning of his book (completed 972 A.H.) and (2) the early display of his marvellous poetical talents in constructing such a highly artificial and difficult poem like مطیر و مشجر و معا at a very young age. If the said panegyric poem is no other than the one reproduced elsewhere, then we have one of his earliest long poems.

In addition to our author and his father, the following persons flourished under 'Ubaid Allāh Khān:—

- (1) *Khwāja Muḥammad Afḍalī*, the chief tutor of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān, an expert in astronomy. Probably the ruler learnt astronomy under him, (p. 143).

1. *Tuhfai Sāmi* Ed. *Wahīd Dastgardī*, p. 20.

(2) A public garden in the west of Bukhārā laid by the famous horticulturist, Mīrak Saiyyid Ghīyath, which is described in two different places thus :-

که از مضمون کریمه ارم ذات العباد التي لم یخلق مثلها فی البلاد یاد می داد و چون مزاج کون او در فساد دارد صورت عالیها سافلها پذیرفت و باز بحکم کل شی بر جمع الی اصله باغبان صنع اراده نشو و نما نموده اشجارش را از رشحات صحاب لطف در نمودارد - امید است که رشك حدایق بلاد گشته لطائفش از بیشتر بیشتر گردد (p. 38)

و در بخارا برای خان باغ بغایت نیکو رسانیده و از جمع ریاحین و ازهار و اثمار در آن باغ مزروع و مغروس گردانید - الحق چنان بوستانی بود که قطعه بود از بهشت برین

شعر

روضه ماء نهرها سلسال دوحه شمع طیرها موزون

آن پر از لاله های رنگارنگ وین پر از میوه های کونا کون

یاد در سایه درختانش گستر اینده فرش بوقلمون (pp. 284-5)

(3) Puli Mihtar Qāsim on the river Kohak.

که در روی زمین طاق و شهره آفاق است (p. 38)

He was an expert in poetics and a remarkable multi-lingual poet. He wrote exquisite poetry under the pen-name "Ubaidi." His three complete ghazals in Arabic, Persian and Turki are quoted (p. 38-41). He translated Nām-i-Ḥaqq in Turki. He wrote a book on the art of reciting the Holy Qur'ān.

در علم قراءت تصنیف نافع دارد که حفاظ را عاصم است از خطا

I am inclined to believe that this book was written obviously under the influence of his master Maulānā Yār Muḥammad Qārī referred to above, whose Persian work on the same subject is available in manuscript in Hyderabad.<sup>1</sup> He was a great patron of men of letters and erudition. Though

1. I am indebted to Mr. Mir Fazluddin Ali Khan, my student in M. A. Previous ( Persian ), College of Arts and Commerce, Osmania University, Hyderabad, who has placed at my disposal a manuscript copy of the work in Persian described as follows :-

Risālai Qawā'idī Qur'ān by Yār Muḥammad b. Khudādād Samarqandī 6" x 4" ff. 45; 11 lines to a page; written in bold naskh; old brown paper; undated; extent complete; dedicated to Abu'l Ghāzī 'Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān, who ruled in the name of his father Iskandar Bahādur Khān (968-991/1561-1583) and as chief Khān (991-1006/1583-1598).

problem. In *hadith*, he was the student of Khwāja Maulānā *Iṣṭabānī*, the greatest traditionist of his times.<sup>1</sup> He studied *fiqh* under Maulānā Mahmūd 'Azīzān. He assiduously learnt the seven methods of reciting the Holy Qur'ān from the great authority Maulānā Yār Muḥammad, the author of the popular exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān in Turkī and several other useful treatises on jurisprudence, etc. He was a good calligraphist; the 30 parts of the Holy Qur'ān copied by him in beautiful naskh were read in certain religious assemblies of his day. As for his special attainments in music, our author writes with much flourish and in a suitably adapted language:—

ويعلم موسيقى بمضمون في كل نعمة من نغمت الموسيقى من امرار الله تعالى  
توجهی می فرمود و ضرب و نطقش موافق بود به نغمت جانفزا و باطمان روح  
انرا ترکیبات دلفریب به نوعی می نمود که سازندگان قوانین ایقاع و نوازندگان  
موازین تالیف باجماع در تحسین آن عمل متفق القول اند (p. 27-8)

Later on the author expresses the wish of the ruler to go on a pilgrimage to Hījāz in a passage also replete with musical terms:—

باوجود آنکه همه سلاطین آرزوی حکومت های داشته اند طبع همایونش نهفته  
قصده صفاهان و عراقی می نمود گویا مقصودش آن بود که دفع مخالف نموده  
وزنگونه برناته طلب بسته از راه راست آهنگ مجاز کرده در مقام حسنی  
کوچک و بزرگ عشاق را به نوا رسانیده و بطوف کعبه معظمه و زیارت مدینه  
مکرمه شرفها الله تعظیما و تکریما مشرف گردد چنانکه این بیت شریفش ناطق  
این معنی است بیت

چگونه دل نه کشد جانب عراق مرا

بدین سبب که بسوی حجاز آهنگ است (pp. 31-2)

The ruler loved passionately the 'noble' Bukhārā and sang its praise thus:—

بخارا خوشتر آمد از تمام شهرها مارا ز چشم بدنگه دارد خدا ملک بخارا را  
(p. 35)

He has gone down in history as a great builder, for such public works as (1) the magnificent building of Madrasai-i-Mīr 'Arab founded by his spiritual director Mīr 'Abdullāh Yemenī.

که بی مثل واقع شده و تاریخش نیز مثل اوست که از مدرسه عالی میر عرب  
حاصل می شود (== ۹۴۲) (p. 37)

1. The edition of his Persian work *Silsilat Sulūk* is under preparation by Dr. M. Nizamuddin.

gallant fighter. Most of his time was spent in warfare. Details regarding his role in retrieving the position after the death of Shaibānī Khān, fighting the enemy with small forces against heavy odds, re-capturing Bukhārā, killing Najm-i-Thānī, the general of Shāh Ismā'īl, the Ṣafawī and putting Bābur to flight out of Central Asia, etc., as given by our author, agree in the main with what is recorded in contemporary Persian history with some additional matter, e.g., (1) the important part played by our author's father in the capitulation of Herat on 18th Safar 936 AH and his consequent promotion to the lucrative post of trusteeship of the tomb of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī at Herat; (2) the poet Hilālī who was alive in 936 AH wrote a fine panegyric poem commemorating this conquest, six opening lines of which are quoted.<sup>1</sup> All these royal successes are ascribed to the efficacy of the sacred breath of his preceptor Amīr 'Abdallāh Yemenī of the Naqsh-bandī Order, regarded as آشوب ترك و شور عجمه آتیه عرب. In spite of his military pre-occupations for nearly forty years, he spent his time profitably in the acquisition of knowledge. His bent of mind was towards taṣawwuf. He expressed lofty ideas in a fascinating way. He composed a Persian rubā'ī (p. 26) on the Waḥdatai Wujūd and submitted the same to Maulānā Khwājagī, who set the seal of approval by writing a commentary on it and explaining certain intricacies of this ever-burning mystical

1. Browne's statement that "The poet Hilālī fell a victim to the Sunni fanaticism of the Uzbeks at Herat in 935/1528-9 (Browne, *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 94) is not correct in the light of Nithārī's remarks :-

در هیژدهم شهر صفر ختم بالخیر والظفر ابواب قلعه هرات مفتوح گشته سریر  
سلطنت آن بلدان مقر دولت خان صاحب قران گردید : تاریخ :

در هیژدهم شهر صفر فتح نمود . تاریخ شدش هژدهم شهر صفر ( ۹۳۶ ) مولانا  
هلالی در مدح حضرت اعلیٰ قصیده بسه تقریب آن فتح گفته است و مطلعش

ایست . . . . . نظم

خراسان سینه روی زمین از بهر آن آمد

که حات آمد درو یعنی عید الله خات آمد

محمد تند فرزین نعل او خورشید را ماند

که از مشرق به مغرب رفت و یکشب در میان آمد

قله کرد سخن گستاخ شد معذور فرمایش

که مسکین را به ضرب تیغ حرفی بر زبان آمد

(P. 29)

In 918 Jānī Beg apportioned the various appanages of Transoxiana thus:— "Kuchunji received Samarqand; Suyunik Tashkent and 'Ubaydullah Karakul and Karshi, besides Bokhara which was his by inheritance. Janibeg reserved for himself and his children all the country of Miyan-Kul, Soghd of Samarkand and the town of Kermine, which was his residence."

(Skrine & Ross, p. 191).

"The separate appanages passed from father to son and thus the residence of the Khakan or chief Khan was continually changing from one city to another. Thus Bokhara lost its proud position as the capital of Transoxiana and took its rank with other towns as the headquarters of successive chiefs." (Skrine & Ross, p. 189). Nithārī's epithets for Bukhārā: (p. 6, 12, 32) *خطة فاخرة بخارا حيت عن البلايا* and for Samarqand (p. 12, 19) *دار السلطنة سمرقند* are to be understood in the light of the change of residence of the chief Khān. Similarly the term *خدا الله ملكه* used for two rulers at one and the same time meant that one was the chief Khān and the other minor Khān.

There is no mention of patronage of scholars and poets by Abū Manṣūr Kūchkūnjī (916-937)<sup>1</sup> and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd b. Kūchkūnjī Khān (937-940).<sup>2</sup> Only when we come to 'Ubaid Allāh Khān (940-946) there is some trace of the resumption of literary and cultural activities, in spite of the fact that his whole life was spent in wars and he ruled for barely six years. The unsettled conditions prevailing in Transoxiana were uncongenial to the promotion of art and culture.

#### ABU'L GHAZI 'UBAID ALLAH BAHADUR KHAN

The Mudhakkiri-Aḥbāb gives the following information about him:—

He was the nephew of Shaibānī Khān. He ascended the throne in 940 A.H. as the author states:—

در نهصد و چهل خطبه سلطنت ماورا النهر به نام همایونش خواندند و بر تخت  
دولت کامران نشستند (p. 41)

and not 939 A.H. as some historians aver. Our author's statement is further corroborated by the following chronograms:—

معین الدین عبید الله بن محمود شیبانی (2) (p. 296); (1) *والی ملک عبید الله خان* (p. 395); (3) *خان جهانگیر* (p. 411) all of which give the date 940 A.H. He used to accompany his uncle in his military expeditions. He was a

1-2. According to Zainbaur's *Manuel de geneologie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam Hanovre 1927*; p 170 (916-937) and (937-940) respectively.



'Ubaid Allāh Khān had thrown himself at the fort of Ghujduwān. Here a fierce but decisive battle took place in 918 A.H.<sup>1</sup> between Bābur supported by his Persian allies and 'Ubaid Allāh Khān, the saviour of the Shaibānī empire, which is vividly described by Mirzā Haidar Duglāṭ:— "Soon the grip of Islam wrenched aside the hands of heresy and unbelief and victory declared for the true faith. The victorious breezes of Islam overturned the barriers of the schismatics.....all the wounds that had been effected by the swords at Karshī were now sewn up by the arrow-stitches of vengeance. They sent Mir Najm and all the Turkomāns to hell and the emperor (Bābur) returned broken hearted and crest-fallen to Hiṣār." Nithārī refers to this battle thus:—

و در سال نهصد و هژده غزاة نجم ستاره سوخته بد اختر واقع شده و کوب  
 طالعش از اوج عزت به حضيض مذات هبوط نموده در آفتاب زوال محترق و بال  
 کشته و دره تاج و هاج ابتهاجش از راس به ذنب منتقل گردیده است بیت:  
 شد ز آتش محاربه سنیان پاک      نجم ستاره سوخته را فضا هلاک  
 ذالك فضل الله يوتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم واين فتح نیز به همت امير  
 مد کور (عبيد الله هادر خان) بوده (p. 25)

Eventually Bābur returned to Kābul and planned an easier conquest of Hindustān. Now Transoxiana was made secure for the Shaibānids, who ruled for nearly 99 years. They divided their realm into a number of appanages; the eldest Sulṭān usually assumed the leadership of the rest. His name alone was read in the *Khuṭba* throughout the empire and coins were struck in his name only. The chief Khān was called the *Khāqān* and each minor Khān ruled in his appanage but under the sway of the *Khāqān*.

"After the battle of Ghujduvān in 918/1512, according to their custom, *tura* and *yasak*, Shaybani Sultans proceeded to elect their Khakan. Kuchunji Khan as eldest was appointed to the high office, while Suyunik was nominated Kalgha (heir-apparent). The latter died before Kuchunji, whereupon Janibeg became Kalgha. He too predeceased Kuchunji and the title of Kalgha passed to Abu Said Khan, who eventually became Khakan in 936/1529. On his death he was succeeded by Ubaydullah Khan in 939/1533." (Skrine & Ross, p. 189).

1. Not November, 512 as stated by Browne. *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 66. His other date for the defeat and death of Shaibānī Khan in the decisive battle at Tāhirabād, near Merv, Dec. 1 or 2, 1510 is also definitely wrong (*Ibid.*, p. 65). It is 916 A.H.

- (3) Amīr Qambar 'Alī Qūshjī, one of the grand nobles of Shaibānī Khān, who died fighting later in the battle of Jām during the period of the next ruler, 'Ubaid Allāh Khān (p. 412).
- (4) Amīr Kabīr Jān-i-Wafā'f-i-Daurān, (father of Shaikh Shuja'-al-Dīn Dost Nī), the ruler of Herāt (?) perhaps governor. He was one of the prominent amīrs of Shaibānī Khān (p. 413-414)."

#### SUCCESSORS OF SHAIIBANI KHAN

The terrible disaster of Merv cast a gloom over Transoxiana, which practically slipped out of the hands of the Uzbek Sultans. During the two years 916-918 A.H. (1510-1512 A.D.), they were more vitally concerned with protecting themselves rather than choosing a new chief. There is no trace of any coin whatsoever to identify the ruler of a particular Sultān immediately after Shaibānī Khān. The fate of the Uzbeks was hanging in the balance. Bābur again made a straight bid to establish his rule over Transoxiana, at first, single-handed by defeating the Uzbek army under Ḥamza Sultān in 917 A.H. (1511 A.D.) and subsequently with the help of Shāh Ismā'il. The united forces of Bābur and Shāh Ismā'il numbering sixty thousand men next marched against Karshi, where 'Ubaid Allāh Khān (the nephew of Shaibānī Khān) had fortified himself, while most of the Uzbek Sultāns had fled to Samarqand (Skrine and Ross pp. 186). When 'Ubaid Allāh abandoned Karshi and fled to Bukhārā, Bābur pursued him and eventually drove him into the deserts of Turkistān (Tārīkhī Rashīdī, pp. 245). The Uzbek Sultāns in Samarqand also ran for their lives in different parts of Turkistan. Now Bābur was practically the master of Transoxiana. He entered Samarqand, his home-town, triumphantly amidst national rejoicings. The people welcomed him as the rightful successor to the realms of Timur (Skrine and Ross, pp. 186). Very soon they were disillusioned, for he began to rule over them perceptibly recognising the Sh'ite Shāh Ismā'il as his suzerain. This was detestable to the orthodox Sunnis. The Uzbek Sultans exploited the growing popular discontent. They marched out of Turkistān with their forces, the main body heading towards Tashkent and the remainder under 'Ubaid Allāh proceeding to Bukhārā. A fierce battle took place in 918/1512 at Kul Mchik, near Bukhārā in which the small army of 'Ubaid Allah, barely 3,000 completely routed the 40,000 well equipped men of Bābur. This was but the beginning of the end of the rule of Bābur in Central Asia. He had to leave Samarqand and flee to Ḥiṣār after a rule of eight months. At his request Shāh Ismā'il sent 60,000 Persians under Amir Yār Ahmad Iṣfahānī called Najmi Thānī "The Second Star" to help Bābur, who entered Kashi, massacred the inhabitants and sacked the town. Sununjik Khan (variously written Suyunj, Suyunich, Suyunij, Sunyuk Khān, Sununik Khān (d. before 936AH) one of the chief Uzbek Sultāns, the son of Abu'l Khair, utterly defeated the Khān of Moghulistān in his attempt to take Samarqand.