Mir Dawlatshah Samarqandi

*Tadhkirat al-shu‘ara*

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

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

*Sultan Uways Jalayir*

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

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

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

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

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

3Shaykh-Hasan the Great, founder of the Jalayirid dynasty, died in 1356.
4The Ilkhan Abu-Sa’id, ruled 1317–35.
A thousand times a day the mighty splendor of her veil shatters the spires of Sanjar's crown.

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

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

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

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

Justly hearts of stone turn to bloody tears at the hardheartedness of this dustheap, and tears roll from the clouds' eyes over the celestial spheres' tyranny. The bud's chemise is rent in mourning for rosy cheeked ones, and the rose's ruby crown is cast to the dust in grief. Khwaja Sal-

man wept bitterly at the foot of Sultan Uways's bier and recited this elegy:

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

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

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

SULTAN AHMAD JALAYIR

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

I praise (ahmadu) God for the royal justice of Ahmad son of Shaykh-Uways son of Hasan Ilkhani.5

Khan son of khan, king of kings of imperial lineage, whom it is fitting to call the soul of the world.

If the moon rises against you, an Ahmadi miracle and divine favor will cut it in half.6 Lineage, excellence and affection: all pertain to you. Away with the evil eye, for you are both soul and beloved. [341]

The bud of pleasure has not bloomed for me among the roses of Fars. Praise be to the Tigris of Baghdad and fragrant wine.

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

6 The line is full of puns: Ahmadi refers obliquely to Sultan-Ahmad but principally to the prophet Muhammad (the Ahmadi), whose miracle of splitting the moon in two by pointing is referred to.
Shake loose your Turkish locks, for in your ascendant are royal fortune and Genghis Khan's position.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why should we humbly submit to the cruelty of fate? Why should we worry over every insignificant thing?

Let us leave ocean and mountain and pass by. Let us put land and sea beneath our wing, like the phcenix.

Either let us place our foot on the neck of the celestial sphere in triumph, or let us bravely endeavor to be highminded.

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

Submit humbly to fate and do not turn away. A great thing cannot be considered insignificant.
Why do you head for Mount Qaf like the phoenix? Be small like the wren and shed your wings and feathers. Put from your mind impossible thoughts lest a hundred thousand heads roll on account of your own head.

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

In 8089 Sultan Ahmad was martyred by Qara Yusuf the Turcoman, who had been one of his father’s herdsmen, and the title of sultan fell away from the House of Jalayir as the Turcomans came to power. An account of the origin and history of the Turcomans will come later, God willing.

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

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

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

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

10 Fakhr and din of course give Fakhruddin. When the “dagger” (alif) is removed from mahāmid, it becomes Muhammad. Almās is the beginning of al-Māstari; the final solution is elusive.
Qiran’s center and flank, and he nearly defeated the amir’s army completely, but God did not give him the victory. In his Zafarnama Mawlana Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi relates that four times Shah Mansur brandished his sword over the Sahib-Qiran, and Qumari Inaq and Adil Akhtachi had to hold their shields over his head.

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

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

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

*  

AMIR TIMUR KÜRÄĞÄN  

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

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

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

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

An account of his career would not fit into the records of humanity. How then can this memorial volume contain them? His Highness was born and grew up in the area of Kish. He was the son of Amir Taraghay, a great amir of the Barlas tribe, than whom there are none more noble or high-ranking among the Chaghatai nation. Amir Taraghay was the grandson of Amir Qarachar Noyan, who was a cousin of the great amir Genghis Khan. With his son Chaghatai Khan Genghis Khan sent Amir Qarachar Noyan to govern Transoxiana, Turkistan and dependencies. For a long time the autonomous rule of the Chaghatai nation was in Qarachar Noyan’s powerful hands. He was the brother of Amir Taghchar, who took Syria and Egypt in the time of Hülagü Khan. Genealogists of the Turks say that Amir Timur Küräğän’s line and Genghis Khan’s line met in Alan Qoa Khatun, who was married to one of the grandsons of Imam Ali Zaynul-Abidin, and from her sprang this noble family.

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

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11Also called Shahr-i Sabz, now in Uzbekistan.  
12Both the marble slab covering Timur’s grave and the nephrite cenotaph in the mausoleum in the Gur-i Amir in Samarcand record the legend that Alan Qoa conceived “from a light” that was “one of the descendants of the Prince of the Faithful Ali b. Abi-Talib” without specifying which descendant. Ali Zaynul-Abidin, the Fourth Imam of the Shia, died in 94/712–13.
Above his head a high star of brilliance shone.

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

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

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

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

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

A camel went to the top of a minaret and cried out, “I am hiding here. Don’t give me away!”

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

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

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13Text has “three,” surely an error for “ten.”

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

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

16The Ildîrm (or Yildirm, “thunderbolt”) of Rûm was the sobriquet of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I, whom Timur defeated at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402.
The Plenipotent of Egypt gave him tribute, and the Sharif of Mecca accepted to pay homage. The infidels of Georgia were deafened by the noise of his invincible army's drums, and Hindustan turned into a Turkistan with the encampment of his triumphant forces. With Indian prisoners and slaves Khurasan became a Hindustan, and from Delhi to the Qipchaq Steppe and the farthest reaches of Khwarazm, and from the borders of Kashghar and Khotan to Syria, Egypt and the Maghreb came into his grasp by the glittering sword. For thirty-six years he ruled in most of the inhabited quarter of the globe by the spread of friends and conquest of enemies. He was kind to his subjects and overthrew those he conquered.

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

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

17 Damascus was taken by Timur in 1401. The House of Yazid and Mu'awiya are references to the Umayyad caliphs (r. 661–750), whose capital was Damascus.
18 Koran 89:28.

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

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**MIRANSHAH**

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

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

However, one day he fell from his horse, and his mind became disordered. Despite the treatment the physicians gave him, it was useless, and his mental disorder increased until it became melancholia and reached the level of insanity. [369] He continually kept company with low-lifes and tormented his amirs and deputies, to whom he refused audience. He was so disrespectful of grandees and nobles that
he removed Khwaja Rashid’s body from his tomb in the Rashidiyya at Tabriz and had the bones buried in the Jews’ cemetery. 19 He ordered his wife Khanzada, whom Amir Timur Kūrāgān favored highly, to be bound, and he tortured and tormented her. Khanzada managed to escape from him and went to the Sahib-Qiran in Samarqand, where she showed him her bloody shirt and told the father about the son. The amir wept and spoke to no one for a week. He gathered his army and set out for Azerbaijan, the reason for the dispatch of the army being this very case. That occurred in Jumada I 795 [March 1393].

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

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

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

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

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SHahrUKh

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

19 Rashiduddin Fazlullah (ca. 1247-1318), court physician, historian and sadr to the Il-khans, author of the voluminous world history \textit{Jami’ al-tawarikh} and builder of the Rab’i-i Rashidi (the Rashidiyya) in Tabriz.

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

21 810 according to Mirkhwand (RS, VI, 559). Fasihi (\textit{Mujmal}, 179) gives the date of the battle with Qara Yusuf, 24 Dhu’l-Qa’dā 810 (April 21, 1408). Khwandamir (\textit{HS}, III, 570) gives 24 Dhu’l-Qa’dā 809 (May 2, 1407) as the date of Miranshah’s death.

22 Khwandamir (\textit{HS}, III, 571) gives 811. Fasihi (\textit{Mujmal}, p. 185f.) records him as still alive at the beginning of 811.
which he accepted and then sent to the deserving.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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23Luqmah-ā-yi shubha-āmēz, i.e., food whose origin or manner of acquisition is suspect in terms of the religious law.

24Fasihi (Mujmal. 267) gives his death date as 22 Rajab 834 (April 5, 1431).
torians, especially Mawlana Fazil Jarda, have related that three hundred princes, all of whom were worthy to rule, were gathered at Shahrukh's court. [376] Of His Majesty's mighty sons and grandsons and great relatives it is certainly hoped, nay it is absolute certainty that this Chosroës, [Sultan-Husayn] a Jamshid in fortune, a Faridun in ambition, a Bahram in dignity, who is heir to the deeds of the great of this fortunate house, may attain—nay, has attained—many times over the good fortune of those past sovereigns.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shahrukh Bahadur Sultan was born on the 14th of Rabi' 1 779 [August 20, 1377] in Samarqand. He lived for 71 years. For seven years during his father's lifetime he ruled Khurasan, and for forty-three years after Timur Kūrāgān he reigned autonomously over Iran and Turan and the lands of India and the Turks. In the month of Dhu'l-Hijja 850, late in the morning of Nawroz [March 13, 1447] he died in Fasha Rud, a dependency of Rayy.

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

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

25Shamshir (sword) = 850.
26Muhammad-Yarudi's name is garbled in the text, and Khan Oghlan is given as Jan Oghlan (see Fasihi, Mujmal, 154; Mu'izz al-ansab, fol. 137).
nearly twenty princes who were elegant cypresses in the meadow of leadership, nay souls for the body of the realm. The sun would turn dark in envy of their beauty and the universal intellect was incapable of comprehending their worth, but in a short time inauspicious fate attacked those meritorious sultans and sentenced them to the prison of the grave. Today nothing but a memory remains of those renowned, all-conquering heroes. “Might is God’s. Wherefore take example, O ye who have eyes.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27Koran 59:2.
BAYSUNGHUR

[Qasim al-Anwar], [385] whose origins were in Azerbaijan, was born in Surkhab, Tabriz, of which region he was among the great sayyids and sharifs. During his youth he was a disciple of Shaykh Sadruddin Ardabili and for a time was trained [in Sufism] by him. He underwent much spiritual exercise in Sufism and spiritual poverty and [386] was well trained. Thereafter he set out with the shaykh’s permission for Gilan, where he lived for a time training dervishes. When his fame had reached all corners of the earth, he set out for Khurasan and stayed for a while in Nishapur. However, the Zahiri ulema of Khurasan protested his presence, and he went to the capital Herat. The people of Herat trusted him completely and gave him their allegiance. He was a powerfully attractive man, and every skeptic who came before him departed a believer.

When most of the nobles and princes of Herat had become his disciples, self-interested people told the emperor of the age, Sultan Shahrukh, that it was not prudent to allow this sayyid to stay in the city. As most of the youths had become his disciples, there was a danger that corruption might occur. The emperor ordered the sayyid expelled, but no matter how many times the amirs and ministers of state took the emperor’s order to the sayyid, it was useless: Amir Sayyid Qasim would say, “For what crime does Shahrukh expel me from a Muslim realm?”

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

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

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

“Which words?” he asked.

“ ‘Qasim, cut short your speech, arise and go forth: cast sugar to the parrot, carrion to the vulture,’ ” [quoted the prince].

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

The felicitous birth of Prince Baysunghur was in the year 802.29 He possessed both beauty and perfection, good fortune and propitious luck; in patronage of the arts and artistic ability he was renowned throughout the world. During his time calligraphy and poetry gained currency, and artisans and literati, hearing of his reputation, entered his service from all regions and areas.

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

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

29 All other sources are agreed upon 799 as his date of birth. Fashi (Mujmal, p. 140) gives 21 Dhu’l-Hijja 799 (September 15, 1397).
It is related that during Baysunghur’s time Khwaja Yusuf Andigani [391] had no equal in all the world in recitation and singing. Khwaja Yusuf’s Davidic voice pierced the heart, and his Chosroic melody augmented the agony of passion. Sultan-Ibrahim b. Shahrukh in Shiraz several times asked Baysunghur for Khwaja Yusuf, but he refused. Finally he sent 100,000 dinars in cash for Prince Baysunghur to send him Khwaja Yusuf. In reply Sultan Baysunghur sent this line:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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30 The date of his death, 7 Jumada I 837 (December 20, 1433), is given by Fasihi (Mujmal, p. 272).
31 Fasihi (Mujmal, p. 219) records the fiefs Baysunghur was given in 817/1415.
32 Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253–1325), author of a divan, a Khamsa (quintet) in imitation of Nizami’s Khamsa, and numerous versified histories.
his essays Amir Khusraw says, "My poetry is less than 500,000 and more than 400,000 lines." His *Khamsa* is 18,000 lines, while Shaykh Nizami of Ganja's is 28,000. It is amazing that in some poetry there is longwindedness and in others there is brevity; in either case, elegance and eloquence are the goals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

35Koran 53:38: "A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another."
Prince Khalilullah reigned in Samarqand after the death of Amir Timur Küräğän. He was a handsome prince, of good character and of refined nature. He threw open the treasury that Amir Timur Küräğän had amassed throughout his reign from the taxes on Iran and Turan and, like the April rain, nay like the mines of Badakhshan and the sea of Oman, scattered silver and pearls over soldiers and civilians. The learned received patronage in his time and in describing their situation sang:

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

In the same vein Katibi says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

O bestower of gifts, O grantor of desires, we can bear no more of this separation. Ill luck has become our neighbor and sung out, “Welcome!” Good fortune has departed, saying, “Adieu!” May my life be sacrificed to the aroma of the breeze that comes to us from our beloveds’ region. As sorrowful and happy ones pass from the monastery [of this world], do not sorrow over tribulation or rejoice over good fortune.

The brand of the world left Kaus Kay’s breast; when was Kay-Qubad gleeful over bad luck? If Khalil is imprisoned in the six directions of separation, one day the spheres will release you. God’s decree has given me into the hands of the lowly: it is wrong to complain to people of God’s decree.

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

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

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

Would that you had ordered my execution by the sword of separation so that my enemies might not have seen me abject on such a day.

Tell the gardener to plant me at the foot of the garden wall if I think of the cypress and lily without remembering him.

When will my cavalier again strut forth so that I, like a madman, may cast myself in his path, covered with dust and blood? [399]

From the veins of both eyes I rain my heart’s blood, for in separation from him every hair on my body is a bloody lancet.

Ismat, when will the monuments of Khalil’s era come again so that I may smash these idols I wrongly worship?

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

It is a shoreless sea that holds the world in its embrace—the diver of the universal intellect can never comprehend its essence (pearl).

The moon is a reflection of the rays from its gilt lawh; the sun is a reflection of its illuminated pages.

The depiction of angelic, tulip-cheeked beauties has locked the houris of paradise in their palaces in shame.

Hot spins the sun on the lawh of the celestial sphere in order to put a seal on the pages of this register.

It takes black from the night and golden ink from the moon; the azure sphere makes leather for it from Taurus’s hide.

From the succession of black and white and night and dawn the Maker’s craft has produced a binding for its two sides. When the rulings are made, red is drawn from sunset’s reflection using a silver compass lent by Gemini’s sphere.

You would say Jupiter showed his countenance in the dead of night when the golden dots shone from around the lines. All who have seen it have scattered rubies (yaqut) from the pupils of their eyes (ibn-i

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36 The 16th according to Fasihi (Mujmal, 207).
muqla) over the raw silver of its amber-scented geometric lines.37 Every word is a pearl of the treasure trove of meaning: other than a moneychanger (sayrafi),38 who could establish the price of this gem? [401]

Every charming line that was confirmed (muhaqqaq) in beauty is a commentary (ta’liq) on its illuminated pages.39 To acquire merit the intellect has memorized every novel meaning that manifests itself therein.

Every string of pearls versified forms an ordered whole in the thread of the mastar.40 Salman borrows from the light of the qasidas; with the spirit-nourishing ghazals Sa’di has come to life again.41 Khaqani has been inspired by the rhetoric of the poetry; Anwari is eclipsed by the brilliant (anwar) metaphor.42 Nizami’s spirit is gladdened by the mathnawis; Ibn-i Yamin praises it for the singlets and occasional pieces.43 Perplexed by the marginalia, the pen moves; I am amazed at what images he has in his head.

I said, “Let me enter in thought and contemplation, let me learn the beauty of his hidden meanings.” As I stood astonished at what I saw, a voice informed me of the master of this refined poetry, saying,

“This is a treasury deposited by mighty ones, a compilation of marvels by a poet king.”

When Sultan-Khalil came to the throne, the fire of sedition was quenched by his blade and dagger. [402]

A Leo-attacking Jamshid, by the blow of whose mace the convex heaven is made concave. The sphere was split apart by the arc in order to achieve union with his circular dart.44 O commander, to all who have seen your exalted might the nine spheres appear as insignificant as dust.

All who have rolled the dice of opposition to you have been imprisoned by grief on the playing board of pain and calamity. No enemy has found a way to escape your dagger—unless death leads him to his fate. If the sea holds up its palm (kaff) in indigence (beguhari),45 you enrich it instantly from the cloud of generosity. Scented nostrils derive from you the scent of the musk sack of whose aroma time is glad. Be there dust upon the head of anyone who has rubbed his forehead in service at your threshold and then takes refuge with another! You place a crown of acceptability on the head of every beggar, who then spurns Darius and Cesar’s opulence. The abundance of meanings comes from the effulgence of praising you, otherwise what would be the use of repeated words? [403]

Given a choice, any would elect to die but still not abandon your service. For as long as God allows the seven climes to acquire the sun’s light May your essence remain at the zenith of rule; may fortune smile and the throne of felicity tower.

∑

ULUGHBEG

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

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37Puns on the famous calligraphers Yaqut al-Musta’simi (died 1299) and Ibn Muqla (died 940).
38A pun on the calligrapher Abdullah al-Sayrafi (fl. 1310–44).
39With puns on muhaqqaq and ta’liq, both calligraphic styles.
40A mastar is a cardboard sheet strung with thread used by copyists to make horizontal writing lines on the page.
41Salman Sawaji (ca. 1300–1376), Persian poet renowned for his qasidas; Sa’di (ca. 1215–ca. 1290), one of the most famous poets of Persian, renowned especially for his ghazals.
42Khaqani (1121–1199), poet known for the brilliance of his rhetorical devices; Anwari (ca. 1125–ca. 1170), a poet known for particularly abstruse panegyric.
43Nizami (1141–1209), the poet par excellence of the metrical romance; Ibn-i Yamin (1286–1368), known for his single lines and qit’as (“fragments”).
44‘Arc’ (or ‘bow,’ qaws) is also Sagittarius; ‘dart’ (or ‘arrow,’ sahm) is also the constellation Sagitta.
45Kaff means both ‘palm of the hand’ and ‘foam’ (on the surface of the sea); beguhari is ‘indigence’ but literally means ‘pearllessness.’ According to legend pearls are made from April raindrops falling into oysters, which then sink to the bottom of the sea and produce pearls.
minded king. He attained an exalted degree in astronomy and was quite adept at understanding poetry. During his reign scientists were given the greatest respect, and in his time the position of the learned reached exalted heights. In geometry he pointed out the subtlest things, and in cosmography he unlocked the secrets of the *Almagest*. The learned and wise are agreed that in the history of Islam—nay from the time of Alexander until this moment—there has never reigned a king so wise and learned as Ulughbeg Kūrāgān. At the arithmetical sciences he was perfectly adept. Along with the wise men of his age, such as Qazizada Rumi and Mawlana Ghiyathuddin Jamshid [Kashi], he set down observations of the stars. When those two great ones died before the work was completed, the sultan set his whole mind to the completion of the task and finished the observations. What he produced [is known as] the *Zij-i sultani*,\(^{46}\) which he put out in his own name. Today that table is current among and credited by scientists, and some prefer it to the Ilkhanid *Zij-i Nasiri*.\(^{47}\)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{47}\)The astronomical tables generally known as the *Zij-i Ilkhani* compiled by Nasiruddin Tusi (1201–1274).
After Shahrukh’s death Prince Ulughbeg Küragan led his forces from Transoxiana to Khurasan seeking the kingdom he had inherited. Prince Ala’uddawla resisted him, but in the vicinity of Tarnab, a dependency of Badghis, a battle took place, and Ulughbeg Küragan won and subjugated all of Khurasan. He had 90,000 soldiers, and during that campaign a devastation of which traces can be seen today was wrought upon Khurasan.

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

In return for the honors and favor he had bestowed upon his younger son Abdul-Latif, Abdul-Latif was seduced by the devil to rebel against his father, and Ulughbeg was forced to engage in combat with Abdul-Latif for three months along the banks of the Oxus. During this, the Arghun folk, who are Turcomans of Turkistan, raised Sultan Abu-Sa’id as padishah and, breaking away from Ulughbeg’s army, went to Samarqand and besieged the city. This was clear proof of Prince Ulughbeg’s weakness.

[406] Not knowing what to do, he set out for Samarqand, but soon Abdul-Latif crossed the Oxus headed for Samarqand. In Sha’ban 853 [September 1449], a battle was fought in the vicinity of Samarqand between father and son in which Abdul-Latif was the victor. Ulughbeg sought refuge in the Samarqand Fort, but Miranshah the Qorchi, who had been his protégé, showed his ingratitude by refusing him entry into the fort. Perforce he fled to the borders of Turkistan, leaving Abdul-Latif to take the throne of Samarqand.

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

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

In his book Hadayiq al-anwar the great Fakhruddin Razi tells that there was no one more noble in royal families than Sheroë, who was Sheroë son of Parvez son of Humuz son of Anushirvan son of Qubad son of Firoz son of Yazdighird son of Bahram Gor. Bahram’s lineage went back to Ardashir Papakan, whose lineage went back to Kay Qubad, whose lineage went back to Faridun, and Faridun’s lineage went back several generations to Gayomarth, who Persian genealogists say was the father of mankind. That great
prince [Sheroë] did an ignoble deed [407] and killed his father. After six months he went to hell of the plague. In the Abbasid caliphal dynasty the most noble was Mustansir, who was Mustansir b. Mutawakkil b. Mu'tasim b. Rashid b. Mahdi b. Mansur b. Ali b. Abdullah b. Abbas. With many generations of caliphs behind him, Abbas's noble lineage went back to the Bani-Hashim, who were among the most high born of mankind. Mustansir also killed his father and did not live six months thereafter. Thus it is obvious that one should not boast of noble lineage but rather of fear of God. Abdul-Latif's story proves the same. He was Abdul-Latif b. Ulughbeg b. Shahrukh b. Timur Kuran, and Amir Timur's forefathers were grandees and sultans. This infamous prince was reared in Shahrukh's favor, and Shahrukh loved him more than any of his other children and grandchildren. Despite this honor, favor, noble lineage and descent, he too, like the other infamous two who have just been mentioned, gained ill repute for all time and reproach by all. This verse is appropriate to him:

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

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

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

Another is as follows:

Sultan mighty as the spheres, happy
Ulughbeg, on the eighth of the month of Ramadan was martyred.

49'Abbås kusht = 853.

On the night he was killed a tumult arose,
and the date is RESURRECTION EVE.50

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

ISKANDAR B. UMAR-SHAYKH

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

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

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

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

50Shab-i qiyamat = 853; 8 Ramadan 853 = October 25, 1449.
tonomy was affecting the balance of his mind, in 814\textsuperscript{51} Shahrukh Bahadur Kūrāgān took his army to Persian Iraq to attack Prince Iskandar. Prince Rustam took refuge with Shahrukh Sultan, and Iskandar Mirza was defeated in the environs of Isfahan. In the end he was taken prisoner by Shahrukh and, through the machinations of Gawharshad Begim, Shahrukh Sultan gave his approval for both the prince’s eyes, which were the envy of the black-eyed houris, \[417\] to be stripped of the garb of sight, like the eyes of the narcissus. That occurred on Friday, 2 Jumada I 817 [July 20, 1414].

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

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\textbf{BAYQARA B. UMAR-SHAYKH}

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

\begin{quote}
Vanquisher of enemies, rewarder of friends, that conquering king who holds the world
Granted me \textit{besh yüz altun} (500 gold pieces): the sultan’s favor to his slave is great.
Three hundred disappeared, and now two hundred appears on my chit.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{51}A mistake in the text; Shahrukh’s campaign set out in Rajab 816 (October 1413; see Khwandamir, \textit{HS}, III, 588; Abdul-Razzaq, \textit{Matla`}, II, 143).

Perhaps I misheard, or perhaps the secretary made a mistake—
Or perhaps in Turkish \textit{besh yüz altun} means two hundred. [419]

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

\begin{quote}
One would say that the effulgence of the shah’s mind is the Oman Sea; one would say his jewel-raining hand is the April cloud.
\end{quote}

The exalted Sultan Umar-Shaykh Bahadur was the apple of Timur’s eye, and none of Timur’s offspring received the favor he did. At first he gave him the rulership of Ferghana, which is called Andigan, and he was so brave and daring that he destroyed the foundations of the Mughul khans and defeated Qamaruddin. The Mughuls submitted to him and ceased raiding the borders, never drawing an easy breath for fear of him. He controlled that area for a time, but the Sahib-Qiran, perceiving greatness in him, appointed him to Fars up to the borders of Basra and Khuza\textpenalty1\textendash;istan. That exalted prince, who patronized his friends and defeated his enemies, was mortally wounded by an arrow during a battle for a fortress in Khuza\textpenalty1\textendash;istan when the army of Anatolia had invaded. The Sahib-Qiran was sorely grieved by his loss and, reciting this quatrain to describe his state, wept bitterly:

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

Timur appointed the prince’s sons to his position, assigning to each of the princes a governorship, as has been pre-
viously described regarding Prince Pir-Muhammad, Prince Iskandar and Prince Rustam.

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

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

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

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

UMAR B. MIRANSHAH

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

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

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

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

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

54Khwandamir (HS, III, 565): battle fought at Bardawayh, Jam on 9 Dhu’l-Qa‘da 809 (April 17, 1407). Umar was wounded in battle, died in Herat on the 25th and was buried at Fakhruddin Razi’s tomb in Herat. See also Abdul-Razzaq, Matla’, II, 53.
“My prince,” the shaykh answered, “this is something I will never do, for Shahrukh is a just, God-fearing man, and you are reckless and daring. Moreover, he is like a father to you. To ask for his defeat and your victory is counter to both dervishdom and the divine law. I will never do it.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *

IBRAHIM-SULTAN B. SHAHRUKH

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

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

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

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

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

55In the Islamic version of the Abraham legend, Abraham overturns the idols of his father, Azar the idolmonger. Ibrahim = Abraham.
graceful insight and subtle intellect he possessed.

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

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

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

* * *

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

**ISKANDAR QARAQOYUNLU**

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

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

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

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

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

* 

MUHAMMAD-JUKI

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

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

Immediately the mawlana ran before the prince and said, "O lord of the world, the line does not go like that."
"How does it go then?" asked the prince.
"Like this," he said:

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

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

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

The following describes his prowess in archery:

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

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

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

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

57I.e., it was about noon, and if he lingered much longer he would miss the holiday prayer.
cried out to Prince Juki, “Come in.” The prince reared his bejeweled, prancing steed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* SULTAN-MUHAMMAD *

As for the royal prince Sultan-Muhammad b. Baysunghur, ...he was a prince of noble nature, talented and a connoisseur of poetry. He was manly, brave and handsome. After Baysunghur’s death [Baysunghur’s] post, fiefs and rank were given to Prince Ala’uddawla, whom Gawharshad Begim favored. Sultan-Muhammad and Babur-Sultan were left with nothing but name and title. Since Sultan-Muhammad had attained the rank of saffdar and bahadur, and the aura of fortune was obvious on his world-
adorning brow, Shahrukh wanted to elevate him to the rank of sultan and appoint him ruler over a section of the kingdom. The generals and ministers of state were all in accord with this, but Gawharshad Begim disagreed, saying, “Sultan-Muhammad is an impetuous youth. Do not give him an opportunity to revolt.” In the end the Emperor of Islam [Shahrukh] granted [him the rulership] and, with the great generals exerting themselves [on his behalf], Sultan-Muhammad was appointed to the governorship of Qum, Rayy, Nihawand and its appendages up to Baghdad. With his grandfather’s appointment the prince became the ruler of that region, where he reigned for three years in all seriousness of purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

58Khusraw Dihlawi, Diwan, p. 190, ghazal 559, line 6.
I, like a dust mote, have turned my face
from the sun because of the cruelty of fate
and the torment of my brethren.
I had the sultan’s protection. I did not cease
in battle. I dispersed my servants in every
direction.
Rustam son of Dastan did not wage war
with Afrasiyab as I did with Hajji Husayn
for Hamadan.
In Iraq I wanted to test my servant. The king
imagines I attacked Isfahan.
For the sultan I constantly wield the sword
in Iraq; I have made my breast a shield for
Khurasan.
Jahanshah attacked me, and his army came
from ambush: I ground that army into the
dust.
Others indulge in pleasure; our hope is the
battlefield. I have lived in manliness, not
like them.
Offspring of Sultan Baysunghur Khan am I:
in the field of battle I have always paraded
on a fleet-footed steed.
I have the name Muhammad for the sake of
the Ahmad’s religion: I have devoted my
life to the King of Men.59

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

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

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

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

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

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

When Sultan-Muhammad learned of
Hajji Muhammad’s death, he lost heart
and began to worry that he was following
a bad strategy. Taking a group of select
warriors, he galloped posthaste toward Babur and, at noon on Thursday, the last
day of Safar 854 [April 13, 1450], at-
tacked his brother the day after Babur had put Hajji Muhammad to death and was confident of his victory. With his 700 men he defeated Babur’s army of 30,000 and put Babur to flight. Incalculable booty remained on the ground, which those few men were unable to appropriate. By chance Prince Ala’uddawla, who had been appointed by Sultan-Muhammad to the governorship of Ghur, Garmser and Yäkä Öläng, seized the opportunity to go to Herat and take the Shahrukhid throne. Sultan-Muhammad had left his uruq in Radkan at the time of the attack in the care of the great minister of finance Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad. [461] When everything was in chaos and the news of Prince Ala’uddawla was heard, the people of the uruq plundered each other and were devastated. When Sultan-Muhammad learned of the devastation of the uruq, he left Mashhad-i Zar and went to Radkan, finding nothing of his uruq and his riches left. Also hearing the news of Prince Ala’uddawla’s seizure of the Herat throne, he hesitated, with no alternative but to withdraw to Iraq via Chahar Ribat and Yazd.

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

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

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

O world, I do not know what your custom is. It is not of love but of vengeance that for the sake of these transitory five days you have such enmity for your brethren. To raise one’s standard to the spheres is not worth killing a brother.
A wise man said that kingship is sweet but barren. Barren the wise man may have called it, but if you are healthy, kingship is infirm.

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

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

Chronogram:

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

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

Give your ersatz overlordship to God so that he can grant you true mastery. The

seigniority the common people give you they take back as quickly as a loan. [464]

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

* ALA’UDDAWLA *

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

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

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

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

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60 Mahrukhi (moon-faced one) = 855.
that treasure will enjoy both this world and the next.

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

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

Every day a different station, every night a different place—melancholy heaped on my head by separation. [467]

Unfortunate are those who voyage across the ocean of the world, like shipwrecked sailors in every sea.

Sometimes in Ghur, sometimes in Sari—neither help nor friendliness from anyone.

Sometimes wandering in the desert, sometimes destitute on the road to Iraq.

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

Neither does my fortune show a friendly face nor is there any hope of kindness from a friend when I cry out.

O Lord, thus I suffer the agony of being a lover: may no one in the world ever be so afflicted.

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

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

Seize every treasure and every horde kings have amassed.

With your gold and silver buy every slave there is in Bulgar, Rūm and China.

Cut robes for yourself of all the silk and satin in Rūm and Shushtar.

Bite the apples of the cheeks and taste the lips of elegant, graceful squint-eyed Turks.

Sit with intimate friends and close comrades and drink filtered wine.

Your wealth is like a fly, and you are like a spider: spin a spider’s web around the fly.

Alas, on the day of death you will have a hundred regrets.

Sa‘di, your body is like a cage, and your spirit like a bird: one day break the cage and let the bird fly away.61

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

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

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

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61Given in Sa‘di, Kulliyat, p. 864f., with a great deal of variation.
Sa'id, by whom they were defeated in Kulan, a dependency of Badghis. In his flight Prince Ala'uddawla reached Rustamdar, and that respected but deprived prince prayed day and night that he had suffered reversal of fortune enough and was ready for death. In 863,62 near Rustamdar, he departed this world.

borah

ABDULLAH B. IBRAHIM-SULTAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is related that when Shahrukh died in Rayy, [486] Prince Babur, who was in the Shahrukhid camp, set out for Astarabad. Amir Hinduka Nawyaqut, who did not have a very exalted position during Shahrukh's reign, was in Astarabad at that time and hastened to join Prince Babur's retinue. Gaining high position and advancement, Amir Hinduka, in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Those who have preceded shall precede; these
are they who shall approach near."”⁶³ became commander-in-chief, and since he was an aged and experienced warrior, the prince acted upon his advice. Once he said to the prince, “Sultan of the world, your brothers and cousins are independent in their lands, wealth and armies have fallen into their hands, and the offspring of the great of this ruling house are in their retinues. If you listen to my words, the kingship will probably come to you. Otherwise, these people will deprive you of it.”

“What is the best way?” the prince asked.

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

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

⁶³Koran 56:10.
Babur returned to Khurasan. On that trek Babur’s men suffered greatly, returning home hungry and naked. This was a blow to Babur’s fortune, and thereafter he made no campaigns, passing his days in luxury and pleasure. [488]

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

In our time one of the ancient cavaliers is wine. And he who boasts of popularity is the reed.

This sultanate, which we got by being a beggar, neither Dara nor Kay-Kaus ever had.

Drink wine and give a draught to suffering me: a wine-bibing rascal is better than a Hatim Ta’i.

Wine is the touchstone: bring wine: what separates the sheep from the goats is this wine.

Do you know why the arched eyebrows of beauties are black? Because the smoke from people’s hearts twines around their ears.

Our heart girdled by that tress holds the blackness of infidelity and all it entails.

Babur, your bitter moan has reached the beloved’s ears: Layli is aware that Majnun is in this quarter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O slow-moving celestial sphere, you have done a hard thing: you have destroyed the kingdom of Iran by the death of the shah.
You have pulled down a sun from its zenith and dashed it to the ground.

It is no small thing, for indeed when you move you shed blood, plunder possessions and uproot faith.

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

Lovers who die knowing melt like sugar before their beloved.

As he lay dying he told everyone that he was about to go, made his last will, commended his son [491] Shah-Mahmud to his officers and ministers, pronounced the testament of faith, and died with these words on his lips:
My soul has joined God, and I am going after my soul; although the way is difficult, I am traveling light. Upon departure my beloved smiled at me and left. Having seen that face, I am going smiling. The cold wind of death makes me hasten to go, but I am so weak I go rising and falling, like the zephyr.

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

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

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

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

Another, clearer chronogram is:

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

Among the great, the learned and the scholars who were renowned during Babur’s time are Shaykh Sadruddin Muhammad al-Rawasi al-‘Akki, Mawlama Muhammad Jajarni, and the poets Mawlama Tuti of Turshiz, Khwaja Mahmud Barsa and Mawlama Qambari Zihtab of Nishapur.

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

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

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

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

64Rāsikh (“firm”) = 861.

65Sa’dlu, for the Sā’atī of the text.
annihilation by that renowned prince's ruby-dripping, glittering blade, and he caused Husayn Beg and his kinsmen to pass beneath the sword of execution in revenge for the Chaghatay amirs. Therefore this exalted prince was justified in reciting these lines from the *Shahnama* to boast of his achievements:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Heart and fortune are happy to encounter you. May you long have glory, prosperity and fortune.
I am not that child that you first saw. I am mature, and kingship is proper for the mature.
It is not polite to call me a child when fate has put me in a great position.
Both my fortune and I are young: do not attempt to fight with two young ones.
It would be foolhardy for you to contend with me for kingship.
Do not draw your sword against your son: do not put a blemish in your precious pearl.
You are experienced in rule, do not speak immaturely: I was born of you, not you of me.
An ancient root is the basis of the orchard; a young tree is an ornament for the garden.
My land is not less than yours; my army is not fewer than yours.
The realm of Baghdad was perfected by me.
Why should I give it up for a silly whim?
How can you demand the throne of me? I
will not give it up. Take it if you can! [521]

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

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

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

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

Curse this perishable world, that for the sake
of two unstable days
A father could take his son’s life, or that a
son could rejoice over his father’s death.
And know that one who takes his brother’s
life is an Angel of Death, not a sibling.
[522]

Evil is not unknown to kinship: Ibn Ziyad
was a kinsman of Husayn.... 66

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

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

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

Let us assume that fate makes you prince of
Rayy: in the end it will roll up the scroll of
your life.

Let us assume that you have more wealth
than Solomon. The world was not faithful
to him: why should it be to you?

SULTAN ABU-SA’ID KÜRÄGÄN

In the year 861 [1456-57] in the Bagh-i
Zaghan in Herat, Sultan Abu-Sa’id Kür-
rägan held a celebration that was in no
way defective in splendor. Poets from all
parts produced congratulatory verse for
the event, and Khwaja Mahmud [Barsa]
recited the following *qasida* on that occasion:

The lote tree in paradise is but the threshold of your exalted throne! Of the pavilion (chartaq) of your might the heavens themselves are but one arch.
The arena of your palace of joy is as delightful as Iram, the castle of your grandeur is as splendid as paradise.
The world, with its hundred thousand eyes, has never seen the likes of celestial you.
The battlements of your palace are as far above Farqadan as the heavenly throne is above the flat earth.
Your palace is the Gallery of China and Khawarnaq, the envy of gardens and orchards in beauty and ornamentation.
Both Ridwan and the houris have fallen into doubt as to whether your courtyard is Ridwan’s garden or paradise.
To scatter at your feast, time itself has brought every jewel the keeper of mines had in his shop. [535]
The highest judge of the court of the celestial sphere elatedly bestows a mantle upon your instrumentalists.
From first the world was created until the trump is blown, no one can point to a festival to match this.

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

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

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

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

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67 Khawarnaq, the fabled palace built by the Lakhmid Nu’man in Hira. The story is told at the beginning of Nizami’s *Haft paykar* (*Khamsa*, pp. 631–37).
68 Ridwan, the warden of paradise.
69 Astrollogically Jupiter and Venus are known respectively as the greater and lesser lucky stars (*sa’d-i akbar*, *sa’d-i asghar*); their conjunction (*qirän al-sa’dayn*) is the most auspicious time.
One would say that from head to foot that graceful mien was the royal splendor and shadow of God's grace.

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

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

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

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

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

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

70Ala'uddawla, son of Baysunghur b. Shahrukh; Sanjar son of Ahmad b. Umar-Shaykh.
In the benign shadow of justice Sultan Abu-Sa‘id maintained the peasantry of Khurasan, which had been devastated by Babur’s revolt and Jahanshah’s tyranny and pillage. He distributed largesse to his subjects and extirpated heresies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In short, the amirs of Khurasan who feared the king, and the warriors of Samarkand who nurtured hypocrisy in their hearts, went over to the side of the rebel and left that renowned king in the lurch.
Describing this state, the heavens sang to them this verse:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is said that he forbade himself sleep during the day lest perhaps a litigant come for justice or a needy person approach his court for remedy of his need. He used to say, “If I am asleep and a litigant or needy person comes, who will give justice to the oppressed, and who will tend to the needs of the poor? For this reason I deprive myself of sleep.” His years had not exceeded forty-two when he was elevated to the rank of martyr, and today his noble sons, the darlings of the sultanate and caliphate, are powerful in the rule of Transoxiana, Tokharistan and Kabul and are favored and patronized by the emperor of the world, Sultan [Abu’l-Ghazi [Sultan-Husayn]], to whose world-receiving court they are sincere servants.
Among the shaykhs, ulema and poets who lived in Sultan Abu-Sa'id's time are: Khwaja Ahrar [son of] Khwaja Nasiruddin Abdullah, upon whose noble breath the world rests today; the Qazi'l-Quzat Mawlama Qutbuddin Ahmad Imam al-Harawi; and the poets Mawlama Abdul-Samad Badakhshi and Khwaja Mahmud Barsa.

SULTAN-HUSAYN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The second was his battle with Sultan-Mahmud Mirza in the vicinity of Astarabad and the conquest of that region in 865. Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän had given the province of Astarabad to his son Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and gone
himself to Samarqand and Shahrukiyya to repel Mirza Juki the son of Prince Abdul-Latif. Amir Shaykh Hajji Jandar, a Shahruki officer and experienced warrior, had been assigned to Prince Sultan-Mahmud. His Caliphal Highness seized the opportunity and set out for Astarabad with a few soldiers from Khwarazm and the Qipchaq Steppe. Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and his high-ranking officers made a fierce stand with an enormous army. At a place near Astarabad called Jawz-i Wali a great battle took place. In the end His Highness gained the victory, and with his opponents vanquished the prince's tall banners were raised high in triumph. Sultan-Mahmud Mirza fled in defeat to Herat, and Amir Shaykh Hajji was killed. His Caliphal Highness had mercy on the rest of the soldiers and took them under the aegis of his clemency and quarter. After that victory the realm of Khurasan was his.

His third battle was at Turshiz, as follows. When Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kūrāgān acceded in all autonomy to the throne of Herat, His Highness set out from the Qipchaq Steppe and Khwarazm toward Khurasan. Without asking permission he made his camp at Nishapur. Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kūrāgān flew into a rage and wanted to go there himself, but he thought better of it lest something disgraceful happen, for he had already seen what His Highness was capable of. Nonetheless, he dispatched at full gallop most of his renowned officers under Amir Muhammad Ali Bakhshi to Turshiz and Nishapur to do battle with His Highness. In 868 in the province of Turshiz His Highness fought a battle with that army. Although His Highness had no more than ninety armed men with him, and the enemy army was at full comple-

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

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

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

The next day the enemy descended upon the Shaqan mountain.

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

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

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

The next day, when the azure sphere fixed
the yellow orb of the sun's body,
the Emperor of Islam mounted the steed of good fortune to engage the enemy. In the vicinity of Darband Shaqan was fought a battle in comparison to which [Rustam's] seven labors were no more than a gallop and Isfandiyar's battle in Zabol was nothing more than a ride around the parade field.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O darling sweetheart, how do I find thee?

Immediately he encouraged his warriors and distributed mail and armor among his champions, assigning to each of the great amirs one of the enemy amirs. In haste he came down from Mount Kaytun and reached the vicinity of the Pir of Herat Khwaja Abdullah Ansari’s blessed shrine at midnight. He prayed for assistance from the miracle-granting spirit of the saint and entered the Khayaban as the first rays of dawn were breaking. Speedily he rode to the Zaghan Garden. Several guards and watchmen made an attempt [to stop them] but were unsuccessful. By blows with their battleaxes they broke the lock on the gate, and His Highness entered the garden in triumph. By chance that night Prince Yadgar-Muhammad Mirza was drunk and asleep in his mistress’s arms. When the sounds of a commotion reach him, he jumped up and saw
that the night had turned into the day of resurrection. Confused, he wanted to conceal himself in a corner of the garden, [599] but a group of His Highness’s bodyguards seized him and brought him before the sultan. The prince’s courage had probably failed him altogether, for he was so disconcerted that all he could do was stare at the ground and, as was his old habit, remain taciturn. His Highness turned to him and said, “Knave! You have disgraced our family! Have you no shame? The Turcomans always obeyed the will of our ancestors. Are you not ashamed to be sat upon the throne of Shahrukh Sultan by Turcomans and turn loose a bunch of bandits to wreak tyranny and injustice upon the subjects of our ancestral kingdom?”

Disgraced one, you have shamed your house.

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

Who among kings gave his steed barleycorn from the produce of Faryab and water from the springs of Murghab?
He charged the throne of Herat at dawn like the sun and washed the sleep from his opponent’s eyes. [600] 
Who in the world has such good fortune? Who else but a divinely aided shah attains such success?

O Lord, of thy grace and kindness safeguard always this eternal state from disintegration and revolution.

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

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

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

Betimes falling, betimes boiling, betimes glittering, betimes shining—warrior’s head, vein of blood, spear point, dagger’s edge.
The courageous prince mounted a mammoth steed and encouraged and gave heart to his knights and warriors to battle. I myself, the author, was in that battle in the royal retinue and saw it with my own eyes, and I am certain that the shout of *Allahu akbar* I heard came not from the soldiers but rather from people of the invisible realm. It is my belief that some who were present on that day at the battle had the feelings expressed in this line:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Take a goblet of wine in merriment in Khiyaban [Herat]. Think of old Balkh as nothing more than Rayy.
His Highness the Emperor of Islam, benefactor to the human race,

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

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

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

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

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

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

In short, the prince fought and made peace many times with his brethren. Finally he gained the upper hand over Prince Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and conquered Hisar Shadman and its dependencies. After a short time he was defeated by Sultan-Mahmud Mirza and went to Herat, where he was honored by His Highness and shown great affection. He was honored to be made his son-in-law, and for a while he served in His Highness's retinue. However, corruptors seduced him and made him so cynical that he erred in his mind and turned his face away from the emperor of the age's threshold, at which the angels make their nest, and fled. Next, for no offense he had Amir Sayyid Farid Arghun put to death, without compassion for that wronged amir's noble lineage and long service. From the vicinity of Tirmidh he set out to attack Khurasan. His Highness sent a group of amirs to fight Prince Abu-Bakr in Merv, and there he was defeated. Returning to Balkh, he found no foothold and so set out for Kabul and India. From around the Indus he headed for Kech [606] and Makran and then Kerman. There Wali Pir-Ali and a Turcoman force joined him. They encouraged him to take Persian Iraq until the army of the Amir Kabir Ya'qub Beg, who today governs Iraq, Azerbaijan, Diyar Bakr and Fars, and who is the son of the Amir Kabir Abu'l-Nasr Hasan Beg, attacked the prince. Defeated in Garmser by the Turcomans, he once again headed for Khu-
When the heralds announced to the Emperor of Islam that he was coming to Khurasan from Sistan, the emperor of the age raced after Prince Abu-Bakr. From Farah in Sistan, Prince Abu-Bakr was heading across the desert for Turshiz and Sabzawar. The Emperor of Islam pursued, stopping where Abu-Bakr had been the night before. From the province of Farah to within four parasangs of Astarabad the Emperor of Islam chased Prince Abu-Bakr. The group who were in the royal retinue on that journey reported that nearly two thousand war horses of the emperor’s retinue were lost or left behind wounded. By God’s decree, the enemy stopped one day by the Jurjan River near Astarabad. They were sitting unaware when suddenly the royal banners loomed large and the invincible army appeared. The enemy saw clearly that this was doomsday and raced pell-mell to get on their horses and flee. They reeled to and fro and tossed like animals with their throats cut, but in the end their feet stumbled on the rock of catastrophe and the hand of opposition was bound by the cord of tribulation.

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

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

Buy one day what you sell all year.

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

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

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

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

When the victorious banners reached the vicinity of Firozghand after conquering the territory and killing the evildoers, the men told the sultan about Prince Abu-Bakr. Immediately His Highness the sultan ordered him brought. The sultan addressed the prince, saying, “You ignorant youth, how could you allow the blood of innocent persons, especially one related to the purest of families, to be shed? Don’t
you realize that to enter into league with the foreign, base Turcomans causes fortune to wither?" Then he recited this verse:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Every place that without your favor and grace in the world was coffins and gallows is now thrones and pulpits.

With your presence the abode of security Herat is the envy of paradise and the light of nations.

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

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

May God have mercy on all who say amen. It is wise to conclude our book with a prayer for the Emperor of Islam. With God's assistance the book is now finished. Worthy of praise is our Lord, and His are gifts and bounties. Praise be to God Lord of the Universe, and prayers and salutations upon His apostle, the last of His prophets, Muhammad the Mustafa, and upon his family, companions and followers all.

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

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