

Shaibānī Khān resided in Bukhārā during the time of Amīr ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tarkhān, the governor, and went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Khāwjai Buzurg (in the village called after him Bavedin, two leagues from Bukhārā. “whither pilgrimages are made even from the remotest parts of China).”<sup>1</sup> There he met Khwāja Nizām al-dīn Mīr Muḥammad Naqshbandī, the maternal grandson of the said Buzurg. It was the article of faith of the Naqshbandīs to serve the rulers, according to their dictum *خدمت الملوك نصف السلوك* “Service of the Kings is half the path of mysticism.” He did not give him permission for departure. Then he performed tahajjud in the shrine. After some days he was allowed to go on expedition. This he took it as a happy augury. Thereafter he had a series of successes and for twelve years he went on annexing territories extending from Turkistān to Damaghān; conquered Irāq and Samarqand where his name was read in the Khuṭba.

“The Khān was a master of the Qur’ān; well-versed in several arts and sciences. He patronised poets and scholars. He wrote nice poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkī. His Arabic rubā’ī and Turkī lines are quoted, e.g., his Turkī chronogram on the death of the saint Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, and a Turkī Tuyūq. He celebrated his victory over the Hazārā tribe in a Turkī ghazal which he sent to the Shaikh al-Islām of Harāt. Further he prepared Niṣābī Turkī (Turkī Reader) for Qāzī Ikhtiyār, who did not know Turkī, obviously in Persian. Specimen of his Persian poetry alone is not given by Nithārī.<sup>2</sup> He was killed near Merv in the village of Maḥmūdī<sup>3</sup> at the age of 63 on Friday, in the month of Ramaḍān 916 A.H. سرخ کلام is the chronogram of his death.” (pp. 15-22).

“He was the patron of the following :-

- (1) “Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān ‘Alī Awbahī, a famous calligraphist. Shaibānī wrote the verse of the Holy Qur’ān beginning with *فيسفيكم الله* (پاره اول سورة بقره) in bold nastalīq and circulated it to artists of Khurāsān for their views. (This incident is described in a contemptuous manner by his inveterate enemy Bābur *vide* Memoirs of Bābur) However, Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān ‘Alī Awbahī has a Persian poem in praise of his calligraphy, which is quoted by Nithārī on pp. 304-5.
- (2) Manlānā Balā’ī, a famous poet, who resided in Samarqand and did some meritorious service under Shaibānī Khān (p. 344).

1. A. Vambery: Travels in Central Asia, p. 1864.

2. Sām Mirzā quotes his Persian line by way of contempt :-

3. On Dec. 1 or 2, 1510 at Tāhirābād, Browne *vide* History of Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 65.

his grandfather died, he was barely 18 years old. There was a favourable tide in his affairs, when he got military assistance from the Uzbek chiefs and captured such strong fortresses as Signak, etc. Then he advanced upon Bukhārā, where he was immensely helped by 'Abd al 'Alī Tarkhān, the governor. About this time 19 year old Bābur, having been driven out of Samarqand by his uncle, appeared on the scene capturing Samarqand, Soghd, Miyānkāl, Karshī and other strong places except Bukhārā which alone remained in the possession of the Uzbeks. In 907/1501 Shaibānī defeated Bābur and regained the lost territory. According to some historians, the rule of Shaibānī is from 906, when he achieved conquest of Transoxiana and in view of others from 911, when he made himself the master of Transoxiana, Ferghānā, Khwārizm and Hīsār. In the British Museum, there is a silver coin of Shaibānī dated 910, Merv. Then he turned his attention towards Khurāsān, which was ruled by Husain Mirzā, son of Sulṭān Husain Baiqarā. At first Bābur wanted to help the ruler of Khurāsān, a descendant of Tīmūr and a relative. In the meantime Mirzā Husain died. In 913 Bābur arrived in Khurāsān and found the two princes fighting among themselves as rival kings. He got disgusted and left them to fight their own battles. Bābur did not cross the path of Shaibānī again who easily defeated them and made himself master of Khurāsān. In 916 when he was at the height of his political glory, he was pitted against Shāh Ismā'il, the founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty, who having overthrown the White Sheep dynasty in Ādharbāijān, wanted to conquer the whole of Irān. He marched into Khurāsān. The haughty letter of the Shāh as the champion of the Shi'as, and the highly insulting reply of the Khān as the defender of the Sunnis and the mutual recriminations, recorded in history, started the most bloody religious wars of the century, with its repercussions in Turkey, with the result that the Shāh defeated and slew Shaibānī Khān in the vicinity of Merv, and acted in the most brutal manner, cutting his limbs and sending them to his foes as a grim warning to them, so horridly described by Browne.<sup>1</sup> Shaibānī died in 916 and not 915 as the Encyclopaedia of Islām states, for the chronogram of his death as given by Nithārī is سرخ کلاه. Surkh Kulāh is the red cap worn by the Turcomans in the army of Shāh Ismā'il.

The *Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb* gives the following details of the life of Shaibānī Khān, based upon his own personal knowledge, not to be found in Persian histories of the period such as the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* of Hasan-i-Rūmlū and *Tārīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā'i 'Abbāsī* of Iskander Munshī, etc.

“ Throughout his life he was under the spiritual guidance of the famous Naqshbandī Order established by Khwāja Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband (717/1317=791/1389). The Khān-i-'Ālī-Shān, i.e.,

1. Browne: *Persian Literature in Modern Times* (AD 1500-1924); pp. 65.

Samarqand with the help of Prince Abū Sa'īd, the Timurid and became the sovereign of Samarqand. Ulugh Beg gave his daughter, Rābia' Sultān Bēgum in marriage. About 1456 his power received a great setback from the Kalmucks and he had to flee to Signak. His rule extended over the western portion of the present Kirghiz Steppes. About 870 A.H./1465 A.D. a historical event of great significance happened. Historians have recorded it and opined as follows :-

BARTHOLD :

" About 1465 there was a split among the Ozbegs, through which the proper inhabitants of the Steppes called since Kazāk separated from the other portion of the nation "1

SKRINE & ROSS :

" About 870 ( 1465 ), a number of these Uzbegs, disconnected with their Khān, Abu'l Khair, migrated into Moghulistān, with the Sultāns Girāy and Jānibeg, of the line of Jūjī ( Migration, according to Veliaminof Zernof; flight of the White Horde, according to Bretschneider; expelled from their original seats, according to Mirzā Haydar Dughlāt. ( Tārikhi Rashīdi p-82 )."2

Isan Bughā, the then Khān of Moghulistān or Jalah rehabilitated them on the river Chu, to the west of his domains. These emigrants were subsequently known as Uzbeg-Qazāqs or Qazāqs. After the death of Abu'l Khair 874/1469, a large number of his Uzbegs passed into Moghulistān and joined their kinsmen, and, according to Mirzā Haidar Dughlāt, " the Qazāq Sultāns began to reign in 870/1465 and continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Uzbekistān till 940 ( 1533 ) " ( Tārikhi Rashīdi p. 82 ).

"The power founded by him (Abu'l Khair) was, after a short interruption, set up again by his grandson, Muḥammad Shaibānī and developed into such a magnitude that was never dreamt of." ( Encyclopaedia of Islam p. 95 ).

SHAIBANI KHAN: 900-916/-15011511

Abu'l Khair left eleven sons, one of whom Shaikh Haidar succeeded for a short time. Another son, Shāh Budāq, had married Qūzī Bēgum, a princess of Khitāy, and when he died, at the age of 25, their son Muḥammad was brought up by his grandfather, Abu'l Khair who nicknamed him Shāh Bakht, a name corrupted to Shaibak. Muḥammad Shaibak Khān or Shaibānī Khān was born in 855 A.H. His full name is Abu'l Faṭḥ Muḥammad Shaibānī Khān b. Budāq b. Abu'l Khair Bahādur. When

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. 1, p. 95.

2. Skrine & Ross: Heart of Central Asia, pp. 183-184.

house of Jūji, the heritage of the fifth son of Jūji, namely, Shaibān whose dominions were contiguous to those of the White Horde. From him sprang the Czars of Tueman (circa 1224-1659), the Khanate of Bukhārā (c. 1500-1869) and the Khanate of Khivā (Circa 1515-1872). The descendants of Shaibān became famous in the 15th century under the name of Uzbeks. As for its origin, scholars are still divided over the name Uzbek. According to Barthold<sup>1</sup> and Hostler,<sup>2</sup> the word Uzbek is not an ethnological term but a political one derived from Uzbek Khān (1312-1340) of the house of Jūji, the eldest son of Chingiz Khān. From early 14th century onwards, it signified Muslim Turks because it was Uzbek Khan who propagated Islam on a grand scale. By the 16th century the term Uzbek meant the adherents of Shaibānī Khān, the last conqueror of Transoxiana. Finally it was used for the ruling tribes in the Central Asian Khanates, as against the Kirghis and the Sārts. The following historical events must also be remembered :-

- (1) The Uzbeks defeated Bābur, the last Timurids, who later founded the Mughal dynasty in India, an event of great significance in World History.
- (2) In the early 17th century the territory of the Uzbeks was confined to lands north of the Amu Daryā and the Kopet Dagh under the Khanate of Bukhārā and lastly.
- (3) The political history of the Uzbeks is that of the Khanate of Bukhārā which occupied the area of present day Uzbekistān and a portion of Tajikistān.

#### THE SH IBANIDS OR "ABUL KHAIRIDES": (Griegorieff).

The real founder of the Uzbek power was Abu'l Khair (b. 816 d. 874 A.H./1413-1469 A.D.) the youngest descendant of Shāiban, the youngest son of Jūji in the sixth degree. Some of the important events of his reign are: 1430 proclaimed Khān in Tura (Siberia); defeated a Khān of the house of Jūji and got possession of the greatest part of Kipchāk; overran Khwārazm with its capital Urganj and part of Turkistān; conquered the city of Ordū Bāzār; seized temporarily the throne of Şāyin Khān of Bātū; 1447 conquered several places near the Sir Daryā, the most important being, the subjugation of the impregnable fortress of Signak which he made his capital. This is the limit of his territory, for his conquests south of it were never durable; 1451 defeated and killed 'Abd Allāh of

1. Barthold: *Historie des turcs d'Asie Central*. Adaptation from *Caise par Mme M. Donskis*, Paris; *Librarie l'Amérique et d'Orient* 1945 (pp. 185-193).

2. Charles Warren Hostler: *Turkism and the Soviets*; London: George Unwin 1957 (p. 64).

ff. 26a-27b). It is called ~~Qāṭiṣ~~ "muwashshāh-muṭayyat-mudawwar-mu'aqqad-mushajjar" of Nithari. It is reproduced elsewhere with its valuable colophon which indicates that the manuscript referred to was copied when our author was still alive.

#### POLITICAL HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA:

Some facts of Central Asian history in general and those of the Shaibānids in particular are to be borne in mind. Timuchin, better known as Chingiz Khān, "the Asiatic Alexander" (Lanepoole, the Muḥammadan Dynasties, p. 202) died in 624 A.H./1227 at the age of 64, leaving an empire which stretched from "the Yellow Sea to the Euxine and included lands and tribes wrung from the rule of the Chinese, Tanguts, Afghāns, Persians and the Turks. He followed the traditions of the Moghul Chief by dividing his Empire among his sons with emphasis upon the tribal rather than territorial distribution. From his sons and their descendants sprang the following dynasties of Central Asia :- From Chaghatāy, the son of Chingiz Khān, the Khanate of Transoxiana (1227-1370), the Eastern and Western Turkistān, the Middle Empire as it is called; from Ögätāy, the son of Chingiz Khān, the Supreme Khanate of Mongolia (1227-1248); from Tuluy, the son of Chingiz Khān (1) "the Supreme Khanate in China, the Yuan dynasty (1248-1370) founded by Kubilāy Khān circa 1260-1294 (the great "Cann" of Marco Polo), which was overthrown by Chu Yuang in 1359, giving rise to the famous Ming dynasty, and (2) the Ilkhāns of Persia (1256-1344). To Jūjī, the first son of Chingiz Khān, was given a major portion of the Middle Empire, especially northern, namely, Dashti Kipchāk "which included vast steppes extending east and north of the Sea of Aral, a part of modern Siberia, the land north of the Caspian, and both sides of the Lower Volga." On his death in 1225, two years before that of his father, it was divided into two sections: (1) Eastern Khanate "that of the White Horde" (1226-1428) fell to Jūjī's eldest son, Ordā, from whom descended the Kazāk chiefs (1248-1800), the later Khanate of Kipchāk (1376-1502) and Khanate of Astrakhan (1460-1554); and (2) the Western Khanate that of the "Golden Horde" (Urdu-i-Mu'alla) ruled over by Bātū, the son of Jūjī and the conqueror of Rūm. His residence was in Sarāi, on the Lower Volga and from him sprang the Khanate of Kipchak (1224-1359). From Tevel, son of Jūjī, began the line of Nogay chiefs and the Siberian Khāns and from Tūkā Tīmūr, the youngest son of Jūjī, started the Khanate of great Bulgaria, and on the remains of the Bulgarian Empire, Tulūgh Muhammad of the same line, founded the Khanate of Kāzān (1438-1552), with the offshoots, the Khanate of Kāzān (1450-1678) and the Khanate of Krim (1420-1783). To the latter belonged Toktamish, the deadly enemy of Tamerlane.

Our main and immediate concern is with another branch of the

بجرم عشق همین متهم نثاری نیست

همین مذاق مرشیت است در گل همه کس

"Nithārī alone is not charged with the crime of love; this taste (for love) is innate in every one"

نثاری در جهان هرگز نخواهد بارسائی را

بجرم عشق می خواهد که دائم متهم باشد

"Nithārī never wishes to be pious in this world; he would rather like to be blamed always for the crime of love."

Any selection, even though based on some principles, tends to be arbitrary. By his fairly judicious selection of poems of about two hundred and seventy-five poets noticed by him, the poet in him has come out in a truly striking and telling manner.

Unfortunately Persian poetry, especially *ghazal*, became so conventional in course of time that, for the poet, it was considered necessary to resort to fantastic rhetorical devices and quaint conceits. In this matter the poets of *Mā'warā al-Nahr* (Transoxiana), the Central Asian Persian poets, began to give the lead since *Qiwāmī* of Ganja, brother of the celebrated *Nizāmī*, illustrated in a *Qaṣīda-i-Muṣanna'* ('artificial *qaṣīda*') the most important of the artifices of the Persian rhetoricians and the poets and later on *Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ* wrote the well-known work on Rhetoric and Prosody entitled "*Ḥadāiq al-Siḥr*, based on the lost *Tarjūmān al-Balāghat* of *Farrukhī*" (d. circa 1030), "one of the most useful manuals on the *Ars Poetica* of the Persians." By the time of *Shahrūkh* (779 AH–850 AH) the forte of the poets, was to excel in the *mu'ammā* (riddle,) *luḡz*, (enigma,) *muwashshah* (acrostic,) *maqlūbī mustawī* (palindrome) etc., which was but the beginning of the decline of poetry in Iran.

*Nithārī*, as a poet, could not resist the temptation. He has not only explained these intricacies which pass off as poetry but has himself contributed the following ornate verses in the wake of his father, whose style was followed in *Rūm* (p. 509–10) e.g., he constructed an *Izhāri Muḍmarī* from a *Qaṣīdai-Maṣnu'*, (p. 297) a *muṭayyar* in praise of 'Ubad Allāh Khān (d. 946) in reply to that of *Mir Khujandi* in praise of Sulṭān 'Abdāl (p. 469), a *Qaṣīda-i-Maṣnu'* as a present to *Humāyūn Pādishāh* (d. 963) (p. 207), a *Chahar Bahrī* (p. 488), *rubā'ī mustazād* (p. 146), *abiyāti mushkilā* (p. 147), *rubā'ī mukhtar*, in imitation of *Maulānā Sīmī*, who, in turn, imitated *Maulānā Luṭf Allāh Nīshapūri* and, above all *Izhār-i-muḍmar u maqlūbī mustawī u mu'ammā*. Incidentally a full *qaṣīda* referred to by him on p. 469 was discovered by me in a rare Persian manuscript in the *Aṣafia Library*, Hyderabad (vide No. 382 section *Nafā'is-i-Dawawīn-Persian*

from the said *mathnawī* :-

دل شبی تنگ در آن سلسله محکم زد      باد صبح آمد و آن سلسله را درهم زد  
ترك مست می نازست هشیارش مکن      فتنة يك لحظه در خوابست بیدارش مکن  
ای دل همگین به تنگ از خانه تن آمدی      عاقبت خون گشتی و از چشم روشن آمدی

(3) Nithāri Tabrizi.<sup>1</sup> He was a confectioner. He wrote a *qaṣīda* in praise of Qāḍī Muṣāfir and, on being unrewarded, satirized him and left Tabriz. Soon the corrupt Qāḍī was reprimanded and imprisoned in the fortress of Alamut, with his ears and nose cut off. Subsequently on his death, he returned home. He had pleasing manners. One of his lines quoted in the *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir*

ایدک استغنی او عشاق را دل خون کند

گر بقدر حسن استغنا کند پس چون کند

is attributed to Qāsim Mirzā, son of Kāmran, (brother of Humāyūn Pādishāh), in the *Muḥakkir-i-Aḥbāb*, pp. 627. He and Mulla Haidari satirized each other in obscene verses which are reproduced in the *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir*.

(4) Nithāri Qazwini.<sup>2</sup> He was a contemporary of our author; a poet of ordinary intelligence with some gainful employment. His *rubā'ī* is quoted in the *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir*.

Obviously, Nithāri Bukhārī had poetical training under his father who, after discharging onerous duties as a judge, found time to compile two *dīwāns* in Persian and Turkī under the pen name "Khawāja" (pp. 509-511). It is not known whether Nithāri had compiled a *dīwān*. However, we find about two hundred verses interspersed in his book. At times his lines have got mixed up with those of other poets. He has tried his hands on several traditional verse forms. Suffice it to say that there are about fourteen *rubā'īs*, some of them *chronograms* and, therefore, of historical value (Vide pp. 1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 23, 53, 147, 148, 208, 207, 382, and 406); opening lines of two *qaṣīdās* (pp. 79 and 97); opening lines of *mathnawīs* (pp. 6, 54), a long *mathnawī* poem of 68 lines on the conclusion of the book, (pp. 517-522); *bayts* or *fards* (pp. 5, 13, 15, 20, 24, 75, 184, 25, 367, 374, 427, and 473) and, above all, two complete *ghazals* (pp. 16 and 18), one *manqabat* in praise of his patron saint Khawāja Naqshband and the other *na'at* in praise of the Holy Prophet Muhammad respectively in which he is at his best. And here his poetry, without being important, has lyric quality, genuine emotion, pictorially expressed. Among them two of his verses stand out as quotables:

1. *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir* (Aligarh MS., l. 198b-199a).

2. *Nafā'is ul-Ma'āthir* (Aligarh MS., f. 200b).

Barjandī, who, in turn, was the pupil of Maulānā 'Alī Shāh Hājī Bukā. He manufactured, nay, invented many musical instruments. He had one distaff with one string attached to it from which eighteen different tunes were produced (pp. 334-336). In passing, it may be observed that it was more or less an article of faith in Central Asia to learn music which was considered a necessary adjunct of complete education. Even the great Jāmī studied music and has written a tract on it, e.g., رسالۃ موسیقی, *vide* list of Jāmī's works in the *Tuḥfai-Sāmi* edited by Waḥīd Dastgardī, Armughān, Tehrān, 1314 F (p. 86). It is to be noted that, wherever Nithāri discusses music and musicians, he waxes eloquent and his style on such occasions is not only felicitous but suitably adapted to music and musicology, thus indicating his full grasp of the subject.

#### NITHARI AS A POET

Language finds its most expressive use in poetry. Nithāri was a bilingual poet of Turki and Persian. Poetry was in his blood. He inherited poetry from his ancestors. At least four of his forebears were poets and two among them composed books of poems, to wit, his father Khwāja Pāshā Khwāja, author of two diwāns in Turkey and Persian, (p. 500), apart from some, mathnawī poems, like *Maqṣad al-Aṭwār* (Turki) (p. 511); 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Ārif, his grandfather, author of two diwāns in Turki and Persian (p. 500); his uncles Shaikh 'Alī Khwāja (p. 504), and Bābā Jān Khwāja (p. 513), his uncle's son, Miram Khwāja (p. 514), his two brothers, 'Abd al-Salām (p. 515), and Shāh Muḥammad (p. 517), who wrote poems occasionally.

There is no dearth of poets in any country in any period of its history. We come across a good number of poets bearing the same penname. Nithāri is a case in point. Four other poets with the penname Nithāri flourished in 9th and 10th centuries A.H.

(1) Nithāri - Muḥammad 'Alī Jalā'ir, son of 'Alī Jalā'ir.<sup>1</sup>

He had peculiar habits. One of his opening lines is:-

کسی هرگز چو من بیغم ندیداست      چو من غم دیده غم هم ندیداست

(2) Nithāri Tūnī<sup>2</sup>, originally from Kalābād, (near Bukhārā) but finally settled in Janābad. Proficient in many arts and sciences, especially astronomy, astrology and poetics, author of a diwān and an interesting long poem, (*Sarw-ū-tadharw*) سرو و تدر و in the metre of Shāh-u-Durwēsh. 'Alī Shīr quotes, among others, the following

1. *Majālis al-Nafā'is*, ed., A.A. Hikmat (p. 284).

2. *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir*, [Aligarh MS. folio 198 (a)] where the date of his death is recorded as 948 A.H., and not 967 A.H., as mentioned by Dr. Ummi Hānī in her article in *Ma'ārif*—Vol. XC., No. 3, p. 224.



Niḥārī writes about himself thus :-

His enceinte mother dreamt that the child in her womb be named after Khwāja-i-Buzurgwār Khwāja Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband (b. 718-791), founder of the Naqshbandī branch family of the Chishtī order (p. 139). Unfortunately the date of his birth is not recorded anywhere in the book. He was well accomplished in all the arts and sciences of his time. He studied under famous masters and even travelled far and wide to acquire knowledge. The author gives some interesting accounts of his teachers along with his impressions of them. They are set forth as follows:-

(i) Ṣaḥī al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rūmī, a renowned Turkish scholar, who during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, taught theology in Mecca. When he came to Bukhārā, Niḥārī availed himself of the opportunity and studied under him Hadīth and got the Ijāzā from him to teach Traditions. He died in Bukhārā on Wednesday in the beginning of the month of Rajab in 963 H. and buried besides Khwāja-i-Ahrār (p. 324-327).

(ii) Niḥārī betook himself to the beautiful city of Kīsh (modern Tashkent) and mastered the technique of reciting the Holy Qur'ān from an authority like Ma'sum Khwāja-'Ishqī. He has praised his charming personality in a beautiful quatrain and a striking couplet. He died on the way to the Ka'ba (p. 368-372).

(iii) He attended the lectures of 'Amīr Mahdī al Huṣāin, professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, on Chagminī, a commentary on the vade mecum of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Jurjānī, (d 816 H), in the college of Kamāl al-Dīn, Balkh. He took some pardonable liberty with him, in a satirized couplet in which he was complimented for his mathematical acumen and for his ugly physical features. Some evil-minded persons killed him in the month of Ramaḍān. He was buried in Mazār Shāh in Balkh (p. 373-374).

(iv) His other professor of Mathematics and Astronomy was Maulānā Shaydā who taught him with affection in a short time many intricacies of the science. He could not proceed further due to his death. He was for some time in the service of Emperor Bābur. He was also a genuine poet and a wit (pp. 348-351).

(v) He received medical education from Maulānā Muḥammad. Niḥārī has one qīṭa' (fragment) in his praise and the professor wrote a very touching chronogram on the death of Niḥārī's brother Faridūn Khwāja. He died at the ripe age of ninety (pp. 291-294).

(vi) His professor of Music was Mīr Maḥmūd Bachqī (variously written by different scribes. Bachq is a village in Khurāsān). He was one of the most eminent disciples of the famous musicologist, Maulānā 'Abd al-'Alī

poems (pp. 509-511). He gifted to Emperor Bābur (888-937) a ghazal and a quatrain both in Persian and Turki, which he considered his best. Bābur accepted it without any comment. He wrote a Turki mathnawī called Maqṣad al-Aṭwār, in imitation of Makḥzan al-Asrār of Nizāmī (535-599/1140-1203). Further on Nithārī gives the following information about his father in his book on six different occasions :-

(1) Peace efforts of Saiyyid Pāshā Khwāja in the siege of Harāt by 'Ubaid Allāh Khān in 936 A.H.

(2) The royal request of Rustam Bahādur Khān to him to recommend a truly perfect derwesh for his progress in spiritual powers. At that time Zain Salaf Shams Khalaf was available (pp. 49-50).

(3) Khwāja Maulānā b. Ruzbhān Isfahānī, the famous commentator of the Holy Qur'ān and Hadīth and author of many books, congratulated him in person on the birth of a son (Nithārī) to him and christened him Bahā-al-Dīn Ḥasan and presented him with an autograph copy of the impromptu fragment (qīṭa') composed by him for the occasion. It was a prize possession in the family archives of the author for a long time. On the death of this savant, Khwāja Pāshā wrote an elegy (pp. 139-141). This one is different from Ruzbhān Isfahānī, a musician and a poet who was still alive in 993 A.H.

(4) On his appointment as Shaikh al-Islām, Ḥāfiz Mīr Aḥmed Kharīb, a famous disciple of Ḥāfiz Kalān and an authority on 'Ilm'ul Qir'āt (science of reciting the Holy Qur'ān) wrote a congratulatory Qit'a (p. 306).

(5) He composed a mathnawī poem Lailā Majnūn in Turki in imitation of Nizāmī, which seemed to the latter "as dry as the Arabian desert." "But then, this very poem is his magnum opus which stimulated countless imitations among them some of the pearls of Oriental poetry." This work of Khwāja Pāshā is dedicated to 'Ādil Shāh Sultān. Earlier the great master of Chaghatāi poetry, Mīr 'Alī Shir Nawā'ī tried his skill on Nizāmī's Khamsa and little later, Fuḍūlī Baghdādī, (d. 963/1566 or 970/1563), a Turki poet of Kurdish origin wrote his Lailā Majnūn in Turki (printed in Constantinople, 1264 A.H./1868). About the same time Lisānī Shirāzī, another contemporary poet, had a Turkish version of the same subject to his credit.

(6) Khwāja Pāshā sent compliments to Qul Muḥammad Bī in Turki on a certain occasion, which is not clear. Bī (cf. Beg) in Bukhārā was a title of Vazirs and officials of high rank.

He died at the age of 67 and was buried beside Khwāja-i- Buzurgwār. Besides Nithārī he left 3 sons (1) 'Abdal Salām (pp. 514-515) (2), Shāh Muḥammad (pp. 516-517) (3) Farīdūn Khwājā (d. 965) (p. 293).

Before dealing with the author's father, a passing reference may be made of some other members of his family, e.g., (a) Mīram Khwāja, son of Shaikh 'Alī Khwāja (pp. 513-14) who was in high favour with the Sultāns and Khāns. He was related to Saiyyid Uthmān Khwāja Saiyyid Atā, a Syed from his mother's side. He sent his sons to Ghajdawān for acquiring eminence in knowledge and religious law of the land. He was buried beside his uncle, Saiyyid Wilāyat Khwāja. (b) Walī Allāh Khwāja, son of Mīram Khwāja. The elders of the community executed him for killing a nobleman's son. The circumstances of accidental killing, his noble descent from a powerful spiritual family did not influence the judge. Each one of them was a poet of Turkī or Persian or both, whose specimens are given in the appropriate place. Our author states that Amīr Shaykhām was his relative, who told him personally that Mullāh Fakhr al-Dīn Wā'iz was held in high esteem for praising the Naqshbandī order in Harī (Harat). Obviously he is no other than Amīr Shaikh Ahmad Nizām al-Dīn al Suhailī also called Amīr Shaykam (d. 907 or 908/1501, 3.), the dedicatee of Mullāh Husain Wā'iz al Kāshifī (d. 910 1505) of Anwār-i-Suhailī fame.

#### KHWAJA PASHA OR SAIYYID KHWAJA PASHA

The author, in his epilogue (pp. 505-512) gives the following particulars about his father. His enceinte mother saw the Prophet Muḥammad in her dream, who predicted that she would give birth to a son who would become famous. Kijak Mirzā subjugated the troublous clan Ulūs Ṣa'in with the help of his vast spiritual influence over them and in recognition of his services, conferred on him honours and promoted him to such posts of distinction as Shaikh al-Islām. His aim in serving the king was to do social service and render advice to the rulers to serve the people, which was in complete accord with the principles of the Naqshbandī order followed by him and this ruler. He even resigned the post of Shaikh al-Islām when Kistan Qarā Sultān could not serve the people, due to some illness and concentrated upon spiritualism. In his book Maulānā Khwājagī Kāshānī calls him شاه‌باز بلند پرواز "the high soaring falcon." Mirzā Shāh Naqshbandī, the husband of the maternal aunt of Niḥārī, who was his close associate and constant companion, related wonderful instances of his devotion to prayer and service to the mendicants. He was a master of elegant prose in Arabic, Persian and (Eastern) Turkī. Letters drafted by him to the Sultān of Rūm were treasured in Constantinople. He possessed great poetical powers also. He was an authority on prosody. He taught the people of Central Asia how to write Qasāidi-i-Masnu' and use of rhetorical devices in poetry, according to the prevailing literary fashion of Persia. He composed two diwāns in Persian and Turkī under the penname of "Khwāja." Vide specimens of his Turkī and Persian

against historicity that Arslān Bāb, the first spiritual director of Aḥmad Yesewī, ( the Chief of Turkish Central Asiatic mysticism and the founder of the whole school of mystics and as such highly revered ), the father of Maṣṣūr Atā, the great-grandfather of Zengī Atā, was a companion of the Prophet, who lived upto the incredible age of "400 or 700 years" just to deliver the sacred trust of the Prophet ( the date palm chewed by the Prophet ) to the founder of the Yesewī order, as promised by him before the Prophet ( pp. 495-7 ). But, according to the Rashḥāt, the Prophet appeared in a dream to Bāb Arslān and directed him to give spiritual training to Khwāja Yesewī, a phenomenon quite common in hagiography.

#### KHWAJA 'ABD AL WAHHAB

He was the grandfather of Niḥārī, fifth in descent from Zengī Atā. He was trained in spiritualism earlier by his father, Sulaimān Khwāja, who handed him over to Amīr 'Abd Allāh Bazdashābādī ( pp. 497-502 ).

The latter found him already well advanced in taṣawwuf. So, he conferred on him the Khaṭṭi Irshād even before the period of probation was over, saying *کار دسته خود را نمی برد* "The knife does not cut its own handle" which is his contribution to the rich proverbial literature of Persia. This letter of authority was treasured in the family archives for a long time. His father, Sulaimān Khwāja, appointed him as his spiritual successor, even during his life-time, after performing the tonsorial ceremony ( shaving the front portion of his forehead ), according to the custom of the Shaikhs of Central Asia. Thereafter he displayed great spiritual powers. His disciples were legion, hailing from places far and near and some of them rose to eminence in the spiritual world. He acquired external science from Maulānā Ḥusain Khwārizmi ( d. 839 AH ). He was well versed in the gentle art of poetry which was also employed by him to propagate his spiritual teachings. He is the author of two dīwāns in Turkī and Persian under the penname of 'Arif. Niḥārī quotes some lines from him ( p. 501 ). He died at the age of eighty and was buried beside his father in Isfāzān in the province of Nisā.

Khwāja 'Abd al-Wahhāb had three sons: (i) Shaikh 'Alī Khwāja ( pp. 502-505 ), the eldest son and successor and the possessor of the sacred cloak of the Prophet. He was poetically known as Shawqī (ii) Pāshā Khwāja ( author's father—pp. 505-512 ). (iii) Bābā Jān Khwāja ( برادر عینی خواجه ) ( pp. 512-13 ) who spent most of his time amongst his disciples in Sā'in Khān ( tribe ). All of them were poets of Turkī and Persian and for specimens of their poetry *vide* pages 504, 506, 509-512 and 513.

1. Amīr 'Abd Allāh Barzamshāhādī ( Ethe' : Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, London, Vol. I, p. 364, q 647-9 ).

## INTRODUCTION

### NITHARI BUKHARI AND HIS FAMILY

There is not much external evidence about the life of the author. Many particulars of his life and family and socio-political and religious conditions of his times can be gleaned with advantage from the present work especially from the *Khātimā* (pp. 490-517).

*Khawājā Bahā-al-Dīn* Hasan, poetically called *Nithārī*, hailed from a venerable Saiyyid family of Bukhārā. His grandfather *Khawājā 'Abdal Wahhāb* claimed descent both physically and spiritually from Zengī Atā (vide the genealogical tree). The *Khātimā* of the present work and the *Rashhāt* (composed 909 A.H.) of *Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mullā Husain Wā'iz al Kāshifī* deal with the Yesewī branch family of the Chishtī order founded by *Aḥmad Yesewī* (d. 502/1100), whose first spiritual successor, *Manṣūr Atā* (d. 594/1197) was the great-grandfather of Zengī Atā. The latter married 'Amber Atā, according to our author, a widow of *Hātīm Atā* (d. 582/113), the fourth spiritual successor of *Aḥmad Yesewī* and the daughter of *Buḡhrā Khān* and not *Burāq Khān*, as the *Rashhāt* states. The statement of our author appears to be corroborated by facts of history. Obviously he is no other than *Buḡhrā Khān Md. b Yūsuf*, the ruler of *Kāshghar*, the grandson of *Buḡhrā Khān Hārūn b. Mūsā*, the first of the dynasty of Il-khans or *Karakhānids* in Central Asia to conquer *Māwarā al Nahr* (Transoxiana), who, in his turn, was the grandson of *Satuk Buḡhrā Khān*, said to be the first member of this dynasty to adopt Islam and propagate it in his kingdom. The statement of the *Rashhāt* does not seem to be correct, for *Burāq Khān*, the Mongol Prince of Central Asia, the great-grandson of *Chaghtāi*, wrested power from his cousin *Mubārak Shāh*, according to *Bartold* (*Turkistan* I, 148) in 664/1266 and according to *Wassāf*, in 663/1264. He is mentioned by the brothers *Nicholo* and *Matteo Polo* (father and uncle of *Marco Polo*) during their sojourn of three years in *Bukhārā* (1262-65). He died some time between 668/1270 and 670/1271. According to *P. Melioransky*, no information about *Bābā Arslān* is found (variously pronounced, i.e., *Arslān Bābā Rashhāt*): *Arslān Bāb* and *Bāb Arslān* (*Muzakkir-i-Aḥbāb*). But it is available in the *Rashhāt* and the *Muzakkir-i-Aḥbāb*. Curiously enough *Nithārī* wants us to believe much

verse represented all the cross sections of the people. Ṣā'ib (1080 AH/1667) the famous Persian Poet has said :

آنکه اول شعر گفت آدم صغی الله بود طبع موزون حجت فرزندی آدم بود

Adam is said to be first poet who gave vent to his feelings of grief when his son Qābil (Cain) killed Hābil (Abel) and thus the inclination towards poetry is the natural heritage of man. The work gives an insight into the high position occupied by Persian poetry and the tremendous influence wielded by it in the Middle East and in countries where Persian language was the vehicle of thought. The art of composing Persian poetry was considered as the hallmark of culture. Moreover, a close study of this small but meaningful book reveals how modern Persian poetry itself had undergone a natural change in the course of six hundred years since its inception. It evolved a style peculiar to the locale and to the process or result of its flowering. The students of Persian literature are familiar with the decline in the quality, though not in quantity, of Persian poetry produced especially after the death of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr and the passing away of Jāmī (AH 898/1492) who is wrongly considered as the last of the classical poets of Persia. Here, in this book, we have glimpses of the clever inventions of the poets and literary persons such as the construction of Ash'ār-i-maṣnu', Qasā'id-i-Muṭawwal, diverse figures of speech, difficult rhymings, different kinds of metres, etc. Kātībī Tarshīzī and Ahlī Shīrazī set the fashion for the Persian poets and this kind of artificial poetry was in vogue in that period. Another trend, during the period of decline, was the spread of Mu'a'mmā sarāī, for which a reference may be made to the books of Sharf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī d. 858/1454 and Jāmī, who regarded it among the current special literary arts. The usefulness of the book should not be confined only to its literary aspects, for it contains valuable first hand information regarding the history and sociology of Central Asia and other neighbouring countries. It is a 'must' for the study of Khwājā Naqshband (717-791/1317-1380) and his Order, along with the Maqāmāt-i-Sayyidinā مقامات سیدنا of Ṣāleḥ b. al Mubārak, the source book of Rashhāt 'Aīn al-Hayāt (C 893/1488) and Nafaḥat ul-Uns of Jāmī (d 898). The importance of this book also lies in the fact that it is a reliable source book for Indo-Persian literature. There are notices of about twenty poets of Central Asia who migrated to India, adorned the courts of the earlier Moghul Emperors, Princes and nobles and, alongside the native Persian poets, promoted the "Indian Summer of Persian Literature." It is bound to be of immense help to the future historian of Persian literature, who, I am sure, will now give it a well merited place.

New College, Madras—14.

S.A.W. BUKHARI

## FOREWORD

BY

ALHAJ AFZALUL ULEMA MAULVI SYED ABDUL WAHAB

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(Principal, New College, Madras-14)

MUZAKKIR-I-AḤBĀB, a biographical work, written in Persian by Khwāja Hasan Nithāri Bukhārī in 974 AH/1566, is a rare hitherto unpublished work of considerable value to Persian literary history. This is an *editio princeps*, published for the first time by Prof. S. M. Fazlullah, (Former Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Retired Principal and at present Emeritus Professor of Persian in the Osmania University, Hyderabad-7) with the grant-in-aid from the Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) in his epitaph for himself remarks quite wittingly ;

“Yet the work itself shall not be lost,  
For it will, as he believed, appear once more,

In a new

And more beautiful edition,  
Corrected and amended by its Author.”

Here in this case, by the learned editor, who has taken considerable pains to prepare the text, after collation with two oldest manuscript copies in the world—one in the British Museum dated 987 AH/1579 and the other dated 980/1572 in the Aligarh Muslim University Library and compile it as literary material for historians, scholars and the discerning public. Its pages reflect the picture of Persian poetry which flourished in the 10th century outside Persia especially in Central Asia, Turkey and India. It is a record of the triumph of Persian language over a vast area, far beyond its national frontiers. This work contains biographical notices of about 275 persons who composed Persian poems in the post-Jāmī period and contributed in their own way towards further enrichment of Persian literature. This group of writers and reciters (“Goindagan”) of Persian

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# MUDHAKKIR-I-AḤBĀB

(“REMEMBRANCE OF FRIENDS”)

OF

KHWĀJA BAHĀ AL-DĪN ḤASAN NITHĀRĪ BUKHĀRĪ

(Biographical notices of 275 Persian Poets who flourished in the  
10th century A.H./16th century A.D. in Central Asia  
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Edited with Critical Notes and Introduction

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

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