A LITERARY HISTORY OF PERSIA

Volume III
The Tartar Dominion
(1265-1502)

By
EDWARD G. BROWNE
SIR THOMAS ADAMS'S PROFESSOR OF ARABIC
AND FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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I dedicate this volume to my wife, to whose persuasion and encouragement its completion is chiefly due.

(In Arabic: see pp. 116-117.)
FOURTEEN years have elapsed since the second volume of my *Literary History of Persia*¹, of which the present work is in fact, if not in name and form, a continuation, was published. That the appearance of this continuation, which comprises the period between Sa'dí and Jámí, and extends from the death of Húlágú the Mongol to the rise of the Šafáwí dynasty (A.D. 1265–1502), has been so long delayed is due to a variety of causes, at one of which, operative for five or six years (A.D. 1907–12), I have hinted in the Preface (p. xx) to my *Persian Revolution of 1905–9*. While Persia was going through what repeatedly appeared to be her death-agony, it was difficult for anyone who loved her to turn his eyes for long from her present sufferings to her past glories. Often, indeed, I almost abandoned all hope of continuing this work, and that I did at last take up, revise and complete what I had already begun to write was due above all else to the urgency and encouragement of my wife, and of one or two of my old friends and colleagues, amongst whom I would especially mention Dr T. W. Arnold and Mr Guy le Strange.

The delay in the production of this volume has not, however, been altogether a matter for regret, since it has enabled me to make use of materials, both printed and manuscript, which would not have been available at an earlier date. In particular it has been my good fortune to acquire

¹ Of these two volumes, published by Mr T. Fisher Unwin in the "Library of Literary History," the full titles are as follows: *A Literary History of Persia from the earliest times until Firdawsi* (pp. xvi+521), 1902; and *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa'dí* (pp. xvi+568), 1906. In the notes to this volume they are referred to as *Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. i* or *vol. ii*. 
two very fine collections of Persian and Arabic manuscripts which have yielded me much valuable material, namely, at the beginning of 1917, some sixty manuscripts (besides lithographed and printed books published in Persia) from the Library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, and at the beginning of 1920 another forty or fifty manuscripts of exceptional rarity and antiquity collected in Persia and Mesopotamia by Hājjī 'Abdu'l-Majīd Belshah. So many Persian works of first-class importance still remain unpublished and generally inaccessible save in a few of the great public libraries of Europe that the possession of a good private library is essential to the student of Persian literature who wishes to extend his researches into its less familiar by-paths.

I regret in some ways that I have had to produce this volume independently of its two predecessors, and not in the same series. Several considerations, however, induced me to adopt this course. Of these the principal ones were that I desired to retain full rights as to granting permission for it to be quoted or translated, should such permission be sought; and that I wished to be able to reproduce the original Persian texts on which my translations were based, in the numerous cases where these were not accessible in printed or lithographed editions, in the proper character. For this reason it was necessary to entrust the printing of the book to a press provided with suitable Oriental types, and no author whose work has been produced by the Cambridge University Press will fail to recognize how much he owes to the skill, care, taste and unfailing courtesy of all responsible for its management.

I hope that none of my Persian friends will take exception to the title which I have given to this volume.

1 See my notice of this collection in the J.R.A.S. for October 1917, pp. 657-694, entitled The Persian Manuscripts of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, K.C.I.E.
India Research Students of exceptional learning, ability and
industry, Muhammad Shafī', a member of my own College
and now Professor of Arabic in the Panjab University, and,
on his departure, by Muhammad Iqbal, a young scholar of
great promise. To both of these I owe many valuable
emendations, corrections and suggestions.

Of the twelve illustrations to this volume four (those
facing pp. 8, 66, 74 and 96) have already appeared in the
edition of the Tārīḵh-i-fahm-gushd published in 1912 by
the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust” (vol. xvi, i, pp. lxxxvii,
147, 154 and 222), and are reproduced here by the kind
permission of my fellow trustees. To my old friend Pro-
fessor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, and
to Messrs Macmillan, his publishers, I am indebted for
permission to reproduce the photograph of the Tomb of
Hāfiẓ at Shīrāz which originally appeared in his Persia,
Past and Present (p. 332), and here appears facing p. 310.
The facsimile of Ḥāfizi’s autograph facing p. 508 of this
volume is reproduced from vol. iii (1886) of the Collections
Scientifique de l’Institut des Langues Orientales du
Ministère des Affaires Étrangères à St Pétersbourg: Manu-
script Persans, compiled with so much judgment by the late
Baron Victor Rosen, to whose help and encouragement in
the early days of my career I am deeply indebted. The
six remaining illustrations, which are new, and, as I
think will be generally admitted, of exceptional beauty
and interest, were selected for me from manuscripts in
the British Museum by my friends Mr A. G. Ellis and Mr Edward Edwards, to whose unfailing erudition and
kindness I owe more than I can say. Three of them, the
portraits of Sa‘dī, Ḥāfīz and Shāh-rukh, are from Add. 7468
(ff. 19, 34 and 44 respectively), while the portraits of Ḥūgā
and Timūr are from Add. 18,803, f. 19, and Add. 18,801,
f. 23. The colophon of the beautifully written Qur‘ān
transcribed at Mawṣil in A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310–11) for Uljāyū
(Khudá-bandā) and his two ministers Rashīdū’d-Dīn

Fadlu’l-lah and Sa‘du’d-Dīn is from the recently acquired
Or. 4945. All these have been reproduced by Mr R. B.
Fleming with his usual taste and skill.

Lastly I am indebted to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell,
whose later devotion to Arabic has caused her services to
Persian letters to be unduly forgotten, for permission to
reprint in this volume some of her beautiful translations of
the odes of Ḥāfīz, together with her fine appreciation of his
position as one of the great poets not only of his own age
and country but of the world and of all time.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

April 5, 1920.

See the first entry in the Descriptive List of the Arabic Manu-
scripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894, by
Mr A. G. Ellis and Mr Edward Edwards (London, 1912).
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ADDENDA

p. 311, l. 11. The date given is evidently wrong, for Karím Khán reigned from A.H. 1163-1193 (A.D. 1750-1779).

pp. 411, l. 16, and 412, l. 26. One of the two dates (A.D. 1472 and 1474) here given is wrong, but I do not know which.

BOOK I.
CHAPTER I.

THE MONGOL IL-KHÁNS OF PERSIA.

Although to the student every period in the history of every nation is more or less interesting, or could be made so with sufficient knowledge, sympathy and imagination, there are in the history of most peoples certain momentous epochs of upheaval and reconstruction about which it behoves every educated person to know something. Of such epochs Persia, for geographical and ethnological reasons, has had her full share. A glance at the map will suffice to remind the reader that this ancient, civilized and homogeneous land, occupying the whole space between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, forms, as it were, a bridge between Europe and Asia Minor on the one hand and Central and Eastern Asia on the other, across which bridge from the earliest times have passed the invading hosts of the West or the East on their respective paths of conquest. The chief moments at which Persian history thus merges in World-history are as follows:

(I) The Persian invasion of Greece by the Achaemenian kings in the fifth century before Christ.

(2) Alexander’s invasion of Persia on his way to India in the fourth century before Christ, resulting in the overthrow of the Achaemenian dynasty and the extinction of Persia as a Great Power for five centuries and a half.

(3) The restoration of the Persian Empire by the House of Sádán in the third, and their often successful wars with the Romans in the fourth and following centuries after Christ.

(4) The Arab invasion of the seventh century after Christ, which formed part of that extraordinary religious revival of a people hitherto accounted as naught, which in
the course of a few years carried the standards of Islam from the heart of desert Arabia to Spain in the West and the Oxus and Indus in the East.

(5) The Mongol or Tartar invasion of the thirteenth century, which profoundly affected the greater part of Asia and South-eastern Europe, and which may be truly described as one of the most dreadful calamities which ever befell the human race.

(6) The second Tartar invasion of Tamerlane (Timur-i-Lang or “Limping Timur”) in the latter part of the fourteenth century.

(7) The Turco-Persian Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which gave Persia at that time so great an importance in the eyes of Europe as a potential check on Turkish ambitions, and caused her friendship to be so eagerly sought after by the chief Western nations.

Of these seven great epochs in Persian history the fourth and fifth are the most important and have had the greatest and most profound influence. In all points save one, however, the Arab and Mongol invasions were utterly dissimilar. The Arabs came from the South-west, the Tartars from the North-east; the Arabs were inspired by a fiery religious enthusiasm, the Tartars by mere brutish lust of conquest, bloodshed and rapine; the Arabs brought a new civilization and order to replace those which they had destroyed, the Tartars brought mere terror and devastation. In a word, the Tartars were cunning, ruthless and bloodthirsty marauders, while the Arabs were, as even their Spanish foes were fain to admit, “Knights...and gentlemen, albeit Moors.”

The one point of resemblance between the two was the scorn which their scanty equipment and insignificant appearance aroused in their well-armed and richly-equipped antagonists before they had tasted of their quality. This point is well brought out in that charming Arabic history the Kitāb-i-Fahārī, whose author wrote about A.D. 1300, some fifty years after the Tartars had sacked Baghdād and destroyed the Caliphate. After describing the Arab invasion of Persia and the merriment of the Persian satraps and officers at the tattered scabbards, slender lances and small horses of the Arabs, he relates, à propos of this, the account given to him by one of those who “marched out to meet the Tartars on the Western side of Baghdād on the occasion of its supreme catastrophe in the year 656/1258,” and tells how to meet one of their splendidly appointed champions in single combat there rode forth from the Mongol ranks “a man mounted on a horse resembling a donkey, having in his hand a spear like a spindle, and wearing neither uniform nor armour, so that all who saw him were moved to laughter.” “Yet ere the day was done,” he concludes, “theirs was the victory, and they inflicted on us a great defeat, which was the Key of Evil, and after which there befell us what befell us.”

It is almost impossible to exaggerate either the historical importance or the horror of this great irruption of barbarians out of Mongolia, Turkistān and Transoxiana in the first half of the thirteenth century. Amongst its results were the destruction of the Arabian Caliphate and disruption of the Muhammadan Empire, the creation of the modern political divisions of Western Asia, the driving into Asia Minor and subsequently into Europe of the Ottoman Turks, the stunting and barbarizing of Russia, and indirectly the Renaissance. As regards the terror universally inspired by the atrocious deeds of the Tartars, d’Ohsson in his admirable Histoire des Mongols observes that we should be tempted to charge the Oriental historians with exaggeration, were it not that their statements are entirely confirmed by the independent testimony of Western historians as to the precisely similar proceedings of the Tartars in South-eastern Europe, where

1 For the full translation of this passage see Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. i, pp. 197–8.
2 Vol. i, p. vii: “On croirait que l’histoire a exagéré leurs atrocités, si les annales de tous les pays n’étaient d’accord sur ce point.”
they ravaged not only Russia, Poland and Hungary, but penetrated to Silesia, Moravia and Dalmatia, and at the fatal battle of Liegnitz (April 9, 1241) defeated an army of 30,000 Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Poles commanded by Henry the Pious, Duke of Silesia. Already two years before this date the terror which they inspired even in Western Europe was so great that the contemporary chronicler Matthew Paris, writing at St Albans, records under the year A.D. 1238 that for fear of the Mongols the fishermen of Gothland and Friesland dared not cross the North Sea to take part in the herring-fishing at Yarmouth, and that consequently herrings were so cheap and abundant in England that year that forty or fifty were sold for a piece of silver, even at places far from the coast. In the same year an envoy from the Isma'ilis or Assassins of Alamut by the Caspian Sea came to France and England to crave help against those terrible foes by whom they were annihilated twenty years later. He met with little encouragement, however, for the Bishop of Winchester, having heard his appeal, replied: “Let these dogs devour each other and be utterly wiped out, and then we shall see, founded on their ruins, the Universal Catholic Church, and then shall truly be one shepherd and one flock!”

The accounts given by Ibnu'l-Athir, Yaquut and other contemporary Muhammadan historians of the Mongol invasion have been cited in part in a previous volume and need not be repeated here, but it is instructive to compare them with what Matthew Paris says about those terrible Tatars, who, for reasons which he indicates, through a popular etymology connecting them with the infernal regions, became known in Europe as “Tartars.” Under the year A.D. 1240 he writes of them as follows:


worldly happiness long lasting without lamentations, in this same year a detestable nation of Satan, to wit the countless army of Tartars, broke loose from its mountain-environed home, and, piercing the solid rocks (of the Caucasus) poured forth like devils from the Tartarus, so that they are rightly called ‘Tartars’ or ‘Tartarians.’ Swarming like locusts over the face of the earth, they have brought terrible devastation to the eastern parts (of Europe), laying them waste with fire and carnage. After having passed through the land of the Saracens, they have razed cities, cut down forests, overthrown fortresses, pulled up vines, destroyed gardens, killed townspeople and peasants. If perchance they have spared any suppliants, they have forced them, reduced to the lowest condition of slavery, to fight in the foremost ranks against their own neighbours. Those who have feigned to fight, or have hidden in the hope of escaping, have been followed up by the Tartars and butchered. If any have fought bravely for them and conquered, they have got no thanks for reward; and so they have misused their captives as they have their mares. For they are inhuman and beastly, rather monsters than men, thirsting for and drinking blood, tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and men, dressed in ox-hides, armed with plates of iron, short and stout, thickset, strong, invincible, indefatigable, their backs unprotected, their breasts covered with armour; drinking with delight the pure blood of their flocks, with big, strong horses, which eat branches and even trees, and which they have to mount by the help of three steps on account of the shortness of their thighs. They are without human laws, know no comforts, are more ferocious than lions or bears, have boats made of ox-hides which ten or twelve of them own in common; they are able to swim or manage a boat, so that they can cross the largest and swiftest rivers without let or hindrance, drinking turbid and muddy water when blood fails them (as a beverage). They have one-edged swords and daggers, are wonderful archers, spare neither age, nor sex, nor condition. 'They know no
other language but their own, which no one else knows; for until now there has been no access to them, nor did they go forth (from their own country); so that there could be no knowledge of their customs or persons through the common intercourse of men. They wander about with their flocks and their wives, who are taught to fight like men. And so they come with the swiftness of lightning to the confines of Christendom, ravaging and slaughtering, striking everyone with terror and incomparable horror. It was for this that the Saracens sought to ally themselves with the Christians, hoping to be able to resist these monsters with their combined forces."

So far from such alliance taking place, however, it was not long before the ecclesiastical and temporal rulers of Christendom conceived the idea of making use of the Tartars to crush Islám, and so end in their favour once and for all the secular struggle of which the Crusades were the chief manifestation. Communications were opened up between Western Europe and the remote and inhospitable Tartar capital of Qaraqorum; letters and envoys began to pass to and fro; and devoted friars like John of Pian de Carpine and William of Rubruck did not shrink from braving the dangers and hardships of that long and dreary road, or the arrogance and exactions of the Mongols, in the discharge of the missions confided to them. The former, bearing a letter from the Pope dated March 9, 1245, returned to Lyons in the autumn of 1247 after an absence of two years and a half, and delivered to the Pope the written answer of the Mongol Emperor Kuyuk Khán. The latter accomplished his journey in the years 1253-5 and spent about eight months (January—August, 1254) at the camp and capital of Mangú Khán, by whom he was several times received in audience. Both have left narratives of their adventurous and arduous journeys which the Hakluyt Society has rendered easily accessible to English readers¹, and of which that of Friar

William of Rubruck especially is of engrossing interest and great value. These give us a very vivid picture of the Tartar Court and its ceremonies, the splendour of the presents offered to the Emperor by the numerous envoys of foreign nations and subject peoples, the gluttonous eating and drinking which prevailed (and which, as we shall see, also characterized the Court of Timur 150 years later), and the extraordinary afflux of foreigners, amongst whom were included, besides almost every Asiatic nation, Russians, Georgians, Hungarians, Ruthenians and even Frenchmen. Some of these had spent ten, twenty, or even thirty years amongst the Mongols, were conversant with their language, and were able and willing to inform the missionaries “most fully of all things” without much questioning, and to act as interpreters. The language question, as affecting the answer to the Pope’s letter, presented, however, some difficulties. The Mongols enquired “whether there were any persons with the Lord Pope who understood the written languages of the Ruthenians, or Saracens, or Tartars,” but Friar John advised that the letter should be written in Tartar and carefully translated and explained to them, so that they might make a Latin translation to take back with the original. The Mongol Emperor wished to send envoys of his own to Europe in the company of Friar John, who, however, discountenanced this plan for five reasons, of which the first three were: (1) that he feared lest, seeing the wars and dissensions of the Christians, the Tartars might be further encouraged to attack them; (2) that they might act as spies; (3) that some harm might befall them in Europe “as our people are for the most part arrogant and hasty,” and “it is the custom of the Tartars never to make peace with those who have killed their envoys till they have wreaked vengeance upon them.” So Friar John and his

1 M. Léon Cahun in his Introduction à l’Histoire de l’Asie, p. 353, n. 2 ad calc., puts forward the ingenious suggestion that the German Dolmetsch is derived from the Turco-Mongol Tilmş, both words meaning “Interpreter.”
companions came at last to Kieff on their homeward journey, and were there "congratulated as though they had risen from the dead, and so also throughout Russia, Poland and Bohemia."

The history of the diplomatic missions which passed between Europe and Tartary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been admirably illustrated by Abel-Reimusat in his two classical Mémoires sur les Relations politiques des Princes Chrétiens, et particulièrement les Rois de France, avec les Empereurs Mongols. Fac-similes are here given, with printed texts and in some cases Latin or French translations, of nine Mongol letters conveyed by different envoys at different periods to the French Court. The originals of these, measuring in some cases more than six feet in length, may still be seen in the Archives in Paris. The arrogance of their tone is very noticeable; still more so the occurrence in the Latin version of a letter to the Pope from BachG Nuyân of a very ominous and characteristic phrase which is also noticed by the contemporary Persian historian Juwaynî.

"Si vultis super terram vestram, aquam et patrimonium sedere," runs the letter, "oportet ut, tu Papa, in propriam personam ad nos venias, et ad eum qui faciem totius terrae continet accedas. Et si tu praecessum Deus stabile et illius qui faciem totius terrae continet non audieris, ille nos scit nos Dei scit." So Juwaynî says that, unlike other great rulers and conquerors, they never indulged in violent and wordy threats when demanding submission or surrender, but "as their utmost warning used to write but this much: 'If they do not submit and obey, what do we know [what may happen]? the Eternal God knows!'" As to what would inevitably happen if the Tartars were resisted (and often even if they were not resisted) men were not long left in doubt. "Wherever there was a king, or local ruler, or city warden who ventured to oppose, him they annihilated, together with his family and his clan, kinsmen and strangers alike, to such a degree that, without exaggeration, not a hundred persons were left where there had been a hundred thousand. The proof of this assertion is the account of the happenings in the various towns, each of which has been duly recorded in its proper time and place."

Whether any such letters exist in the records of this country I do not know, but in 1307, shortly after the death of Edward I (to whom they had been accredited), two Mongol ambassadors, whose names are given as Mamlakh and Tûmân, came to Northampton and carried back with them an answer from Edward II written in Latin and dated October 16, 1307. The principal object of this and previous missions was to effect an alliance between the Mongols and the European nations against the Muhammadans, especially the Egyptians. To attain this end the wily Mongols constantly represented themselves as disposed to embrace the Christian religion, a deceitful pretence which the more readily succeeded because of the belief prevalent in Europe that there existed somewhere in Central or Eastern Asia a great Christian emperor called "Prester John," generally identified with Ung Khán, the ruler of the Karâits (or Kerâ'îts), a people akin to the Mongols, with whom at the beginning of his career Chingiz Khán stood in close relations, and who had been converted to Christianity by Nestorian missionaries. But as a matter of fact Islam had been the official religion of

2 See pp. 421–2 of the second memoir mentioned above.
THE MONGOL ÍL-KHÁNS (A.D. 1265-1337) 

the Mongol rulers of Persia for at least ten years before the above-mentioned ambassadors obtained audience of Edward II.

The contemporary Oriental histories of the Mongols are singularly full and good; and include in Arabic Ibn 'l-Athir's great chronicle, which comes down to the year 628/1231; Shihâbû'd-Dîn Nasâtî's very full biography of his master Jalâlû'd-Dîn Mankubîrî, the gallant Prince of Khwârazm who maintained so heroic and protracted a struggle against the destroyers of his house and his empire; the Christian Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus, whose Arabic history (for he wrote a fuller chronicle in Syriac) comes down to 683/1284, two years before his death; and Vâghût the geographer, most of which have been discussed and quoted in a previous volume. Of the three chief Persian sources, the Ta'rîkh-i-Jahân-gushâ of Juwayni, the Ta'rîkh-i-Wassâtî, and the Jâmî'î-Tawârîkh, a good deal will be said in the next chapter, but one may be permitted to express regret that the last-mentioned history, one of the most original, extensive and valuable existing in the Persian language, still remains for the most part unpublished and almost inaccessible.

Of the three best-known European histories of the Mongols, and of the point of view represented by each, something must needs be said here. First there is Baron d'Ohsson's admirable Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlans, a monument of clear exposition based on profound research. While recognizing, as every student of the subject must recognize, the immense importance and far-reaching effects of the Mongol conquests, he finds this people utterly detestable: "their government," he says, "was the triumph of depravity: all that was noble and honourable was abased; while the most corrupt persons, taking service under these ferocious masters, obtained, as the price of their vile devotion, wealth, honours, and the power to oppress their countrymen. The history of the Mongols, stamped by their savagery, presents therefore only hideous pictures; but, closely connected as it is to that of several empires, it is necessary for the proper understanding of the great events of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries:"

Next in point of time is Sir Henry Howorth's great History of the Mongols in four large volumes. His view of the Tartars differs somewhat from d'Ohsson's, for he sees in them "one of those hardy, brawny races, cradled amidst want and hard circumstances, in whose blood there is a good mixture of iron, which are sent periodically to destroy the luxurious and the wealthy, to lay in ashes the arts and culture which only grow under the shelter of wealth and easy circumstances, and to convert into a desert the paradise which man has painfully cultivated. Like the pestilence and the famine the Mongols were essentially an engine of destruction; and if it be a painful, harassing story to read, it is nevertheless a necessary one if we are to understand the great course of human progress." After enumerating other luxurious and civilized peoples who have been similarly renovated by the like drastic methods, he asserts that this "was so to a large extent, with the victims of the Mongol arms; their prosperity was hollow and pretentious,

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1 They are admirably enumerated and described by d'Ohsson, op. cit., vol. i, pp. x-lxvi.
2 I have discussed the materials available for a complete text of this important work in an article published in the J. R. A. S. for 1908, vol. xl, pp. 17-37, entitled Suggestions for a complete edition of the Jâmî'î-Tawârîkh of Rashîdû'd-Dîn Faḍlulla'îh.
3 Published in four volumes at the Hague and Amsterdam, 1834-5.
their grandeur very largely but outward glitter, and the diseased body needed a sharp remedy; the apoplexy that was impending could probably only be staved off by much blood-letting, the demoralized cities must be sown with salt and their inhabitants inoculated with fresh streams of vigorous blood from the uncontaminated desert." With more justice he insists on the wonderful bringing together of the most remote peoples of the East and West which was the most important constructive effect of the Mongol conquest, and concludes: "I have no doubt myself...that the art of printing, the mariner's compass, firearms, and a great many details of social life, were not discovered in Europe, but imported by means of Mongol influence from the furthest East."

The third book which demands notice, chiefly on account of its influence in Turkey in generating the Yeńi Tārān, or Pan-Turanian movement, of which it is not yet possible exactly to appraise the political importance, is M. Léon Cahun's Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des Origines à 1405. This writer goes very much further than Howorth in his admiration of the Mongols and the various kindred Turkish peoples who formed the bulk of their following. A note of admiration characterizes his description of their military virtues, their "culte du drapeau, la glorification du nom turc, puis mongol, le chauvinisme"; their political combinations against the Sāsānian Persians, and later against the Islamic influences of which Persia was the centre; their courage, hardihood, discipline, hospitality, lack of religious fanaticism, and firm administration. This book, though diffuse, is suggestive, and is in any case worth reading because of its influence on certain chauvinistic circles in Turkey, as is a historical romance about the Mongols by

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1 Op. laud., p. 11.
3 Ibid., p. 79.
4 Ibid., pp. 111-118.
drawing towards its close, but we hear of him once again five
years later, in 669/1270–1, when he was called in
to treat Abáqá, who had been gored by a wild cow
on one of his hunting expeditions. The wound
suppurated and an abscess formed which none of the Il-khan’s
other medical advisers dared to open. Naṣīr ‘d-Din suc-
cessfully performed the operation. He died in the following
year at the age of seventy-five. Bar-Hebraeus gives him a
brief but laudatory notice in his MzdKhtasaru’d-DuwaZ1,
describing him as “the Keeper of the Observatory at Marāgha
and a man of vast learning in all branches of philosophy.”
“Under his control,” he continues, “were all the religious
endowments in all the lands under Mongol rule. He com-
posed many works on logic, the natural sciences and mete-
physics, and on Euclid and the Almagest. He also wrote
a Persian work on Ethics2 of the utmost possible merit
wherein he collected all the dicta of Plato and Aristotle on
practical Philosophy, confirming the opinions of the ancients
and solving the doubts of the moderns and the criticisms
advanced by them in their writings.”

Abáqá was thirty-one years of age when he became ruler
of Persia, and whether or not there was any truth in the rumour
that he was actually baptised into the Christian
Church at the desire of his bride Despina, the
natural daughter of Michael Palaeologus3, he
consistently favoured the Christians, and, indeed, appears
to have owed his elevation to the throne to their influence,
exercised through Doqz Khátún, the widow of his father
and predecessor Húlagú, who survived her husband about
a year, and who never failed to befriend her co-religionists
in every possible way4. Abáqá’s diplomatic relations with
the Popes and Christian kings of Europe are, however, in all
probability to be ascribed rather to political than religious
motives. He was in correspondence with Clement IV, who
wrote him a letter from Viterbo in 1267; Gregory X in 1274;
and Nicolas III, who in 1278 sent to him and to his over-
lord the great Qúbiláy (“Kubla”) Khán an embassy of five
Franciscan monks. One of his embassies even penetrated
as far as England and was apparently received by Edward I,
but the records of it seem to be scanty or non-existent1. The
political object of these negotiations was to arrange for a
combined attack on the still unsubdued Muslims of Egypt
and Syria, the natural and deadly foes of the Mongols; and
the inducement held out to the Christians was the possession
of the Holy Land for which they had so long striven.
Fortunately for the Muslims, Islám possessed in the
Mamlık Sultan Baybars, called al-Malik az-Zahir, a doughty
champion well qualified to meet the double peril which
menaced his faith and his country. Already in 1260, before
he was elected king, he had driven Húlagú’s Mongols out
of Ghaza and routed them at ‘Ayn Jalút, driven back the
Crusaders in Syria, and broken the power of the Syrian
branch of the Assassins; and in April, 1277, he inflicted on
the Mongols another great defeat at Abulustayn, leaving
nearly 7000 of them dead on the field of battle5. When
Abáqá subsequently visited the battle-field, he was deeply
moved, even to tears, by the numbers of the Mongol slain.

1 See Howorth, op. luda, pp. 278–281, and on the whole subject
Abel-Rimusat’s classical Mémoires sur les Relations politiques des
Princes Chrétiens...avec les Empereurs Mongols in the Mem. de l’Acad.
Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vols. vi and vii, pp. 396 and
335 respectively.
2 See Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 446; S. Lane-Poole’s admirable
little History of Egypt, pp. 262 and 270; and Howorth, op. cit. pp.
257–9.
Bitter hatred subsisted during all this period between the Mongol Il-khans and the Egyptian Mamluks, and no more dangerous or damaging charge could be preferred against a subject of the former than an accusation of being in communication with the latter. Every Muslim subject of the Mongols must needs walk very wary if he would avoid such deadly suspicion, and, as we shall see hereafter, the favourite method of ruining a hated rival was to denounce him to the Mongol government as having relations with Egypt.

From our present point of view we are less concerned with the Mongol rulers and generals than with the Persian functionaries whom they found indispensable in the civil service (like the Arabs in earlier times), and amongst whom were included men of remarkable talents. Conspicuous amongst these was the Juwayni family, notably Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad the Sâhib-Diwân, his brother 'Alî'u'd-Dîn 'Atâ Malîk, and his son Bahâ'u'd-Dîn. The Sâhib-Diwân's grandfather, also entitled Shamsu'd-Dîn, but distinguished by the epithets Buzurg ("the Great") and Mîy-dirâz ("the long-haired"), had been Prime Minister to Qutbu'd-Dîn Khâwarzmshâh, while his father, Bahâ'u'd-Dîn, had held the office of Mustawfî'1-Mâmûlik (approximately equivalent to Chancellor of the Exchequer). He himself had held the office of Prime Minister for ten years under Hûlâygh Khân, and was continued in this position by Âbâqâ. His brother, 'Alî'u'd-Dîn is chiefly interesting to us as one of the finest historians whom Persia ever produced, and in this capacity he will be considered in the next chapter; but he was also a great administrator, and was for twenty-four years governor of Baghda'd1. His son Bahâ'u'd-Dîn was governor of Persian 'Irâq and Fârs, while another son Shâratu'd-Dîn

1 He was appointed by Hûlâygh in 657/1259, one year after the capture of the city by the Mongols. See the Introduction to Mirzâ Muhammad's edition of the Ta'rikh-i-Jahân-gushâ (vol. i, pp. xix–xcii), to which the reader may refer for much detailed information which considerations of space render it impossible to reproduce here. The Juwayni family, alike in their love of literature and learning, their princely generosity, their administrative capacity, and their tragic fate, irresistibly recall to one's mind another great Persian family of statesmen, the celebrated House of Barmak or Barmecides of "the Golden Prime of good Haroun Alraschid." Their influence was great and widespread; their connection with literature, both as writers and as patrons of poets and men of learning, extensive; and the jealousy of less fortunate rivals which embittered their lives and finally brought about their destruction commensurate with the power and high positions which they so long enjoyed. The first to die of those mentioned above, and one of the few who was fortunate enough to die a natural death, was Bahâ'u'd-Dîn, son of the Sâhib-Diwân and governor of Persian 'Irâq. He was appointed by Hûlâygh in 657/1259, one year after the capture of the city by the Mongols. See the Introduction to Mirzâ Muhammad's edition of the Ta'rikh-i-Jahân-gushâ (vol. i, pp. xix–xcii), to which the reader may refer for much detailed information which considerations of space render it impossible to reproduce here. The Juwayni family, alike in their love of literature and learning, their princely generosity, their administrative capacity, and their tragic fate, irresistibly recall to one's mind another great Persian family of statesmen, the celebrated House of Barmak or Barmecides of "the Golden Prime of good Haroun Alraschid." Their influence was great and widespread; their connection with literature, both as writers and as patrons of poets and men of learning, extensive; and the jealousy of less fortunate rivals which embittered their lives and finally brought about their destruction commensurate with the power and high positions which they so long enjoyed. The first to die of those mentioned above, and one of the few who was fortunate enough to die a natural death, was Bahâ'u'd-Dîn, son of the Sâhib-Diwân and governor of Persian 'Irâq. His death took place in 678/1279 at the early age of thirty. He was a terribly stern governor, who inspired the utmost terror in the hearts of his subjects, and whose ferocity went so far that he caused his little son, who was his favourite child, to be put to death by his executioner because in play he had caught hold of his beard. The historian Wâsâf gives many other instances of his implacable sternness, of which a selection will be found in Howorth's History of the Mongols; but it is fair to add that under his
stern administration the utmost security prevailed in the provinces which he administered, while he eagerly cultivated the society of poets, scholars and artists. His father the Şâhib-Dżwâd mourning his death in the following verse:

"Muḥammad’s son! Thy slave is Heaven high;
One hair of thee the Age’s Mart might buy;
Thy Sire’s support wert thou: bereft of thee
His back is bent as brow o’er beauty’s eye."

The following verse was composed by Ilñinduşhâb to commemorate the date of his death:

"On the eve of Saturday the seventeenth of Shâbân’s month
In the year three score and eighteen and six hundred from the Flight
From the world Bahâ’u’l-Džîn, that great wazir,
Fled. Ah, when on such another ruler shall Time’s eyes alight?"

This was the first of the misfortunes which befell the Juwaynî family, and which were largely due to their ungrateful protegé Majdu’l-Mulk of Yâzid, whose ambition led him to calumniate both the Juwaynî and his brother ‘Algu’l-Mulk ‘Aţâ Malik. While still subordinate to the Şâhib-Dżwâd, Majdu’l-Mulk addressed to him the following quatrain:

"Into the Ocean of thy grief I’ll dive,
And either drown, or pearls to gather strive;
’Tis hard to fight with thee, yet fight I will,
And die red-throated, or red-cheeked survive!"

To this the Şâhib-Dżwâd sent the following answer:

"Since to the King complaints thou canst not bear
Much anguish to consume shall be thy share.
Through this design on which thou hast embarked
Thy face and neck alike shall crimson wear."

1 I suppose the writer’s meaning is, that he wishes to be a permanent and honoured associate of the minister, not liable to reprimand, humiliation or dismissal, coming in erect as the larch or cypress, and going out after some rebuff bowed down with humiliation like the weeping willow.

2 Die red-throated,” i.e. by decapitation. “Red-cheeked” or “red-faced” means “honoured,” the opposite of “black-faced.”
Ultimate Majdu'l-Mulk succeeded in arousing Abáqá's suspicions against the Sáhib-Dívání's brother, 'Alá'u-l-Mulk. 'Átá Malik-i-Juwaynî, who was arrested, paraded through the streets of Baghdadí, tortured, and forced to pay large sums of money which he was alleged to have misappropriated. Matters might have gone yet worse with him had not Abáqá's sudden death on April 1, 1282, put an end to his persecution and brought about his release from prison, while soon afterwards his enemy Majdu'l-Mulk fell a victim to the popular fury, and was torn in pieces by the mob, his dismembered limbs being publicly exhibited in the chief cities of Persia. On this well-merited punishment of the old and inveterate foe of his family 'Átá Malik-i-Juwaynî composed the following quatrain:

"For some brief days thy guile did mischief wreak; Position, wealth and increase thou didst seek: Now every limb of thine a land hath ta'en: Thou'st over-run the kingdom in a week!"

Death of 'Átá Malik, however, did not long survive his foe, for he too died in the spring of 1283.

In one curious particular connected with Abáqá's death all the historians agree. He had, in the usual Mongol fashion, been drinking deeply with his favourites and boon-companions. Feeling uneasy, he had withdrawn from them for a moment into the palace garden when he suddenly cried out that a large black bird was threatening him, and ordered some of his servants to shoot it with arrows. The servants hastened to him in answer to his call, but no bird was to be seen, and

CH. I] AHMAD TAKÚDAR (A.D. 1282–1284)

while they were still searching for it, Abáqá fell down in a swoon from which he never awoke.

A few other events of Abáqá's reign merit a brief mention. The Assassins, in spite of all they had suffered at the hands of the Mongols, so far recovered themselves as to attempt the life of 'Átá Malik-i-Juwaynî in 670/1271–2, while four years later, in 674/1275–6, they actually succeeded, under the leadership of the son of their last Grand Master Rúknu'd-Dín Khursháb, in regaining possession of Alamût, though they were shortly afterwards subdued and destroyed by Abáqá. Internecine wars between various Mongol princes began to be prevalent in Abáqá's reign, as, for instance, that between Yúshmá and Nogáy at Aq-sú in 663/1264–5, the year of Abáqá's accession, and that between Abáqá and Nikúdar the son of Chaghatáy in 667/1268–9. Further turmoil was caused by the repeated raids of the Nikúdars, and by the revolt of Buráq in Khurásán. The defeat of the latter by Abáqá's troops was due almost entirely to the valour of Subútái, in allusion to which a contemporary poet says:

"Gainst the army of thy love not one could stand save only I, As against Buráq of all Abáqá's captains Subútái."

On the death of Abáqá two rival candidates appeared on the scene, his brother Takúdar2 (who, on his conversion

1 Abúl-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus (Beyrout ed. of 1890, p. 505) says that this happened at Hamadán in the house of a Persian named Bhínám who gave a banquet in Abáqá's honour. He does not explicitly mention the black bird, but says that Abáqá "began to see phantoms in the air."
2 This name is sometimes given as Nikúdar or Nigfidar, but the Armenian form Tongudar given by Haithon seems decisive. See Howorth, op. cit., pp. 310–11.
He also addressed the following farewell letter and testament to his sons:

“Salvation and greeting to my sons and dear ones, may God Almighty preserve them! Let them know that I entrust them to God, Mighty and Glorious is He: verily God doth not suffer that which is entrusted to Him to sustain loss. It was in my mind that perhaps a meeting might be possible, whereat my last wishes might be communicated orally, but my days are ended, and my business is now with the world to come. Do not fall short in the care of my children; incite them to study, and on no account suffer them to have aught to do with the service of the State; let them rather be content with that which God Most High hath assigned to them. If my son Atābek and his mother wish to return home, they have my permission so to do. Let Nawriz, Mas'ud and their mother remain with Bulqān Khātūn, and should she grant them estates, let them accept them and be content therewith. Whether can my chief wife go from Tabriz? Let her then remain there near the grave of me and my brothers. If they can, let them make their dwelling in the monastery of Shaykh Fakhrū’d-Dīn and repair thither. Mūmina hath received little satisfaction from us: if she wishes to marry again, let her do so. Let Farrukh and his mother remain with Atābek. Let them leave Zakariyyā with the crown lands and other estates which I have given over to Amir Būqā. Let them petition [on his behalf]: if some land should be granted to him, well and good: if not, let him rest content. May the Almighty

The Sāhib-Dīwān did not perish alone. Four of his sons, Yahyā, Faraju’lldāh, Mas’ud and Atābek, were put to death soon after him, and a little later another son, Hārūn. “Two brothers and seven sons,” according to the Tārīkh-i-Wassāfī, constituted the sacrifice demanded by Mongol ferocity, ever ready to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, and little disposed to leave alive potential avengers. Added to these losses were the deaths in the years immediately preceding of ‘Alā’u’l-Mulk Ātā Malik-i-Juwaynī and Baha’u’d-Dīn, already mentioned, so that in the course of five or six years this great family of statesmen was practically effaced from the page of history.

Fasīḥī, in his Mujmal (f. 469), quotes the two following quatrains composed by the Sāhib-Dīwān in his last moments:

Hand of Fate, which doth my heart’s steps stay,  
May the Almighty

Look, thou who caus’dst life’s bright lamp to die,  
Two hundred worlds thou seest extinguished lie,  
Yet do the slain eternal life attain,  
And those in chief who are by heathens slain.”

1 Tārīkh-i-Wassāfī, p. 141.
2 The text of this is given in the Mujmal of Fasīḥī of Khwāf, ff. 468b-469a of the ms. belonging to the Gibb Trustees.
His death was universally lamented, even in towns like Shíráz where he was known only by his charities and good works, and which he had never visited. Amongst the verses composed on his death are the following:

The Night in grief hath dyed her cloak, and Morn, Heaving cold sighs, appears with collar torn:
The Sun’s departure stains the sky with gore:
The Moon is veiled, the locks of Venus shorn.

That minister whose head o’ertopped the skies
Hath earned, in truth, of martyrdom the prize;
The Šáhib-Díván, who for thirty years
Hath kept the world secure from hurts and fears.
O cruel heavens such a life to ban!
O cruel earth, to slay so great a man!

A violent death was, however, the common end of those who were rash enough to act as ministers to Mongol sovereigns. Thus Jalálu’d-Dín Simnáni, who succeeded the Šáhib-Díván, was executed in August, 1289; Sa’du’d-Dawla, who succeeded him, was put to death at the end of February, 1291; Šadru’d-Dín Khánzín, who acted as minister to Gáykhátu, suffered the same fate in May, 1298; and Rashíd-u’d-Dín Faḍlu’l-Láh, the most accomplished of all, was executed in July, 1318.

Arghún reigned over Persia for nearly seven years (August, 1284–May, 1291). The embassies which he sent to Europe, and especially that of 1287–1288, of which one of the envoys, Rabban Šawmá, has left us an account in Syriac, mark a revival of Ḥāṣib’s policy, which had been reversed by Ahmad Takdídar. During the latter part of Arghún’s reign Sa’du’d-Dawla the Jew was his all-powerful minister. This man, originally a physician, was detested by the Muslims, who ascribed to him the most sinister designs against Islam. He was originally a native of Abhar, and afterwards practised medicine at Baghdád. He was recommended to Arghún by some of his co-religionists, and, according to the Ta’rikh-i-Waṣíd1, gained the esteem and confidence of that prince not only by his knowledge of the Mongol and

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1 Shamsu’d-Dín, “the Sun of Religion,” was the Šáhib-Díván’s name, to which allusion is here made.

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1 See that most interesting book Histoire de Mar Jabalâha III...et du moine Rabban Ĥauma...traduit du Syriac et annoté par J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1895).
Turkish languages, but also by the skilful manner in which he played on Arghún's avarice by the schemes for replenishing the treasury which he unfolded. In the realization of these schemes in Baghhdád he showed such ability that he was entrusted by Arghún with the financial control of the whole kingdom. His co-religionists, hitherto despised and repressed, began to benefit by his ever-increasing power, and to fill many offices of state; so much so that a contemporary poet of Baghhdád wrote as follows:

"The Jews of this our time a rank attain
To which the heavens might aspire in vain.
Their is dominion, wealth to them doth cling,
To them belong both councillor and king.
O people, hear my words of counsel true:
Turn Jews, for heaven itself hath turned a Jew!
Yet wait, and ye shall hear their torment's cry,
And see them fall and perish presently."

Sa'du'd-Dawla's boldness and open hostility to Islám increased with his power, until he not only induced Arghún to exclude the Muslims from all high civil and military posts, but endeavoured to compass the destruction of their religion. To this end he sought to persuade Arghún that the prophetic function had passed from the Arabs to the Mongols, who were divinely commissioned to chastise the disobedient and degenerate followers of Muhammad, and proposed to turn the Ka'ba into an idol-temple. He began to prepare a fleet at Baghhdád to attack Mecca, and sent his co-religionist Khwája Najlu'd-Dín Kahójál into Khurásán with a blacklist of some two hundred notable and influential Muslims whose death he desired to compass. A similar but shorter list, containing the names of seventeen notable divines and theologians of Shíráz, was also prepared for him.

"It is related," says the author of the Ta'rikh-i-Wáṣif, "that when Arghún Kháñ first ascended the royal throne he greatly disliked bloodshed, so that one day, during the progress of a banquet, he looked at the number of sheep slain, and, moved by excessive compassion, said, 'Hardness of heart and a cruel disposition alone can prompt man to sacrifice so many innocent beasts for the pleasures of the table.' Yet this minister (Sa'du'd-Dawla) so constantly applauded evil and represented wrong as right, urging that to clear the garden of empire from the thorns of disaffection, and to purify the welle of endeavour from the impurity of suspects was required alike by prudence and discretion...that finally, through his evil promptings and misleading counsels, the Kháñ's heart became as eager to kill the innocent as are the infidel glances of the fair ones of Khutan, so that on the least suspicion or the slightest fault he would destroy a hundred souls. Such is the effect produced by intercourse with an evil companion and the society of wicked persons."

But just when Sa'du'd-Dawla's influence was at its highest and his schemes were approaching maturity, Arghún fell grievously sick at Tabríz. The minister, realizing that he would certainly not long survive his master, became a prey to the most acute and overpowering distress: he was unremitting in his attendance, and also, with the view of propitiating Heaven, gave away vast sums of money in charity, thirty thousand dinars being distributed in Baghhdád and ten thousand amongst the poor of Shíráz. He also liberated many captives and renewed or extended many benefactions. Some of the Mongol priests declared that the execution of Qaránqay, Húlajú, Júshkáh and other Mongol princes had brought this sickness on Arghún; others that he had been bewitched by one of his wives. Súlán Idjá, who was alleged to have instigated
the former deed, was sacrificed in expiation, and also Jushkab's niece Tugjaj, who was suspected of the ensorcelment of the king; but naught availed to stay the progress of his malady, and towards the end of February, 1291, his condition was so critical that none were allowed to approach him save Jushi and Sa'du'd-Dawla. The latter secretly sent messengers to Ghazan, bidding him be ready to claim the throne so soon as Arghun should have breathed his last, but nothing could now avail to save him from his foes, and he was put to death a few days before his master expired, on March 9, 1291.

The death of Sa'du'd-Dawla was the signal for a general persecution of the Jews, who were plundered and in many cases slain. In Baghdad alone more than a hundred of their chief men were killed. The collapse of the Jewish ascendancy was celebrated by Zaynu'd-Din 'Ali b. Sa'id the preacher in the following Arabic gashida, composed in the same metre and rhyme as that quoted on p. 32 supra:

1. His Name we praise who rules the firmament!
2. These apish Jews are done away and shent.
3. Throughout the lands they're shamed and desolate.
4. God hath dispersed their dominant accord,
5. And they are melted by the burnished sword.
6. How long they ruled in fact, though not in name,
7. And, sins committing, now are put to shame.
8. Sa'du'd-Dawla means the “Fortune,” or “Good Luck of the State.” There is an antithesis between Sa'id, which applies to the fortunate influence of the auspicious planets, and Na's, the maleficent influence of the unlucky planets.

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1 See Howorth, op. cit., p. 345.
2 Cited from the Ta'rîkh-i-Wasifs, p. 247.
The Mongol Il-khans (A.D. 1265-1337) [BK I]

5 God made them wail in woe right speedily,  
After that in their days they laughed with glee.  
6 Grim captains made them drink Death's cup of ill,  
Until their skulls the blood-bathed streets did fill,  
And from their dwellings seized the wealth they'd gained,  
And their well-guarded women's rooms profaned.  
7 O wretched dupes of error and despair,  
At length the trap hath caught you in its snare!  
8 Vile, carrion birds, behold, in open ground  
The nets of ruin compass you around!  
9 O foulest race who e'er on earth did thrive,  
And hatefulest of those who still survive,  
10 The Calf you served in place of God; and lo,  
Vain, vain are all your goings to and fro!  
11 They doomed to death your 'Cleanser'  
And thereby  
12 What time they gathered round his head upraised  
Midst dust and stench, and on its features gazed.  
13 God sped the soul of him who was their chief  
To hell, whose mirk is dark despair and grief.  
14 In molten tortures they were prisoned,  
In trailing chains they to their doom were led.  
15 Take warning, from this doom without reprieve;  
Recite the verse: 'How many did they leave?'
16 Tugháchár, prince fulfilled with strength and zeal,  
Hath caused the pillars of their power to reel.  
17 Our Shaykh's prediction found fulfilment there,  
What time he saw them rob him of his share;  
18 That holy man, our lord Jamálu'd-Dín3,  
Aided by God, endowed with angel's mien,  
19 Devoted, walking ever in the way  
Of Hirn the fishes in their seas obey.  
20 I penned this satire, hoping to attain  
The Eternal Gardens' lake-encompassed plain,  
21 And to refute that poet's words untrue  
Who said, 'Turn Jews, for Heaven hath turned a Jew.'

1 This word Muhaddishk ("Purifier") probably forms part of some such title as Muhaddishk 'd-Dawla borne by one of the victims.  
2 "How many gardens and fountains...did they leave behind them!" Qur'án, xli, 24.  
3 Perhaps Jamálu'd-Dín Muhammad ibn Sulaymán an-Naqib al-Ma'qúsí (d. 698/1298-9) is meant.

CH. I] PAPER CURRENCY RIOTS

Gaykhátú (A.D. 1291-1295).

Argúhn was succeeded by his brother Gaykhátú, whose coronation did not take place till July 22, 1291, four months and a half after his predecessor's death. During this interval, in spite of the fact that Tugháchár and other chiefs of the Mongols had hastened to appoint governors in the different provinces, anarchy was rampant, and Afrásiyáb, of the House of Hazárasp, which had ruled over Luristán since the middle of the twelfth century, broke out in an abortive revolt and for a while held Isfahán.

Gaykhátú, whom the author of the Ḥabibú's-Siyar describes as "the most generous of the children of Húllúqú," chose Sadrú'd-Dín Ahmad Khálidí of Zanján, better known as Sadr-i-Jahán, as his prime minister. Both the monarch and his minister were disposed to extravagance and prodigality, and the former at any rate to the pleasures of the table and other less reputable enjoyments. Thus it soon happened that the treasury was empty, and, money being urgently required, Sadr-i-Jahán determined to introduce the chao, or paper money, which was current in the Chinese Empire. To this end establishments for manufacturing the chao were erected in all the principal towns, and stringent laws were enacted to restrict the use of the precious metals as far as possible. Full descriptions of the projected paper money are preserved to us in the Ta'rkhi-i-Wassáfí and other histories of the period. The notes consisted of oblong rectangular pieces of paper inscribed with some words in Chinese, over which stood the Muhammadan profession of faith, "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Apostle of God," in Arabic. Lower down was the scribe's or designer's name, and the value of the note (which varied from half a dirham to ten dinars) inscribed in a circle. A further inscription ran as follows: "The King

1 Pp. 272-3.
of the world issued this auspicious chao in the year A.H. 693 [A.D. 1294]. Anyone altering or defacing the same shall be put to death, together with his wife and children, and his property shall be forfeited to the exchequer." Proclamations were also sent to Shiráz and other towns explaining the advantages of the new currency, answering imaginary objections against it, and declaring that:

"If in the world this chao gains currency,
Immortal shall the Empire's glory be,"

and that poverty and distress would entirely disappear. One ingenious provision in the laws affecting the chao was that notes worn and torn by circulation were to be returned to the chao-khāna, or Mint, and new notes, less by ten per cent. than the amount thus refunded, were to be given to the person so returning them.

The issue of the chao in Tabriz was fixed for the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 693 (Sept.–Oct., 1294). In three days the bazaars of Tabriz were closed and business was practically at a standstill, for no one would accept the chao, and gold and silver had been withdrawn from circulation. The popular rage was largely directed against 'Īzzu'd-Dīn Muẓaffār, who had been instrumental in introducing the hated paper money, and such verses as the following were composed about him:

"Pride of the Faith, Protection of the Land,
Would that thy being from the world were banned!"

Similar disturbances broke out at Shiráz and in other cities, and, yielding to the representations of the Mongol nobles and others, Gaykhātū finally consented to recall the obnoxious chao and abolish the paper currency which had intensified instead of ameliorating the financial crisis.

Shortly after this untoward experiment, Gaykhātū, in one of those drunken orgies which were habitual to him, grossly insulted his cousin Baydū, a grandson of Hūlāgū, and caused him to be beaten by one of his retainers. Next morning, when he came to his senses, he repented of his action, and endeavoured to conciliate Baydū by means of gifts and honours. Baydū, for reasons of expediency, concealed his resentment for the time, but soon afterwards, encouraged by certain disaffected Mongol nobles, he openly revolted against Gaykhātū, who, betrayed by his general Tughchār, was taken prisoner and put to death at Mūqān, on Thursday, 6 Jumāda II, 694 (April 23, 1295).

Baydū was crowned soon after this at Hamadān, and after celebrating his accession in the usual drunken fashion of the Mongols, proceeded to appoint Tughchār commander-in-chief, dismiss the late premier Sād-r-Jahnān, and replace him by Jamālū'd-Dīn Dastajīrdīnī. He did not, however, long enjoy the high position which he had gained, for six months after his
acquisition he was overcome by Ghażân, the son of his cousin Arghûn, and, in the words of Khwândamîr¹, “quaffed a full cup of that draught which he had caused Gaykhâât to taste.”

GHAŻÂN (A.D. 1295–1304).

The accession of Ghażân, the great-grandson of Hûlûğû, marks the definite triumph of Islân over Mongol heathenism, and the beginning of the reconstruction of Persian independence. He was born on December 4, 1271, and was therefore not twenty-four years of age when he assumed the reins of government. At the youthful age of seven he accompanied his grandfather Abâqû on his hunting expeditions, and at the age of ten his father Arghûn made him governor of Khurasân, under the tutelage of the Amîr Nawrûz, the son of Arghûn Ağhâ, who for thirty-nine years had governed various Persian provinces for Chingiz Khdn and his successors. The Amîr Nawrûz had embraced Islân, and it was through him that Ghażân was converted to that faith, for at the beginning of his struggle with his rival Baydû he had been persuaded by Nawrûz to promise that, if God should grant him the victory, he would accept the religion of the Arabian Prophet. This promise he faithfully fulfilled; on Sha'bân 4, 694 (June 19, 1295), he and ten thousand Mongols made their profession of faith in the presence of Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din al-Hamawi. Nor did Ghażân lack zeal for his new convictions, for four months after his conversion he permitted Nawrûz to destroy the churches, synagogues and idol-temples at Tabrîz. He also caused a new coinage bearing Muhammadan inscriptions to be struck, and by an edict issued in May, 1299, prohibited usury, as contrary to the Muhammadan religion. In November, 1297, the Mon-

¹ Habûbû's-Siyar (Bombay lithographed ed. of 1857), vol. iii, pt. i, p. 81.
² So the Habûbû's-Siyar and Da'olatshâh; but, according to the Mâjma't of Fâshî, Shaikh Ibrâ'hîm al-Juwainî.
³ Howorth, loc. cit., p. 421.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 444–5.
the following winter (1300-1301) Gházán again prepared to invade Syria, but was forced to retreat owing to floods and bad weather. In the following May he despatched a letter to the Sultan of Egypt, the answer to which, written in October, was delivered to him by his envoys in December, 1301. Rather more than a year later, at the end of January, 1303, Gházán again marched against the Egyptians. Having crossed the Euphrates at the date above mentioned, he visited Karbalá, a spot sanctified to him by his strong Shi'ite proclivities, and bestowed on the shrine and its inmates many princely favours. At 'Ána, whither he next proceeded, Wáṣṣáf, the court-historian, presented him with the first three volumes (out of five) of the history on which he was engaged, and which has been so often quoted or mentioned in these pages. Gházán accompanied his army for some distance further towards the West, and then recrossed the Euphrates to await the result of the campaign at Kashf, two days' journey westwards from Ardabíl. This campaign proved as disastrous to the Mongols as the previous one had been fortunate, for they were utterly defeated by the Egyptians in March, 1303, at Marju'-Suffar near Damascus. The Egyptian victory was celebrated by general rejoicings in Syria and Egypt, especially, of course, at Cairo, where every house was decorated and every point of vantage crowded to see the entry of the Sultan with his victorious troops, preceded by 1600 Mongol prisoners, each bearing, slung round his neck, the head of one of his dead comrades, while a thousand more Mongol heads were borne aloft on lances, accompanied by the great Mongol war-drums with their parchment rent. Gházán's vexation was commensurate with the Egyptian Sultan's exultation, and was increased by a scornful and railing letter addressed to him by the victor. Condign punishment was inflicted by him on the Mongol generals and captains who were supposed to have been responsible for this disaster. Gházán's health seems to have been undermined by the distress resulting from this reverse to his arms, which was perhaps still further increased by the abortive conspiracy to depose him and place his cousin Ālafran the son of Gaykhátú on the throne, and he died at the early age of thirty-two on May 17, 1304.

The mourning for his death throughout Persia was universal, and appears to have been sincere, for he had restored Islám to the position it occupied before the invasion of Chingiz Khán, repressed paganism, and reduced chaos to order. In spite of his severity, he was merciful compared to his predecessors, and had the reputation of disliking to shed blood save when he deemed it expedient or necessary. He was, moreover, a generous patron of science and literature and a liberal benefactor of the pious and the poor. Though ill-favoured and of mean and insignificant appearance, he was brave, assiduous in all things, and gifted with unusually wide interests and keen intelligence. He was devoted alike to arts and crafts and to the natural sciences, especially to architecture on the one hand, and to astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, metallurgy and botany on the other. He was extraordinarily well versed in the history and genealogy of the Mongols, and, besides Mongolian, his native tongue, was more or less conversant with Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Tibetan, Kashmírf, and, it is said, Latin. Something also he knew more than his predecessors of the lands and peoples of the West, a knowledge chiefly derived from the numerous envoys of different nations who sought his capital in Adharbayján, and reflected, as Howorth remarks (p. 487), in the work of the great historian Rashidu'd-Dín, who acted as his prime minister during the latter portion of his reign, and who was aware, for instance, that the Scotch paid tribute to the English and...
that there were no snakes in Ireland. Amongst the envoys who visited Ghazan's court were represented the Chinese, the Indians, the Egyptians, the Spaniards (by Solivero of Barcelona), the English (by Geoffrey de Langley), and many other nations.

Ghazan was also well grounded in Islam, the faith of his adoption, and showed a marked predilection for the Shi'ite form of that religion. How he enriched Karbalá we have already seen, and the shrine of the eighth Imam ‘Ali ar-Ridá at Mash-had also benefited by his charity. How far he was influenced in his conversion by sincere conviction and how much by political expediency is a matter open to discussion, but his conversion was in any case a blessing for Persia. A harsh government is always an evil thing for those subject to its sway; more evil if it be administered by a foreign, dominant caste; most evil if the administrators be also of an alien religion hostile to, or unsympathetic towards, the faith of their subjects. The Mongol dominion had hitherto been of this last and cruellest type; by Ghazan's conversion it was ameliorated at once to the second, which again prepared the way for a return to the first. "When Ghazan became a Muhammadan," says Howorth (p. 486), "he definitely broke off his allegiance to the Supreme Khan in the furthest East. Hitherto the Il-khans had been mere feudatories of the Khán of Mongolia and China. They were now to become independent, and it is natural that the formulae on the coins should accordingly be changed." Henceforth Shamans and Buddhist monks could no longer domineer over the Muslim ‘ulamá; their monasteries and temples gave place to colleges and mosques. Muslim learning, enriched in some directions though impoverished in others, was once more honoured and encouraged. Nor were material improvements, tending greatly to benefit the hitherto oppressed subjects of the Il-khans, wanting.

Ghazan was at all times stern and often cruel, but he had far higher ideals of his duties towards his subjects than any of his predecessors, and he adopted practical means to give effect to these ideals. "Be sure," he says, "that God has elevated me to be a ruler, and has conferred his people to me in order that I may rule them with equity. He has imposed on me the duty of doing justice, of punishing the guilty according to their crimes. He would have me most severe with those who hold the highest rank. A ruler ought especially to punish the faults of those most highly placed, in order to strike the multitude by example." An account of the reforms which he effected in the collection of taxes, the prevention of extortion, the repression of the idle and baneful extravagances of the dominant Mongols, the restoration of confidence and security where the lack of these had previously reduced prosperous towns to ruined and deserted hamlets, and withal the restoration of the finances of the country to a sound and healthy condition would be out of place here, especially as the matter is fully discussed by Howorth in his great history (loc. cit., pp. 487–530). The institution of the new Era, called Il-khání or Ghazání, which began on Rajab 13, 701 (March 14, 1302), was also dictated, at any rate in part, by a desire to put an end to sundry irregularities which had crept into the finance. To Ghazan's credit must also be set his efforts to suppress or at least minimize prostitution, and the example he himself gave of a morality far higher than that generally prevalent amongst his countrymen at that time.

Previous Mongol sovereigns had, in accordance with the custom of their nation, always taken measures to have the place of their burial concealed. Ghazán, on the other hand, specified the place

1 See f. 312a of the India Office Ms. of the Jamé'a-Tawdrikh (Persian, 3524=2828 of Ethé's Catalogue).
2 Sayyid Núrulláh of Sháshtar includes him in the list of Shi'ite rulers given in the sixth Maplis of his Majallát-Má'minát. The pages of the lithographed Tíhrán edition of this work published in 1268/1851-2 are unfortunately not numbered, so that no more exact reference can be given.

1 Howorth, loc. cit., p. 491.
where he should be buried, and spent large sums in erecting and endowing round about his mausoleum a monastery for dervishes, colleges for the Shafi'i and Hanafi sects, a hospital, a library, an observatory, a philosophical academy, a residence for sayyids, a fountain, and other public buildings. Annual endowments amounting to over a hundred tundzs, or a million pieces of money, were provided for the maintenance of these establishments, and every possible precaution was taken to secure these revenues to their original use. Round about the mausoleum and its dependent buildings grew up the suburb of Ghazaniiya, which soon rivalled Tabriz itself in size and surpassed it in beauty.

ULJAYTU KHUDÁ-BANDA (A.D. 1305-1316).

Ghazan was succeeded by his brother Uljaytu the son of Arghun, who was crowned on July 21, 1305, under the name of Uljaytu Muhammad Khudá-banda, being at the time twenty-four years of age. As a child he had, at the desire of his mother Urk Khátun, been baptised into the Christian church under the name of Nicolas, but later he was converted to Islam by his wife, to whom he was married at a very early age. In his youth he had received the curious name of Ichar-banda ("ass-servant," i.e. ass-herd or muleteer), which was afterwards changed to Khudá-banda ("servant of God"). On the former name Rashidu'd-Din has the following verses in the preface to vol. i of his great history:

The point of these verses, which are hardly worth translating in their entirety, is that the sum of the numerical values of the nine letters constituting the words Shahi Kharbanda (شاه خریبده) is equivalent to that of the fifteen letters in the words Saiya-i-Khás-i-Afárínda (سایه خاص آفرینده), for the first gives 300 + 1 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 2 + 50 + 4 + 5 = 1167, and the second 60 + 1 + 10 + 5 + 600 + 1 + 90 + 1 + 80 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 50 + 4 + 5 = 1167. Since in the Muhammadan, as in the Jewish view, words giving the same numerical equivalent are in some sense identical, the King's name, Khár-banda, is shown to be equivalent to Saiya-i-Khás-i-Afárínda, the "Special Shadow (i.e. Protection) of the Creator." According to Dawlatshah (an author on whose uncritical statements no reliance whatever can be placed), "when, on the death of Arghun Khán, Ghazan Khán became king, Uljaytu Khán fled from him, and for some years wandered with the ass-herds in the district of Kirmán and Hormuz, on which account he was called Khár-banda, 'the Ass-herd.' But others say that this is not so, but that the parents of a very beautiful child give him an ugly name, so that the evil eye may not affect him, and that on this account he was called Khár-banda:"

1 P. 217 of my edition.
2 For another explanation see the Travels of Ibn Baita (ed. Defrébery and Sanguineti), vol. ii, p. 115.
Even before Úljáytú was crowned, it was deemed expedient to get rid of his cousin Álafrank as a possible claimant to the throne, and he, as well as the general Harqadáq, was accordingly assassinated by three Mongol officers. Úljáytú's first act was to confirm the laws of his predecessor Gháýán, and to ordain the strict observance of the Shari'át, or Canon Law of Islám; and he appointed Rashídú'd-Dín the historian and physician, and Sa'dú'd-Dín of Sáwa as joint Chancellors of the Exchequer, with absolute authority over his Persian as opposed to his Mongolian subjects. He visited the celebrated observatory of Marágha, and installed Asilu'd-Dín, the son of the eminent Naṣíru'd-Dín of Tús (who, as already mentioned, had died in 1272–3), as Astronomer-royal1. Abú Sa'íd, the son and successor of Úljáytú, was born in the year of the latter's accession, and in the same year was divorced Sháh JahÁn, the last sovereign of the Qarb-Khitb'i dynasty of Kirman. In the same year was founded the royal city of Sultániyya2, near Zanján, which soon assumed the most majestic proportions.

Now it is an almost uninhabited ruin, conspicuous only for its magnificent though dilapidated mosque; but the name of the royal founder is still remembered in the following doggerel, which I heard from an old man who accompanied me round the mosque when I visited it in November, 1887:

"O Shaíh, Khudá-bandá, worker of injustice, two fowls for one village!"

The last line is Turkish, but I have never been able to ascertain to what it alludes.

1 The death of Asilu'd-Dín is recorded in the Mújmal of Fášílí under the year A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314–15). Abu'l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus gives the date of Naṣíru'd-Dín's death as 8/7/1246–7 (Beyrouth ed. of 1890, pp. 500–501).

2 Ta'ríkh-i-Wassáth, pp. 477–8. The author gives a long poem by himself on this event, at the end of which he mentions "the day of Anfrán in the month of Farwardín in the year A.H. 710" as the date when his poem was completed (March–April, A.D. 1311).

Two months after Úljáytú's succession he received embassies from three of the Mongol rulers (of whom Timúr Qá'éán, Emperor of China, was the most important) to announce the truce which had just been concluded between them. Three months later arrived an embassy from Túqtáy, and shortly afterwards Úljáytú despatched ambassadors to Egypt, to assure Sultán Násir of his friendly disposition. He was also in correspondence with Philip le Bel, Edward the Second, and Pope Clement V. The bearer of the Il-khan's letters to and from these potentates was Thomas Ilidouchi1, who, as D'Ohsson observes (vol. iv, pp. 590–8), evidently concealed from the European courts to which he was accredited the fact that his master Úljáytú had embraced Islám; for the letters on both sides are extant, and both Edward II (in a letter dated Nov. 30, 1307) and Pope Clement V (in a letter dated March 1, 1308) assume explicitly that Úljáytú would help them in extirpating what they describe as "the abominable sect of Mahomet." Úljáytú, meanwhile, was preoccupied with devising some test whereby he might prove the sincerity of the numerous Jews who at this time desired to profess Islám. This was finally effected by the learning of Rashídú'd-Dín, who, as his history shows, was thoroughly conversant with Jewish tradition and doctrine, and was even accused by his enemies of being a Jew, or of regarding Judaism with undue favour. The intending proselyte was bidden to partake of camel's flesh seethed in milk, and the sincerity of his conversion was judged by his readiness to eat this doubly-unlawful food. It was about this time also (April 14, 1306) that the aforesaid Rashídú'd-Dín presented the finished portion of his great historical work, the Jami'ú't-Tawádhlh to Úljáytú.

The chief wars of Úljáytú's reign were the conquest of Gilán in the early summer of 1307 and the capture of Herát in the latter part of the same...
In both campaigns a gallant resistance was made, and success was not achieved by the Mongols without serious losses. In the defence of Herât especially the most conspicuous courage and resource were shown by the Ghûrî captain, Muhammad Sâm, to whose charge the city had been entrusted by Fâkhru'd-Dîn Kûrt. He was, however, ultimately taken by treachery and put to death. Amongst other notable persons who suffered death in Uljâyôtû's reign were Mûsà the Kurd, who claimed to be the Mahdî or appointed Saviour of Islam; Sâ'du'd-Dîn, the associate and later the rival of Rashûdû'd-Dîn, who was executed on a charge of peculation from the treasury; and Tâju'd-Dîn Awâjî, an extreme Shi'ite, who had tried to convert Uljâyôtû to his doctrines. But what the unfortunate Tâju'd-Dîn failed to accomplish nevertheless was brought about by other means. Uljâyôtû's religious views belonged to the Hanâfî sect, the doctors of which, relying on the royal favour, waxed arrogant, until the King was induced by his minister Rashûdû'd-Dîn to incline to the ShÁfi'i doctrine. Thereupon violent disputes took place in Uljâyôtû's presence between the representatives of these two Sunni schools, who, in the heat of controversy, brought against each other such abominable accusations that Uljâyôtû was greatly annoyed with both, and even the Mongol nobles, who were by no means squeamish, professed disgust, and began to ask whether it was for this that they had abandoned the faith of their ancestors, to which they now called on Uljâyôtû to return. The Il-khân was further alarmed by a violent thunder-storm by which he was overtaken about this time, and which, according to the Mongols and their bakshîs or priests (who, expelled by Ghâzân, would appear to have returned to Persia under his successor, unless, as d'Ohsson implies, they were brought back ad hoc) was a signal of the Divine displeasure. For some time he was distracted with doubt, until at length he was persuaded by the Amîr Târâmtâz to follow Ghâzân's example and adopt the Shi'ite creed. This he ultimately did, after he had visited 'Ali's tomb and there seen a vision which convinced him that the homage of the faithful was due, after the Prophet, to 'Ali ibn Abî Tâlib and his descendants.

Uljâyôtû conducted one campaign against Syria, of which the chief event was the siege of Rahbat, which, however, the Mongols were obliged to raise when the town was reduced to the last extremity on account of the heat and the scarcity of provisions. As the result of dissensions between the brothers of the house of Qatîdâ who ruled Mecca alternately according to the fortune of war, Uljâyôtû's name was for a while substituted in public prayer in the Holy City for that of the Egyptian Sulṭân Nâsîr.

Uljâyôtû died at Sulṭânîyya from the sequelae of an attack of gout on December 16, 1316, at the comparatively early age of thirty-five. He is described as "virtuous, liberal, not readily influenced by calumny; but, like all Mongol princes, addicted to spirituous drinks, and chiefly occupied with his pleasures." His funeral obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and he was mourned by his subjects for eight days. He had twelve wives, who bore him six sons and three daughters, but five of the former and one of the latter died in childhood. His surviving son, Abû Sa'id, succeeded him; his two surviving daughters were married to the Amîr Chûbân, and one of them, SÂtî Beg, subsequently held for a short time the position of queen in the year 1339.

Abû Sa'id (A.D. 1317-1334).

Abû Sa'id, who was in Mazandaran at the time of his father's death, was crowned in April, 1317, being then under thirteen years of age. The Amîr Chûbân was made Amîrul-'Umâr, while 'Alî-shâh was associated with Rashûdû'd-Dîn Faḍhû'llâh in the
wazirate. Between these two ministers there existed a great rivalry, and it soon became evident that one or other must succumb. The victim was Rashidu'd-Din, whose greater scrupulousness and honour placed him at a disadvantage. By the intrigues of his rival he was deposed in October, 1317, and the death of the powerful Amir Savinj in January, 1318, deprived him of his chief protector. The Amir Chuban was anxious to reinstate him in office, but though he pleaded his advanced age and desired only to be allowed to live out the remainder of his life in peace and retirement, his rival 'Ali-shah took alarm, renewed his intrigues, and succeeded in persuading Abu Sa'id that Rashidu'd-Din and his youthful and comely son Khwaja Ibrahim were guilty of poisoning the late ruler Uljaytu. Both were condemned to death and executed on July 18, 1318, Rashidu'd-Din being then over seventy years of age. His body was outraged, his houses and possessions plundered, and his relatives and connections subjected to all sorts of persecution. More will presently be said of his character, learning, charity and literary achievements.

About a month after this sad event (August, 1318) began the rebellion of Yasawur, whose ambition led him to covet the province of Khurasan. He succeeded in compassing the death of Yasaul, and, having made himself master of Khurasan, invaded and ravaged Mazandaran, but retired before Abu Sa'id's general, Amir Husayn into the Garm-sir, or hot region bordering on the Persian Gulf. About the same time a formidable conspiracy of Mongol captains, such as Iranchin, Tagmaq and Isenbuga was formed against Chuban, but the latter, supported by Abu Sa'id, utterly defeated them near Ujan in June, 1319, and those of the rebel leaders who did not perish in the battle were put to death with every circumstance of ignominy and cruelty at Sultaniyya. Amongst the victims was Kinjik (or Kikhshik, or Kichik), the grand-daughter of Abaq and wife of Iranchin, who had fought with conspicuous bravery in the battle to avenge the death of her son Shaykh 'Ali, and was now, according to Nuwayri's account, trampled to death by horses at the command of Abu Sa'id. Two months later Chuban was rewarded by being given in marriage Sati Beg, the king's sister, while the king, to commemorate his valour in this battle, took the title of Bahadur Khan.

The years 1318-1319 were remarkable for grievous famines in Asia Minor and elsewhere, followed in 1320 by terrific hail-storms. Abu Sa'id, much alarmed, consulted the theologians as to the cause of these calamities. They ascribed them to the laxity which prevailed about wine-drinking and prostitution, taverns and brothels being in many cases situated close to mosques and colleges. Abu Sa'id thereupon closed all disorderly houses, and caused an enormous quantity of wine to be destroyed, but he allowed one wine-shop to remain for the use of travellers in each district. These measures produced a very good impression in Egypt, and facilitated the conclusion of a treaty between Abu Sa'id and Sultan Nasir, the Egyptian ruler, who had recently carried his hostility against the Mongols so far as to send thirty assassins of the Isma'ili sect from Syria to attempt the life of Qara Sunqur. Although this attempt miscarried, it greatly alarmed the Mongols, and both sides were thus to come to terms and to set aside their ancient feuds. A treaty was ultimately concluded in 1323 between the two states, after a Mongol princess1 (a grand-

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1 Or Irinjin, the nephew of Doquz Khatun. See Chabot's Hist. de Mar Jabalah III, p. 141 ad calc.
daughter of Batu) had been given in marriage to Sultan Nasir in 1320.

In 1322 Timur-Tash the son of Chuban revolted in Asia Minor and declared himself to be the expected Mahdi or Messiah, but he was overcome by his father, pardoned, and ultimately reinstated in his government by Abu Sa'id. About the same time Armenia was devastated by the Egyptians, and Pope John XXII endeavoured to stir up the European powers on their behalf; to which end he wrote a letter (dated July 12, 1322) to Abu Sa'id asking him to aid them, and exhorting him at the same time to embrace the Christian faith. He also appointed a Dominican named Francois de Peruse archbishop of Sulianiyya.

Early in 1324 died the prime minister Ali-shah, who was chiefly remarkable as the first Mongol wa'iz the to die a natural death. He was succeeded by Ruknu'd-Din Sa'in, who enjoyed the support of the great Amir Chuban. The power of this Amir, however, began to arouse the jealousy of Abu Sa'id, now about twenty-one years of age, and an open rupture was precipitated by Abu Sa'id's passion for Bagdad Khwan, the daughter of Chuban and wife of Shaykh Hasan Jalid, and by the intrigues of the ungrateful Ruknu'd-Din against his benefactor. A threatened invasion of Khurasan by the Mongols of Transoxiana obliged Chuban and his son Ijusayn to be present in the eastern portion of the empire, while another son named Dimashq Khawa, against whom Abu Sa'id was already incensed, remained at the court, which returned from its winter quarters at Baghdad to Sulianiyya in the spring of 1327. Abu Sa'id, growing daily more impatient of Dimashq Khawa's arrogance and immorality, only awaited a reasonable excuse to destroy him.

A translation of this letter is given by D'O bson, vol. iv, pp. 662-3. 

1 D'O bson, vol. iv, p. 662. This appointment was made on May 1, 1318. The first archbishop resigned in 1323, and was succeeded by Guillaume d'Ad.
and there buried in the tomb which he had prepared for himself.

Abū Sa'id was now free to marry Baghdād Khātūn, but, though she soon acquired a great influence over him, he did not cease persecuting her family. Another of Chūbān's sons, Timūr-Tāsh, who was governor of Asia Minor, took refuge at the Egyptian court, where he arrived on January 21, 1328. He was at first well received, sumptuously entertained, and given an allowance of 1500 dinārs a day; but the urgent demands of Abū Sa'id for his extradition, combined with the intrigues of the Egyptian Sultan's courtiers, soon decided the latter to get rid of him. For a while he hesitated between the extradition and the execution of his once powerful guest, but finally he decided to kill him, fearing lest, if he were sent to Abū Sa'id, the intercession of his sister Baghdād Khātūn and his old friend Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, the son of the great Rashīd u'd-Dīn, now himself prime minister, might induce the Il-khān to forgive him, and that, should this happen, he would certainly seek to revenge himself on the Egyptians. Timūr-Tāsh was therefore put to death in prison on the night of Thursday, August 22, 1328, and his head, embalmed and placed in a casket, was sent to Abū Sa'id.

Of the wazīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn the contemporary historian Hamdūllāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn speaks in enthusiastic terms in his Ta'rikh-i-Guzīda, or "Select History," which is dedicated to him. "That minister of good repute," he says, "like his illustrious father, made the most admirable efforts to secure the order of the world; and inasmuch as to pardon when one has power to injure is the extreme of human perfection, and all the greatest of former ages have followed this path, and thus obtained, by their virtuous conduct, the highest honour and an enduring name, so this minister of angelic temperament, inspired by the certainty of his convictions, did even more than this, for, instead of punishing those who had wrought towards his noble family ill deeds whereby the recapitulation would disgust the hearts of my hearers, he drew the pen of forgiveness through the record of their crimes, recompensed their evil actions with good, and made each one of them an exemplar of the prosperity of this Empire, raising them to the highest ranks, and entrusting to them the most important functions, so that each now beholds with his own eyes that which he did most ardently desire."

This complaisance of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn nearly caused his destruction when the rebellious Amīr Nārīn Būqā sought his intercession with Abū Sa'id at the very moment when he was plotting the minister's assassination. On this occasion, however, the king, prompted by his wife Baghdād Khātūn, who hated Nārīn Būqā as the destroyer of her father and brothers, intervened, and caused the rebel and his confederate Tāsh-Timūr to be executed on October 5, 1327.

The last years of Abū Sa'id's reign saw numerous changes in the Kurt kings of Herāt. Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn died in October, 1329, and was succeeded by his eldest son Shamsu'd-Dīn, who was so much addicted to drink that it was said that during a reign of ten months he was only sober for ten days. He was succeeded by his younger brother Hāfīz, a gentle scholar, who was assassinated in 1332, and replaced by his infant brother Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, whose election was approved by Abū Sa'id. He enjoyed a long reign of forty years, and was followed by his son, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Pīr 'Alī, in whose time the dynasty, which had endured since 1245, was extinguished by Tamerlane.

In August, 1335, Abū Sa'id, having learned that Üzbek, the Khān of the Golden Horde, intended an invasion of his dominions, was preparing to take the field against him when he fell ill, and died at Qarābāgh near Arrān on Nov. 30 of that year. He

1 See Ibn Baṭūṭa, vol. ii, pp. 119-121.
is described by Ibn Taghribardī as “a brave and brilliant prince of majestic appearance, generous and witty.” He was a good calligraphist, composer and musician, and is praised by this historian not only for his good moral character and for his suppression of the drink traffic, but also for his destruction of the Christian churches. It is suggested by Mirkhwānd and positively asserted by Ibn Batūta that Ābū Saʿīd was poisoned by Baghdād Khātūn, who was jealous of the ascendancy obtained by her younger rival Dilshād Khātūn over the Īl-khānī. At any rate, whether guilty or not, Baghdād Khātūn was put to death.

With Ābū Saʿīd’s death the dynasty of the Īl-khāns of Persia, founded by Hūlāgū Khān, practically came to an end, and a period of anarchy ensued which lasted until another great wave of conquest from the land of Tūrān swept over Persia and Asia Minor thirty-five years later, led by the ruthless and irresistible conqueror Tīmūr-ī-Lang (“Limping Tīmūr”), or, as he is commonly called in Europe, Tamerlane. By a strange coincidence, noticed in the Matzā'u’s-Sa’dayn, the year of Tīmūr’s birth was the same as that of Ābū Saʿīd’s death, and the chronogram Tawdh (تودح) has been devised for it, since this word gives the date (A.H. 736) according to the Muhammadan computation, and men might well seek refuge with God from this double calamity—the death of Ābū Saʿīd and the birth of Tīmūr—which this year brought.

On the death of Ābū Saʿīd, who left no sons, Arpa, or Arpagāʿūn, a descendant of Arik-bhūqā, the brother of Hūlāgū, was, at the instance of the minister Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn b. Rashīdū’d-Dīn, chosen as his successor. To strengthen his position, he married Sāṭī Beg, the widow of Chūbān and sister of Ābū Saʿīd. He then marched against Uzbek and defeated him. But meanwhile Amīr ‘Alī Pādīšāh and other amīrs, disapproving of Arpa’s election, set up a rival Īl-khān in the person of Mūsā, a descendant of Hūlāgū. A battle took place between the two rivals near Maragha on April 29, 1336. Arpa was defeated, and both he and the wastr Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn were put to death shortly afterwards. Mūsā, however, was not suffered to enjoy the fruits of victory for long: another rival, Muhammad Shāh, also descended from Hūlāgū, was set up against him by Shaykh Ḥasan the Jalā’īr (called Buzurg, “the Great”). Another battle was fought at Aṣ-Tāgh near the town of Naw-Shahr, in which, by the treachery of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg, Mūsā was routed and ‘Alī Pādīshāh killed. Yet another claimant was set up in the person of Tūghāy-Tīmūr, who joined forces with Mūsā, and fought another battle with Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg near Maragha in June, 1337, in which Mūsā was taken prisoner and put to death (July, 1337), while Tūghāy-Tīmūr fled to Bistām. Shaykh Ḥasan, the son of Tīmūr-Tāsh, the son of Chūbān, now added to the confusion by producing a pretender whom he asserted to be his father Tīmūr-Tāsh, whose execution by the Sultan of Egypt has been already mentioned. A battle finally took place at Nakhjuwān on July 10, 1338, between the two Ḥasans, in which Ḥasan “the Greater” was defeated, while his protégé Muhammad Shāh was taken prisoner and put to death. Shaykh Ḥasan “the Less” (the grandson of Chūbān) now quarrelled with the pretended Tīmūr-Tāsh, and espoused the cause of the princess Sāṭī Beg, the sister of the late king Ābū Saʿīd and widow of his grandfather Chūbān. She was proclaimed queen in 739 (1338–9), and a reconciliation was effected between the two Ḥasans.

It is hardly worth following these intrigues further. Those who desire fuller information about them, and about the tortuous policy of Shaykh Ḥasan “the Less,” will find
it in the pages of d’Ohsson and Howorth. Suffice it to say
that Tughdāy-Timūr was betrayed by the astute Shaykh Ḥasan “the Less,” who then set up another puppet, Sulaymān Khān, a descendant of Hūlāgū, and gave him Sālt Beg
in marriage, while Ḥasan “the Greater” set up as a rival a
descendant of Abāqā named Shāh Jahān Timūr. A battle
took place between the two factions near Marāgha in 1340.
Ḥasan “the Greater” was defeated, retired to Baghdād,
deposed his puppet Shāh Jahān Timūr, and, proclaiming
himself king, founded the dynasty—more important in
literary than in political history—of the Jalā’īrs, who reigned
until 1411 over Western Persia and Mesopotamia, with
Baghdād as their capital. As for Ḥasan “the Less,” the
grandson of Chūbān, he was murdered in 1343, while
marching to attack his rival, by his wife ‘Īzāt Malik, who expiated
her crime by a most cruel and ignominious death. On this
event the contemporary poet Salmān of Sāwā (who, being
a protégé of the rival Shaykh Ḥasan, was delighted at the
death of Chūbān’s grandson) has the following verses1,
which hardly bear translation:

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Besides the travels of Ibn Bātūta, repeatedly cited in the
notes, much light is thrown on this period by the travels in
Persia of Friar Odoric of Pordenone about A.D. 13182; the
particulars given about “Bousaet” or “Boussay” (i.e. Abū Sa‘īd) and his kingdom by the Archbishop of Sultāniyya
in a tract written about A.D. 1330; and the narratives of
the consuls who represented Venetian interests in Tabrīz
and other Persian towns between the years A.D. 1305 and
13323.

1 A fine edition of this work, edited by M. Henri Cordier, was
published by Leroux of Paris in 1891.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORIANS OF THE ÍL-KHÁNÍ PERIOD.

The period of about seventy years which we are now considering is chiefly remarkable, from the literary point of view, for the large number of eminent Persian historians which it produced. At least eight of these deserve somewhat detailed notices, besides a rather larger number of notable poets, whose number might easily be increased if those of the second rank were included. Before considering these Persian writers, however, a few words must be said about the Arabic literature of this period of which it behaves even students whose primary interest is in Persian letters to have at least some general idea.

So long as the Caliphate endured and Baghádád remained, in theory at least, the metropolis of all orthodox Muslims, the Arabic language held throughout those wide domains a position analogous to that of Latin in Europe during the Middle Ages; that is to say it was not only (what it still remains) the language of theology, philosophy and science, but also to a large extent of diplomacy, polite society and belles lettres. The overthrow of the Caliphate by the Mongols greatly impaired its position and diminished its prestige, but this decline did not become very conspicuous so long as those survived whose education had been completed before Islám suffered this great disaster, that is to say for some fifty or sixty years after the fall of Baghádád. In the later periods which we have to consider a knowledge of contemporary Arabic literature, though always important, becomes less essential to the student of Persian history and letters, but at this

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1 See Nuzhatu'l-Qulíh (ed. G. le Strange), vol. xxiii, 1 of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, p. 122, ll. 21 et seqq.
by Ibn Abi Uṣaybi‘a (d. 668/1270); the great biographical work of Ibn Khallikán (d. 681/1282) entitled Wafaydtu’z-Afīn; the Atka‘u’z-ādd ("Monuments of the Lands") of Zakariyyá b. Muhammad al-Qazwini (d. 682/1283); the general history, especially important for the Mongol period, entitled Mukhtasār bi-DżlwaZ of Abu’l-Faraj Bar-Hebraeus (d. July 30, 1289); the well-known history of Abu’l-Fidā, Prince of Hamit (d. 732/1331), entitled AGMukhtasarfi Ta’ri&ki’Z-Bashar; and the illuminating travels of Ibn BafGfab (d. 779/1377), which extended over a period of 24 years (1325-1349) and included not only Persia but the greater part of Asia from Constantinople to India and China, and from Arabia to Afghánistán and Transoxiana.

The student of Persian history and literature who ignores these books is cut off from some of the richest sources of trustworthy information, yet they are constantly neglected even by experts who write authoritatively on the Persian poets and other kindred topics. Take only the "Monuments of the Lands" of al-Qazwini above mentioned, consider the following list of eminent Persian poets to whom reference is made under the towns wherein they were born or where they spent their lives, and see how much information about them is given which is vainly sought in the Persian tadhkiras or "Memoirs" commonly consulted on such matters:---Anwari (p. 242),

1 Brockelmann’s Gesch. d. Arab. Litt., vol. i, pp. 223-6. The text was printed at Cairo in 2 vols., 1299/1882.
2 Ibid., vol. i, pp. 316-8. This work is accessible to the English reader in the excellent translation of the Baron McGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., London and Paris, 1843-1871.
3 Ibid., vol. i, pp. 481-2; published by Wüstenfeld together with the better known but less valuable Ḩajjehl-Makhlūqāt, or "Wonders of Creation" of the same author at Göttingen in 1818.
5 Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 44-46.
7 The references are to the pages of Wüstenfeld’s edition, which is

CH. III  TA'RÍKH-I-JAHÁN-GUSHÁ
includes with the events of the year 655/1257, notably the destruction of the Assassins by the author's master and patron Hūlāgī Khān. Some few MSS. contain an Appendix describing the sack of Bagdad, which took place in the following year, but this is probably an addition by a later hand. The work comprises three parts, of which the first deals with the history of Chingiz Khān and his ancestors, and his successors down to Chaghatay; the second relates the history of the Khwārazm-shāhs, especially of the two last rulers of this dynasty, Qutbū'd-Dīn Muhammad and his son Jalālu'd-Dīn; while the third treats of the Isma'ilis and especially of Ḥāsān-i-Ṣabbāh and his successors, the Assassins of Alamūt. The work is therefore not a general history, but a historical monograph on Chingiz Khān and his predecessors and successors, to which are added accounts of the two chief dynasties with which he came in conflict in Persia and Mesopotamia. Further particulars about this most valuable and original history are given in an article which I contributed to the J.R.A.S. for January, 1904, pp. 1-17, and the first and second of the three volumes which it comprises have already appeared (in 1912 and 1916 respectively) in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (xvi, 1 and xvi, 2), edited by my learned friend Mīrāz Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahḥāb of Qazvin, who has prefixed to the first volume a full and critical account of the work and its author, and of the family of statesmen to which he belonged. He died in March 1283. His brother Shamsu'd-Dīn the Ṣāḥib-Dāwān wrote this verse on his death:

"He and I, thou wouldst say, were two lamps which in unison shone;
One lamp burneth still, but alas! for the other is gone!"

1 English Introduction, pp. xv-xcii; Persian ditto.
The following chronogram on his death was composed by Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Alī, the son of Naṣīru'd-Dīn of Tūs:

آصف علاء حق و دين ألد، حضن
صبر بدرود جمانا جهو سر آمد شمان
در شپ شدید جهاد ز مه ذی حجه
سال بر شهید و هشتاد و پیکی در آران

The Ṭārīkh-i-Wassaf was intended, as its author informs us, to be a continuation of the above-mentioned history, and may therefore most conveniently be mentioned next, although it is of slightly later date than the Jāmeš't Tawārīkh, of which we shall next speak. Its proper title is Tajziyatul-Āmsar wa Tajziyatul-A'sar (the "Allotment of Lands and Propulsion of Ages"), and its author, though commonly known simply as Wassaf (the "Panegyrist") or Wassaf-i-Hadrat (the "Court Panegyrist"), was properly named 'Abdu'lllah ibn Faḍlu'lllah of Shīrāz. He was employed in the collection of revenue for the Mongol Government, and was a protégé of the great minister Rashīdu'd-Dīn, who presented him and his book to Uljāytū, as he himself relates, at Sulṭāniyya on June 1, A.D. 1312. His history, as Rieu well says, "contains an authentic contemporary record of an important period, but its undoubted value is in some degree diminished by the want of method in its arrangement, and still more by the highly artificial character and tedious redundance of its style. It was unfortunately set up as a model, and has exercised a baneful influence on the later historical compositions in Persia." That these criticisms are fully justified will be denied by no one who has occasion to use the work, and indeed the author himself

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1 Both these verses are taken from the Musmal of Fāshih, f. 466 of the Raverty MS., sub anno 681.
3 Cat. of Pers. MSS. in Brit. Mus., p. 162.

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During the reign of Uljaytu (or Khudá-banda) Rashídu'd-Dín enjoyed the same high position as under his predecessor, and received from the new king several singular marks of favour and confidence. He also built in Sulááníyya, the new capital, a fine suburb, named after him Rashídláyya, containing a magnificent mosque, a college, a hospital and other public buildings, and some thousand houses. In December, 1307, he was instrumental in establishing the innocence of two Sháhííst doctors of Baghdád, Shihábú'd-Dín Suhráwárdí and Jamálu'd-Dín, who had been accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Egypt. Some two years later he built another beautiful little suburb, near Gházáníyya, the town which had grown up round the suburb called Ghažá's mausoleum, to the East of Tabríz, and, at great expense, brought thither the river Sáráw-ráý through channels hewn in the solid rock. Immense sums of money were required for these and other admirable works of piety and public utility, but Rashídu'd-Dín, as he himself declares, had received from the generous Uljaytu such sums as no previous sovereign had ever bestowed on minister or courtier. On the transcription, binding, maps and illustrations of his numerous literary works he had, according to the Ta’rikh-i-Wá’d, expended no less a sum than 60,000 dinár (£36,000).

Early in the year 1312 Rashídu'd-Dín's colleague Sa’du'd-Dín of Sáwá fell from power and was put to death, the prime mover in the intrigue of which he was the victim, being the clever and unscrupulous 'Alí-sháh, who at once succeeded the dead minister in his office. Soon afterwards a dangerous intrigue was directed against Rashídu'd-Dín, but happily it recoiled on its authors and left him unscathed. Whether he, on the other hand, was responsible for the barbarous execution of Sayyid Tájü'd-

1 Quatremère, Hist. des Mongols, pp. xvi-xvii. The Shihábú'd-Dín here mentioned is not, of course, Sa’dí’s teacher, who died 632/1234-5.

For the conception of the Ḥamṣa-ʿt-Ṭawrīkh the credit, in Quatremère's opinion, belongs to Ghāzān Khān, who, foreseeing that the Mongols in Persia, in spite of their actual supremacy, would in course of time inevitably be absorbed by the Persians, desired to leave to posterity a monument of their achievements, in the shape of a faithful record of their history and conquests, in the Persian language. For the accomplishment of this great task he chose (and no better choice could have been made) Rashīd-ud-Dīn, at whose disposal were placed all the state archives, and the services of all those who were most learned in the history and antiquities of the Mongols. The minister, though engrossed by the state affairs of a vast empire, yet succeeded in finding time to prosecute his researches and commit them to writing, though, according to Dawlat-shāh, the only time at his disposal for this purpose was that which intervened between the morning prayer and sunrise.

Before Rashīd-ud-Dīn's history of the Mongols was completed, Ghāzān died (May 17, 1304), but his successor Uljāyṭū ordered it to be finished and dedicated, as originally intended, to Ghāzān; whence this portion of the work, generally called the first volume, is sometimes entitled Tārīkh-i-Ghāzāni, the "Ghāzānian History." Uljāyṭū also ordered the author to write a companion volume containing a general history of the world and especially of the lands of Islam; a third volume dealing with geography. This last has either perished, or was never actually written, but only projected, so that the work as we now know it comprises only two volumes, the first on the history of the Mongols, written for Ghāzān, the second on general history. The whole work was completed in 710/1306-7, and to add a supplement at the end of the same volume continuing the history of this monarch year by year. This confusing arrangement is not actually observed in most manuscripts, which, if they contain Uljāyṭū's reign at all, put it in its natural place, at the end of vol. i, after Ghāzān. Few if any of the extant manuscripts are, however, complete, though every part of the history is contained in one or other of them. In the J.R.A.S. for January, 1908 (pp. 17-37) I have given a fuller analysis of the contents, together with a scheme for the complete edition which is so much needed.
Ignoring the complicated and confusing divisions made by the author, I proposed to publish the whole book in seven volumes, of which the first three, containing the history of the Turks and Mongols, would correspond to vol. i of the original, and the last four to vol. ii, as follows:

**Series I. Special history of the Mongols and Turks.**

**VOL. I.** From the beginning to the death of Chingiz Khán.

**VOL. II.** From the accession of Ogotay to the death of Timūr (Üljāytags), the grandson of Qūbilāy Khán.

**VOL. III.** From the accession of Hūlagū to the death of Ghāzān, including the continuation of the history of the later Il-khāns down to Abū Sa'īd compiled as a supplement to this portion of Rashīdu'd-Dīn's work in the reign of Shāh Rukh and by his command.

**Series II. General history.**

**VOL. IV.** The Introduction, the history of the ancient kings of Persia down to the fall of the Sāsānian dynasty, and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad.

**VOL. V.** The entire history of the Caliphate, from Abū Bakr to al-Musta'ṣīm.

**VOL. VI.** The history of the post-Muhammadan dynasties of Persia (Ghaznawīs, Seljūqs, Khwārazmshāhs, Salghars and Isma'īlīs).

**VOL. VII.** The remainder of the work, comprising the history (from their own traditions and statements) of the Turks, Chinese, Israelites, Franks and Indians.

The *Jāmi‘u’t-Tawārikh* is remarkable not only for the extensive field which it covers and the care with which it has been compiled from all available sources, both written

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1 This is the portion which M. Blochet has published in the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series, vol. xviii.

2 The portion of this volume dealing with Hūlagū was, as already stated, published by Quatremère under the title of *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, vol. i (Paris, 1836).
and oral, but for its originality. It is doubtful whether any Persian prose work can be compared to it in value, at any rate in the domain of history, and it is the more to be regretted that it remains unpublished and almost inaccessible. "I will dwell no longer," says Quatremère, "on the proofs of the extreme importance of Rashidu'd-Dīn's compilation; this excellent work, undertaken in the most favourable circumstances, and with means of performing it never before possessed by any single writer, offered for the first time to the peoples of Asia a complete course of universal history and geography." The same writer illustrates the thoroughness of Rashidu'd-Dīn's work by indicating the extent to which he drew on Chinese sources, written and oral, in writing that portion of his history which bore reference to Khaṭā (Cathay), and expresses a regret, which all must share, that the geographical portion of his work is lost, or at least still undiscovered. Perhaps, as Quatremère conjectures, it perished in the destruction and looting of the Rāb-i-Rashfīdī which immediately followed Rashidu'd-Dīn's death.

Rashidu'd-Dīn composed numerous other works besides the Ḫādira't-Tawḍīrk, and of these and their contents a detailed account is given by Quatremère. Amongst them is the Kitāb 'Alīyā wa'l-Āthār (the "Book of Animals and Monuments"), which comprised twenty-four chapters treating of a variety of matters connected with meteorology, agriculture, horticulture, apiculture, the destruction of noxious insects and reptiles, farming and stock-breeding, architecture, fortification, ship-building, mining and metallurgy. This work is unhappily lost.

Another of Rashidu'd-Dīn's works was the Tawḍīth, or "Explanations," a theological and mystical work, of which the contents are arranged under a preface and nineteen letters. It was written at the

1 Op. ladd., p. lxxiv.
2 Ibid., p. lxxviii.
3 Ibid., p. lxxxi.
4 Ibid., pp. cxii-cxlv.
request of Uljaiytu, and is described by Quatremère from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

This was followed by another theological work entitled Miftahatu-Tafsir, the "Key of Commentaries," treating of the divine eloquence of the Qur'an, its commentators and their methods, Good and Evil, rewards and punishments, length of life, Providence, Predestination and the Resurrection of the Body. To these topics are added a refutation of the doctrine of Metempsychosis, and a definition of sundry technical terms.

"The Royal Treatise" (ar-Risaldatu-Sultanyya) is another similar work, undertaken on Ramadân 9, 706 (March 14, 1307), as the result of a discussion on theological matters which had taken place in the presence of Ulijaytu.

The Lataiful-Haqiq, or "Subtle Truths," comprises fourteen letters, and begins with an account of a vision in which the author, on the night preceding Ramadân 26, 705 (April 11, 1306), dreamed that he was presented to the Prophet. Its contents also are theological. This and the three preceding works are all written in Arabic, and together form what is known as the Majmad'a-I-Rashfiyya, or "Collection of the works of Rashidu'd-Din," of which a beautiful manuscript, dated 710/1310-11, exists at Paris. Another manuscript of the same library contains a Persian translation of the Lataiful-Haqiq, and there are also preserved there two copies of an attestation of the orthodoxy of Rashidu'd-Din's theological views, signed by seventy leading doctors of Muslim theology. This attestation was drawn up in consequence of accusations of heresy made against Rashid by a malicious fellow whose enmity had been aroused by the frustration of his endeavours to appropriate an emolument from a benefaction for scholars and men of learning made by Ghazan Khan on his death.

Another of Rashid's works, of which, unhappily, only the general nature of the contents is known, is the Baydnu'I-Haqiq, or "Explanatory of Verities," comprising seventeen letters, dealing mostly with theological topics, though other subjects, such as the small-pox and the nature and varieties of heat, are discussed.

The elaborate precautions (precautions which, alas! in the event proved inadequate) taken by Rashidu'd-Din to preserve and transmit to posterity the fruits of his literary labours are very fully detailed by Quatremère, and can only be briefly recapitulated in this place. First, he caused several copies of each of his works to be made for lending to his friends and to men of letters, who were freely permitted to transcribe them for their own use. Then he caused Arabic translations of all his Persian, and Persian translations of all his Arabic works to be prepared, and of both versions he caused numerous copies to be deposited, for the use of anyone who might desire to read or copy them in the mosque-library of the quarter called after him Rab'i-Rashid. He also caused one large volume, containing all of his treatises with the necessary maps and illustrations, to be prepared and deposited in the above-mentioned public library, giving it the title of Jamă'I-Tasdntf'I-Rashid, or "Complete collection of the works of Rashidu'd-Din." Of four more works treating of Medicine and the Mongol system of government he caused trilingual versions, in Chinese, Arabic and Persian, to be prepared. He further accorded the fullest liberty to anyone who desired to copy any or all of these books, and, not content with this, assigned a certain yearly sum from the revenues with which he had endowed his mosque in order to have two complete transcripts of his

1. That this is the correct title appears from the text of this document, published by Quatremère together with the translation. See his Hist. des Mongols, p. cxxix. The Majma'a contained four treatises only (see the preceding page), while the Jam' contained everything Rashid had written.
works, one in Arabic and one in Persian, made every year, and presented to one of the chief towns of the Muhammadan world. These copies were to be made on the best Bagdad paper and in the finest and most legible writing, and to be carefully collated with the originals. The copyists were to be carefully chosen, having regard both to the excellence and the speed of their work, and were to be lodged in the precincts of the mosque, as the administrators of the bequest might direct. Each copy, when finished, bound and ornamented, was to be carried into the mosque and placed on a book-rest between the pulpit and the mihrab, and over it was to be repeated a prayer for the author, composed by himself, and conceived in the following terms:  

"O God, who revealest the most hidden secrets, and givest knowledge of history and traditions! As Thou hast graciously guided thy servant Rashid the Physician, who standeth in need of Thine Abundant Mercy, in the composition of these works, which comprise investigations supporting the fundamental dogmas of Islam, and minute researches tending to elucidate philosophical truths and natural laws, profitable to those who meditate on the inventions of Art, and advantageous to such as reflect on the wonders of Creation, even so hast Thou enabled him to consecrate a portion of his estates to pious foundations, on condition that from these revenues should be provided sundry copies of these books, so that the Muslims of all lands and of all times may derive profit therefrom. Accept, O God, all this from him with a favourable acceptance, and cause his efforts to be remembered with thanks, and grant forgiveness for all sins, and pardon all those who shall help to accomplish this good work, and those who shall read or consult these works and put in practice the lessons which they contain. And bestow

1 The original of this prayer is given by Quatremère on p. clxv of his Hist. des Mongols, and the translation, which is more elegant than literal, on pp. cxi-cxii. The translation here given is from the Arabic original.
CH. II] ELABORATE PRECAUTIONS

on him a good recompense, both in this world and the next! Verily Thou art worthy of fear, yet swift to forgive!"

This prayer was also to be inscribed at the end of each copy so completed, and was to be followed by a brief doxology, also formulated by Rashidu'd-Din, and a colophon penned by the administrator of the bequest, stating at what epoch and for what town each copy had been made, and giving his own name and genealogy, so that he also might be remembered in the prayers of the faithful. Finally the completed copy was to be submitted to the qādis, or judges, of Tabriz, who should certify that all the formalities prescribed by the author had been duly carried out; and it was then to be sent to the town for which it was destined, and deposited in a public library where it could be freely used by all students, and even borrowed against a bond for such sum as the librarian might deem suitable. A copy of the Arabic version of the Majmū‘a-i-Rashidiyya, together with the Baydmul-Haq‘iq and the Kitāb ‘l-Ahkām wa’l-Āthār, was also to be made for one of the Professors on the foundation, who was daily to read and expound to the students some portion of the contents. Besides this, each lecturer on the foundation was obliged to make a copy of one of these works, either in Arabic or Persian, during the period occupied by his course of lectures, failing which he was to be dismissed and replaced by one more diligent than himself. The copy, when made, was to be his own, to sell, give away, or keep as he pleased. All facilities were to be accorded to persons desirous of copying any of these works in the library, but they were not allowed to be removed from its walls. In conclusion the successive administrators of the funds were exhorted to carry out zealously and literally the wishes of the benefactor, and curses were invoked on any administrator who should fail to do so.

Yet, as Quatremère observes, in spite of all these elaborate precautions, "we have lost the greater part of the works of this learned historian, and all the measures which he took

have not had a more fortunate success than the precautions devised by the Emperor Tacitus to secure the preservation of his illustrious relative's writings. The action of time and the vandalism of man, those two scourges which have robbed us of so many masterpieces of antiquity, have also destroyed numerous other productions, less brilliant without doubt, but not less useful; and while worthless compilations are spread abroad in all directions and load the shelves of our libraries, we are left to lament bitterly a number of important works, of which the loss is irreparable.

Of one such work, however, not apparently known to Quatremère, I am the fortunate possessor. This is a collection of Rashidu'd-Din's letters, mostly on political and financial matters, addressed to his sons and others who held various offices under the Mongol government, and collected, arranged and edited by his secretary Muhammad of Abarqīh. For two manuscripts of this work, one old, the other a modern copy of the first, made, apparently, for Prince Bahman Mirzā Bahdu'd-Dīn late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, I am indebted to the generosity of my friend Mr G. le Strange, who obtained them from the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. A third manuscript volume, in English, is entitled in Mr le Strange's hand: Summary of the Contents of the Persian M.S. Despatches of Rashidu'd-Dīn: copied from notes supplied by Sir A. H. Schindler, and afterwards corrected by him: Dec. 1913. In view of the extreme rarity of this work and the interest of its contents, a list of the 53 despatches and letters which it contains and the persons to whom they are addressed is here appended.

1. Preface of the editor Muhammad of Abarqīh, defective at beginning.
2. Letter from Rashidu'd-Dīn to Majdu'd-Dīn Isma'il Fālī.
3. Answer to the above.
4. From Rashidu'd-Dīn to his son Amīr 'All, Governor of 'Irāq-i-'Arab, ordering him to punish the people of Baṣra for rebellious conduct.
5. From the same to his son Amīr Maḥmūd, Governor of Kirmān, reprimanding him for oppressing the people of Baṃ.
6. From the same to his servant Sunqur Bāwarchī, Governor of Baṣra, instructing him as to the policy he should pursue.
7. From the same to his sister's son Khwāja Ma'rūf, Governor of 'Āna, Hāditha, Hīt, Jībba, Nā'ūsa, 'Ashārā (?), Rahba, Shafāthā (?), and Baladu'l-'Ayn, appointing him Governor of Rūm. Written from Sultāniyya in 690/1291 (or possibly 696/1296-7).
8. From the same to the Nā'īb of Kāshān concerning the pension of 2000 dinārs assigned to Sayyid Afdalu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd out of the revenues of Kāshān.
9. From the same to his son Amīr Maḥmūd (see No. 5 supra) ordering the distribution of food to the poor of Baṃ, Khabīṣ, etc.
10. From the same to his son Khwāja Sa'du'd-Dīn, Governor of Antioch, Tarsus, Sūs, Qinnasrin, the 'Awāṣim and the shores of the Euphrates, giving him fatherly advice as to the methods of administration he should adopt, and warning him against sloth, wine-drinking, and over-fondness for music and dissipation.
11. From the same to his son 'Abdu'l-Mū'min, Governor of Sīmān, Dāmghān and Khwār, ordering him to appoint the Qāḍī Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad b. Hasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Karīm of Sīmān Chief Judge of that district.
12. From the same to Shaykh Šadrū'd-Dīn b. Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā condoling with him on the death of a son.
13. From the same to Mawlānā Šadrū'd-Dīn Muḥammad Turka'i concerning a revised and emended scale of taxation to be applied to the people of Isfahān and other places.

amongst his children of his numerous and extensive estates and other property. To the Rab'ı-Rashídī he bequeaths a library of 60,000 volumes of science, history and poetry, including 1000 Qur'āns by various excellent calligraphers, of which 10 were copied by Yaqūt al-Musta'sīmī, 10 by Ibn Muqla and 200 by Ahmad Suhrwardī. He enumerates by name his 14 sons, viz. (1) Sa'du'd-Dīn, (2) Jalālu'd-Dīn, (3) Majdu'd-Dīn, (4) 'Abdu'l-Latif, (5) IbN Khālid, (6) Ghīyathu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, (7) Ahmad, (8) 'Ali, (9) Shaykhī, (10) Pir Sultān, (11) Mahmūd, (12) Humām, (13) Shihāb u'd-Dīn, (14) 'Ali-Shihāb; and his 4 daughters, viz. (1) Farmān-Khānd, (2) Ay Khātīn, (3) Shāhī Khātīn, (4) Hadīyya Malīk.

37. Rashīdu'd-Dīn to the same, concerning a book which he had written and dedicated to him, and sending him a present of money, choice garments, a horse and various food-stuffs.

38. From the same to the people of Diyar Bakr concerning the digging of a new canal to be called after himself, and the establishment and population of 14 villages on both sides of it, with names and plan of the new villages, which are for the most part named after his 14 sons.

39. From the same to his son Jalālu'd-Dīn, Governor of Rūm, concerning the digging of a new canal from the Euphrates to be called after his late lord Ghāzān Khān, and the foundation of 10 villages, of which the plan and names are again given.

40. From the same to his agent Khwāja Kamālu'd-Dīn Sīwāsī, Mustawfi of Rūm, ordering him to send, by means of a merchant named Khwāja Ahmad, certain presents in cash and in kind to ten learned men in Tunis and the Maghrib (names given) in return for ten books (titles given) in 36 volumes which they had sent to the Minister, of whose generosity they had heard.

41. From the same to the authorities at Shīrāz ordering them to make certain specified presents in cash to Mawlānā Mahmūd b. Iyās who had written a book entitled Latīf-i-Rashidīyya and dedicated it to Rashīdu'd-Dīn.

42. From the same to the authorities at Hamadān concerning the maintenance of the Pharmacy (Dārū-khāna) and Hospital (Dārul'sh-Shīfā) which he had founded there, and which he is sending a physician named Ibn Mahdī to inspect and report on. Written from Caesarea (Qayṣarīyya) in 690/1291.

43. From the same to his son Amīr Mahmūd, Governor of Kīrmān, recommending to his care and assistance Khwāja Mahmūd of Sāwa, whom he is sending on a mission to India, to Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, and also to collect money due to Rashīdu'd-Dīn from his estates there.

44. From the same to his son Pir Sultān, Governor of Georgia, concerning the King's projected expedition to Syria and Egypt, and an intended punitive expedition of 120,000 men under ten Mongol amirs (names given) which is to pass through Georgia to chastise the rebellious people of Abkhāz and Trebizond, and which Pir Sultān is to accompany, leaving the government of Georgia in the hands of his deputy Khwāja Mu'inu'd-Dīn.

45. From the same to Shaykh Shāfiyyu'd-Dīn of Ardabil giving, after many compliments, a list of the supplies of meat, fowls, rice, wheat, butter, honey, māst, perfumes and money which he proposes to supply to the aforesaid Shaykh's monastery (khāngāh) for the festival to be held there in commemoration of the Prophet's birthday.

46. Letter from Malik Mu'inu'd-Dīn, Parwāna of Rūm, to Rashīdu'd-Dīn, complaining of Turkmān depredations in his province.

47. Letter from Malik 'Alā'u'd-Dīn accompanying the presents of precious stuffs, aromatic drugs, animals, conserves, spices, dried fruits, carpets, oils, plate, rare timber, ivory, etc., which he is sending from India by way of Baṣra to Rashīdu'd-Dīn.

48. Letter from Rashīdu'd-Dīn to his son Amīr Mahmūd, then engaged in studying Sūfīsm in Kīrmān.
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Siṣrātu'n-Nābī, or Biography of the Prophet (probably Ibn Hishām's); (2) the Qīṣaṣ-i-Abūya (probably ath-Tha'lābi's); (3) the Risāla-i-Qushayriyya; (4) the Tadhkira'r-Awliyā (probably Farīdū'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's); (5) the Tādwar of Ḫanū'd-Dīn al-Yāfī; (6) the Tāj-i-Manṣūr (probably of Ibn Miskawayhi); (7) the Māshārīdū'r-Tajāriš; (8) the Dīwān-i-Nasab (9) the Dīwān-i-Nasab; (10) the Qīṣaṣ-zānbi'Z-Awzīd (probably Farīdū'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's); (11) the Tā'rikh-i-Kāmil of Ibn'l-Athīr; (12) the Zubdatzd't-Tawdrtkī of Jamālū'd-Dīn Abī'l-Qāsim of Kāshān; (13) the Niẓāmu't-Tawdrikh of the Qāḍī Naṣirud-Dīn al-Manfūs; (14) the Shāhnāma of Firdawsī; (15) the Ṣaḥīḫ-nāma of Ṭabarsī; (16) the Istiḥāṣū'l-Abbāsī of Qāḍī Ahmad Dāmghānī; and lastly (23) the Ṣāḥīḫ-i-Ṭa'wārīkh of the author's late martyred master and patron Rashīdu'd-Dīn Fadlullāh.

After the enumeration of his sources, most of which, as will appear from the foot-notes, are directly accessible to us, the author describes the different eras used by different peoples, some of whom date from Adam, others from the Deluge, others from Abraham or Moses, others from the destruction of Pharaoh, others from the building of the Ka'ba or the Abyssinian invasion of Yaman, while the Greeks date from Alexander, the Copts from Nebuchadnezzar, and the pre-Islamic Quraysh from the year of the Elephant. He then discusses the confusion in chronology arising from these differences as to the terminus a quo, which is increased by the fact that the philosophers deny that the world had a beginning, while the theologians assert that it had a beginning and will have an end, but decline to define or specify either. The learned men of India, China and Europe assert that Adam lived about a million years ago, and that there were several Adams, each of whom, with his descendants, spoke a special language, but that the posterity of all save one (viz. the Adam of the Hebrews) died out. Most of the Muslim doctors of Persia, on the other hand, reckon the period between Adam and Muhammad as six thousand years, though some say more and some less. Astronomers reckon from the Deluge, since which, at the time of writing (viz. in the year 698 of in Cairo with al-Manṭūf's commentary in 1286/1869-70. Jārbāḥaqānī's Persian translation was lithographed in Tīhrān in 1279/1863-6. 1

1 Ed. Wiistenfeld, Göttingen, 1850. 2 The three printed editions are Turner Macan's (Calcutta, 1829), Jules Mohl's (Paris, 1838-1878) and Villers and Landauer's (Strassburg, 1877-1884, 3 vols., ending with Alexander the Great).

2 See above, pp. 68-9, 72-5.
the Era of Yazdigird, i.e. about A.D. 1330) 4432 years are considered to have elapsed.

The Ta'rîkh-i-Guzida comprises an Introduction (Fatîha), six chapters (Bâb), each of which is divided into numerous sections (Pâsî), and a conclusion (Khâtima), as follows:

Introduction. On the Creation of the Universe and of Man.

Chapter I. The Pre-Islamic Kings of Persia, in four sections, viz.:
(1) Pîshdâdiyân, eleven Kings, who ruled 2450 years.
(2) Kayânîyân, ten Kings, who ruled 734 years.
(3) Mulkâl-Tawâfîf (Parthians), twenty-two Kings, who ruled 318 years.
(4) Sâsâniyân, thirty-one Kings, who reigned 527 years.

Chapter II. The Prophet Muhammad and his Companions and Descendants, in an introduction and six sections, viz.:
(1) Life of the Prophet, his wars, his wives, secretaries, relations and descendants.
(2) The Orthodox Caliphs, who are reckoned as five, al-Hasan being included. Duration, from 10 Rabî' I, A.H. 11 to 13 Rabî' I, A.H. 41 (June 6, 632–July 17, 661), when al-Hasan resigned the supreme power to Mu'âwiya the Umayyad.

1 The period between Alexander the Great and the fall of the Parthians (really about 550 years) is always under-estimated by Muhammadan writers, with the one exception (so far as I know) of Mas'ûdî, who, in his Kitâb al-Lu'd (pp. 97–9), explains the political and religious motives which led the founder of the Sâsâni Dynasty, Ardashîr-i-Bâbakân, to reduce it deliberately by about one half.

2 This period is over-estimated by more than a century. The duration of the dynasty was from A.D. 226 to 652.
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(c) Of Asia Minor, eleven Kings, who reigned for 220 years, from 480/1087–8 to 700/1300–1.
(7) Khwárazmsháhs, nine Kings, who reigned for 137 years, from 491/1098 to 628/1230–1.
(8) Ātábeks, in two groups, viz.: (a) Of Diyär Bakr and Syria, nine Kings, who reigned for 120 years, from 481/1088–9 to 601/1204–5.
(b) Of Fárs (also called Salgharids), eleven Kings, who reigned for 120 years, from 543/1148–9 to 663/1264–5.
(9) Isma'ilís, in two groups, viz.: (a) Of North Africa and Egypt (the Fátimid Caliphs), fourteen anti-Caliphs, who reigned for 260 years, from 296/908–9 to 556/1160.
(b) Of Persia (the Assassins of Alamút), eight pontiffs, who ruled for 171 years, from 483/1090–1 to 654/1256.
(10) Qará-KhitÁ'ís of KirmÁn, ten Kings, who reigned for 85 years, from 621/1224 to 706/1306–7.
(11) Ātábeks of Lurístán, in two groups, viz.: (a) Of Lur-i-Buzurg, seven rulers, who reigned for 180 years, from 550/1155–6 to 730/1329–30.
(b) Of Lur-i-Kúchak, eleven rulers, who reigned 150 years, from 580/1184–5 to 730/1329–30.
(12) Mongol Ćl-khÁns of Persia, thirteen Kings, who had reigned at the time of writing 131 years, from 599/1202–3 to 730/1329–30. “Hereafter,” adds the author, “let him who will write the continuation of their history.”

Chapter V. Account of men notable for their piety or learning, in six sections, viz.: (1) Imáms and Mujtahids (12 are mentioned).
(2) “Readers” of the Qur’dn (9 are mentioned).
(3) Traditionists (7 are mentioned).
(4) Shaykhs and Šúfís (about 300 are mentioned).
(5) Doctors of Divinity, Law and Medicine (about 70 are mentioned).
(6) Poets, of whom about 5 Arabic and 87 Persian poets are mentioned. The biographies of the latter have been translated and published by me in the J.R.A.S. for October 1900 and January 1901, and as a separate reprint.

Chapter VI. Account of Qazwín, the author’s native town, in seven sections, viz.: (1) Traditions concerning Qazwín. Some 40 are given, of which 36 are said to be from an autograph copy of the Tadwín of ar-RÁfí‘i. Nearly all these agree in describing Qazwín as one of the “Gates of Paradise.”
(2) Etymology of the name of Qazwín.
(3) Notable buildings of Qazwín; its nine quarters and architectural history from the time of ShÁpúr I, who was its original founder; its conquest by the Arabs, and conversion to IslÁm.
(4) Its environs, rivers, aqueducts (qandts), mosques, and tombs. Some of its inhabitants are said still to profess secretly the religion of Mazdák.
(5) Notable men who have visited Qazwín, including “Companions” and “Followers” of the Prophet, Imáms and Caliphs, Shaykhs and ‘ulámás, Khánís and amírs.
(6) Governors of Qazwín.
(7) Tribes and leading families of Qazwín, including Sayyids; ‘ulámás; IftikhÁris (of whom the actual representative, Malik Sa‘íd IftikhÁrú’d-Dín Muḥammad b. Abú Naṣr, had learned the Mongol and Turkı languages and writing, and had translated

1 See G. le Strange’s ed. and translation of our author’s Nuskhátul-Qulb (“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series, vols. xxiii, 1, pp. 56–8 and xxiii, 2, pp. 62–3), where many of these traditions are given on the same authority. See also p. 88 supra, n. 5 ad calc.
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Kalila and Dimna into the first, and the Sindibad-náma into the second; Bázdáris or Mu'áfarís; Bisháris; Burhánís; Ḥanafís; Ḥuwání; Khálidís; Kháfí; Dabírán; Ráfís; Zákánís; Zuyáris; Zádánís; Shirázs; Tábúsí; 'Abbásís; Ghaflání; Fílúghi; Qaḍání; Qaráwús; Tanmís; Karajís or Dulaís (one of whom was the cosmographer and geographer Zakariyyá b. Muhammad b. Mahmúd); Kiyás or Kaysís; Mákánís; Mustawfís (the author's own family, said to be descended from Ḥurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáhi); Mú'mínán; Mukhtárán; Mu'áfiyán or Mu'áfiyán; Marzúbánán; Nishápúriyán; and Búlá-Timúris or Tábábakán.

Conclusion. A tree of dynasties, or genealogical tree, based on that devised by Rashidu'd-Din, but improved. This tree is, however, omitted in all the manuscripts which I have seen.

Having regard to the extent of the field covered by the Ta'rikh-i-Guzída, and its comparatively modest size (some 170,000 words), it is evident that it is of the nature of a compendium, and that no great detail can be expected from it. It is, however, a useful manual, and contains many interesting particulars not to be found elsewhere, while for contemporary history it is of first-rate importance, so that the need for a complete edition of the text had long been felt. Until the year 1910 the only portions accessible in print were:


2. The whole of chapter vi, except the first section on the Traditions, containing the account of Qazwín, translated into French by M. Barbier de Meynard, and published in the Journal Asiatique for 1857 (Sér. v, vol. 10, pp. 257 et seqq.).

(3) Section 6 of chapter v, the account of the Persian poets, translated by myself in the J.R.A.S. for October 1900 and January 1901.

In 1910, however, a fac-simile of a fairly accurate and ancient MS. (transcribed in 857/1453) was published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vol. xiv, 1), and this was followed in 1913 by an abridged English translation, with full Indices, by myself and Dr R. A. Nicholson (vol. xiv, 2), so that the whole work is now accessible to scholars, who can form their own opinion of its value.

In the preface of the Ta'rikh-i-Guzída, Hamdulláh Mustawfí speaks of a great historical poem on which he was then engaged, and of which he had at that time (730/1330) completed fifty and odd thousand couplets out of a total of 75,000. This poem, entitled Zafar-náma, the "Book of Victory," was actually completed five years later. It is essentially a continuation of Firdawsi's Sháh-náma, and the only known manuscript (Or. 2833 of the British Museum, a huge volume of 779 folios, transcribed in Shiráz in 807/1405, and bought in Persia by Mr Sidney Churchill for the Museum about 1885) contains besides the Zafar-náma the revised text of the Sháh-náma on which the author had spent six years. The Zafar-náma begins with the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and comes down to the author's own time, viz. to the year 732/1331-2, when Abú Sa'id was still reigning. It comprises, as already said, 75,000 couplets, 10,000 couplets being assigned by the author to each of the seven and a half centuries of which he treats, or, according to the main chronological divisions of the work, 25,000 couplets to the Arabs, 20,000 to the Persians, and 30,000 to the Mongols. The author was forty years of age when he began it, and spent fifteen years on its composition, so that he must have been born about 680/1281-2. From

1 For full description of this precious MS. see Rieu's Persian Supplement, No. 263, pp. 172-174, and also the Athenaeum for 1885, p. 314.
Dr Rieu’s description, it is evident that the historical value of this work is by no means to be neglected: “the author,” he says (loc. cit., p. 173), “is very precise as to facts and dates, and his third book will be found valuable for the history of the Mongol period. He gives, for instance, on f. 512a, a very vivid description of the wholesale slaughter wrought by the Mongols in his native place, Qazwín. His information was partly derived from his great-grand sire, Amín Naṣr Mustawfi, who was ninety-three years old at the time.” The following extract from this portion may serve as a specimen:

وزین رو بقروین سُتای بجگن؛ در آمدم بکران غزان پلنگ
بیاناته خش شیر دنیای خون؛ ده و هفت بودی زشصد فزون
ز شعبان گذر خود به هفت روز
کو پیدا شان محسنت و درد و سوز
در آن وقت بُن جاهزَ َاِن دیار؛ مظفر لقب مبَرَّر نامدار
راره سه شیر پرین
بحم حکومت ورا بود بیه،
چو لشت دربن مرز آمدم بجنگ;
بر آمدم بیارو بیس گنجک،
به مغل حکومت در چنگ رو;
چهار بشر اندرون آمدم بیاه;
سر همکان آوربند را;
نادرند خسرا بقروین امان;
سر آمدم سرار سراز زمان;
همه طلعتن افکهد به درمگاه;
ز خود و بزرگ و ز زبر و جوان;
همه شیرا بخت بگن شد;
به سر شیران ز بیه سیه;
بیکرونده خودرای خیبر تثاب;
زمیر نبی پی شیران دختران;
سیرودنچ جون بر فلک اختِران.
Thence to the town of Qazwin, Subutiya.

Like raging tiger came right speedily.
The tale of years at six, one, seven stood
When that fair town became a lake of blood,
And Sha'bán's month had counted seven days.
When it was filled with woe and sore amaze.
The governor who held the ill-starred town
Mu'áffar named, a ruler of renown,
Was, by the Caliph's most august command,
Set to control the fortunes of the land.

When came the hosts of war and direful fate
Firm as a rock they closed the city gate.
Upon the wall the warriors took their place,
And each towards the Mongols set his face.
Three days they kept the ruthless foe at bay,
But on the fourth they forced a blood-stained way.

1. *i.e.* from Zanján.
2. The MS. has (n for δ), but see the *Tārīkh-i-fahānd-gushā* (*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial* Series, xvi, i), p. 115, l. 17.

B. P.
Fiercely the Mongols entered Qazvin Town
And heads held high before were now brought down.
No quarter in that place the Mongols gave:
The days were ended of each chieftain brave.
Nothing could save the townsmen from their doom,
And all were gathered in one common tomb.
Alike of great and small, of old and young,
The lifeless bodies in the dust they flung:
Both men and women shared a common fate:
Chaste maidens of the Prophet's progeny
Fearing the lust of that ferocious host
Did cast them down, and so gave up the ghost.

Yet a third work produced by this industrious writer
is the well-known geographical and cosmographical treatise
entitled the Nuz-hatu'l-Qulūb, or "Heart's Delight." Manuscripts of it are fairly common,
but until 1915 the text was only generally accessible in the indifferent lithographed edition published at Bombay in 1311/1893-4. In 1915, however, a critical edition of the text was brought out by Mr G. le Strange in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vol. xxiii, 1), and the English translation (vol. xxiii, 2), which is now in the Press, will shortly follow.

The Nuz-hatu'l-Qulūb was composed five years later than the Zafar-nāma, during the period of anarchy which succeeded Abū Sa'īd's death, to which the author alludes with feeling. He was persuaded, he says, to undertake the work at the request of certain friends, who felt the want of a Persian work on geography, most of the works on that subject being in Arabic. He enumerates amongst his sources the following works, which he has supplemented from his own observations during his travels through Persia: the Suhrawarī's Agīlīn of Abū Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī; the Thīydn of Ahmad b. Abī 'Abdillāh; the Road-book (Masālik wa'l-Mamlık) of Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abdullāh ibn Khurdu'dhīn; and a work entitled the Ḥādīs-nāma; besides nineteen other works, of which the enumeration will be found in Rieu's Persian Catalogue, pp. 418-419. The work is primarily divided into an Introduction (Fātīha), three Discourses (Maqāla), and an Appendix (Khātima). The third Maqāla is the important part of the work: all that precedes this deals with cosmography, the heavens, the earth, the three kingdoms, and man. This third Maqāla, which contains the geographical portion of the work, deals first with the geography of the two holy cities of Arabia and of Jerusalem; then with the geography of Persia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, with an appendix on the physical geography of Persia; then with the countries bordering on Persia, and some other lands never included in the Persian Empire.

1 This author is perhaps identical with the "Ibn-ul-Balkhi" whose Fārs-nāma Mr G. le Strange intends to publish in the Gibb Series.
references to places, people, and historical events beyond the ken of most Muslim writers; places like Portugal, Poland, Bohemia, England, Scotland, Ireland, Catalonia, Lombardy, Paris, and Cologne; people like the Roman Emperors from Romulus downwards, and the Popes from St Peter to the Pope contemporary with the author, who is said to be the two hundred and second in succession; and events like the different Church Councils, the Conversion of Britain to Christianity in the time of Pope Eleutherius, the Nestorian heresy, and the like. As a specimen of one of the more interesting passages the following account of printing from wood blocks in China is worthy of attention.

Having described the care with which the Chinese transcribe historical and other passages from their ancient books, he says:

"Then, according to a custom which they have, they were wont and still continue to make copies from that book in such wise that no change or alteration can find its way into the text. And therefore when they desire that any book containing matter of value to them should be well written and should remain correct, authentic and unaltered, they order a skilful calligraphist to copy a page of that book on a tablet in a fair hand. Then all the men of learning carefully correct it, and inscribe their names on the back of the tablet. Then skilled and expert engravers are ordered to cut out the letters. And when they have thus taken a copy of all the pages of the book, numbering all [the blocks] consecutively, they place these tablets in sealed bags, like the dies in a mint, and entrust them to reliable persons appointed for this purpose, keeping them securely in offices specially set apart to this end on which they set a particular and definite seal. Then when anyone wants a copy of this book he goes before this committee and pays the dues and charges fixed by the Government. Then they bring out these tablets, impose them on leaves of paper like the dies used in minting gold, and deliver the sheets to him. Thus it is impossible that there should be any addition or omission in any of their books, on which, therefore, they place complete reliance; and thus is the transmission of their histories effected."

A third minor history of this period is the Majma'ul-Ansâb ("Collection of Genealogies") of Muhammad ibn 'Alî of Shâbânâkâra, who, like Fâkhr-i-Banâkâî, was a poet as well as a historian. Of this book there seem to have been two editions, the first issued in 733/1332–3, the second three years later and one year after the death of Abî Sa'dî. This work contains a summary of general history from the Creation to the time of writing, but I have unfortunately been unable to obtain or read a copy, and am indebted for these meagre particulars to Rieu's admirable Persian Catalogue, pp. 83–4. According to Ethê the original edition perished when the house of Rashîd-ud-Dîn's son Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn Muḥammad was pillaged, and the author rewrote the book from memory, completing this second edition, according to Ethê, in 743/1342–3.

Two rhymed chronicles of this period also deserve notice, the Shâhinshâh-nâma ("Book of the King of Kings"), or Chingiz-nâma ("Book of Chingiz"), of Āḥmad of Tabrîz, containing the history of the Mongols down to 738/1337–8 in about 18,000 verses, and dedicated to Abî Sa'dî; and the Ghâzîn-nâma of Nûrû'd-Dîn ibn Shamsû'd-Dîn Muḥammad, composed in 763/1361–2. Both works are very rare. Rieu has described a MS. of the first, copied in 800/1397–8, acquired by the British Museum at the sale of the Comte de Gobineau's library in 1885; and I possess a fine MS. of the latter, copied at Tabrîz in 873/1468–9 for the Royal Library of Abu'n-Nâṣr Ḥasan Beg Bahâdur Khân, and given to me in August, 1909, by Dr Rîdâ Tawfîq, then

1 India Office Pers. Cat., cols. 10–11, Nos. 21 and 22.
2 Persian Suppl. Cat., No. 201, p. 135.
Deputy for Adrianople in the Turkish Parliament. Both works are written in the same metre (the *mukamārīb*) as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi, of which they are imitations, but the second is only about half the length of the first (something between 9000 and 10,000 couplets). Neither of these two works appears to be of any exceptional merit either as history or poetry, though useful information about the period of which they treat could no doubt be extracted from them by patient examination.

1 In the short prose preface describing how the poem came to be written for Sulān Uways, who had restored the pension enjoyed by the author, then fifty years of age, under Ghāzān Khān, the number of verses is stated as 10,000.

CHAPTER III.

THE POETS AND MYSTICS OF THE ĪL-KHĀNĪ PERIOD.

From the literary point of view the period which we are now considering is, as we have seen, chiefly remarkable for the quality and quantity of historical writers. Poetry in the Mongol period which it produced. That it was also rich in poetical talent cannot be disputed, but this is less remarkable, since at hardly any period was there a dearth of poets in Persia. Almost every well-educated Persian can produce moderately good verses on occasion, and it would be a hopeless and useless task even to mention all of those who, transcending the rank of mere versifiers, can fairly claim to be poets. Severe selection is necessary but not easy, for on the one hand due regard must be paid to the judgement of the poet's own countrymen, even when it does not entirely accord with our own; and on the other hand care must be taken not to overlook any poet of originality and talent merely because he has not found favour with the Persian biographers, who, especially in their treatment of contemporaries, are apt to be swayed by personal, political, and even religious prejudices and pre-dilections.

In the period with which we are now dealing there lived at least a score of poets whose claims to consideration cannot be denied. The two greatest by far were Jalālūd-Dīn Rūmī and Sa'dī of Shīrāz, of whom the former died in 672/1273 at the age of 66, and the latter about 690/1291 at the very advanced age, as is generally asserted, of 110 lunar years. Both these poets, therefore, belong rather to the period preceding this, and have accordingly
been already discussed in a previous volume, to which the reader is referred. They might with equal justice have been included in this volume, which is the poorer for their omission, since their literary activity extended into the period which it covers, and both poets came into relations with some of its leading personages, Sa'di with the Şahib-Diwân and his brother ‘Alâ’u’d-Dîn of the great Juwaynî family, and even with Abâqâ Khân himself, and Jalâlû’d-Dîn Rûmî with the unfortunate Pârwâna of Rûm, Mu’înû’d-Dîn, who was put to death by Abâqâ for suspected complicity with the Egyptians in 675/1276-7. It would be easy to devote many pages to each of them in this place without repeating anything that has been said before, but the difficulty is to limit rather than to extend the scope of this chapter, and, in spite of all temptations to the contrary, they must therefore be omitted here.

For similar reasons I shall content myself with a very brief mention of three other poets of this time whom many Persian students, especially such as have pursued their studies in India, would place next to the two great poets mentioned above; I mean Amir Khusraw and Hasan of Dihîl and Badr-i-Châch, all of whom are highly esteemed in India, but none of whom, so far as is known, ever visited, much less resided in Persia. To reduce the subject-matter of this book within any reasonable limits, it becomes more and more necessary to exclude the great and increasing number of Indian writers of Persian. Two considerations besides that of space seem to me to justify this procedure. The first is that, owing to the greater interest in India which naturally prevails in England, far more has been written about these Indian-Persian authors, whether poets or historians, than about the purely Persian men of letters. The second is that, so far as a foreign student may be permitted to express an opinion on matters of literary taste, this Persian literature produced in India, has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour, the šud as the Irish call it, which belongs to the indigenous product. Without making any invidious comparisons, it will hardly be contested that there is just as good reason for treating the abundant Persian literature produced in India from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century as a separate subject as for a similar procedure in the case of the English literature produced in England and that produced in America, and that therefore the omission of Amir Khusraw from this chapter is as justifiable as the omission of Walt Whitman from a modern English literary history, especially as a very long notice of the former is given in Elliot’s History of India. The same observation applies in lesser degree to the Persian writings in Afghâniştân and Turkey respectively, though Persian still remains the natural speech of a large number of Afghans, and Turkish Sultans (notably the great Salîm “the Grim”) have not disdained, even when at war with the Persians, to make use of their language for literary purposes. Exceptions will be made, however, especially in the period succeeding that included in this volume, in the case of native-born Persians who, attracted by the munificence of the Moghul Emperor of Dihîl, emigrated to India in the hopes of disposing of their intellectual wares more profitably than was possible in their own country.

The attention of those who read Urdu should be called

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2 See the English Introduction to vol. xvi, 1, of the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series (the fakhr-gushâ of Juwaynî, edited by Mirzâ Muḥammad), pp. li-liii.
3 See Bar-Hebraeus’ Mukhtasar’d-Duwal (Beyrouth ed. of 1890), pp. 501-3.
to a very excellent modern book entitled *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* ("Poetry of the Persians") by the late Shibli Nu'mân, lithographed at 'Alî-garh in two volumes in or about 1325/1907, and containing critical studies of about a score of the classical poets of Persia from Firdawsî and his predecessors to Ḥāfîz. Amongst these a long notice⁴ is devoted to Amîr Khusraw of Dîhlî, which contains incidentally a good deal of information about his friend, contemporary and fellow-poet Ḥasan of Dîhlî. Those who do not read Urdû may be referred to another excellent and scholarly work produced by Indian scholarship under the auspices of my friend Sir Edward Denison Ross, the *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, of which the first volume, containing the Persian poets from Firdawsî to Ḥâfîz, was published at Calcutta in 1908. Twenty pages of this volume (pp. 176-195) are devoted to Amîr Khusraw and his various works, and the four following pages to his friend Amîr Ḥasan. Both were disciples of the great Saint Nizâmu'd-Dîn Awliyâ, who died in 725/1324, only seven months before Amîr Khusraw, who was buried beside him. Amîr Ḥasan only survived them a few (probably two) years.

Amîr Khusraw, not less notable as a musician than as a poet, was of Turkish race, his father Amîr Sayfu'd-Dîn Mahmûd having fled before the Mongols from the region of Balkh to India, where he finally settled at Patyâlî. There the poet was born in 651/1253. He was therefore seventy-one years old when he died, and "lived to enjoy the favour of five successive kings of Dîhlî." He was enormously productive; Dawlat-shâh credits him with nearly half a million verses. Of these "Mirzâ Bâysunqur, after ceaseless efforts, succeeded in collecting 120,000," but having subsequently discovered 2000 more from his ghusals, he "concluded that it would be very difficult for him to collect the complete work of the poet, and gave up the idea for ever."⁵

Although, for the reasons given above, I do not propose to speak at length of Amîr Khusraw, yet, in accordance with the well-known Arabic saying⁶ of which the gist is that what cannot be fully included need not therefore be wholly omitted, I shall give here "for good luck and a blessing" (tayammum wa ta'barrukan) one short extract from his *Laylâ wa Majnûn* in which he mourns, with a remarkable touch of feeling, the death of his mother and younger brother, both of whom died in 698/1298-9. The poet's love for his mother, which is in strong contrast with his lack of appreciation of his daughter, is one of the most attractive features of his character⁶.

"Amîl do nûr z ahtîm rûf,
Yâhî hafîz z etût hafîzâh;" ¹
"Yâhî hafîz z ahtîm hafîzâh,
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr;" ²
"Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr,
Matîr dûr šd vîmâr dûv dînâd;" ³
"Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr,
Yâhî khashâh bîs stûmînâh;" ⁴
"Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr,
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr;" ⁵
"Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr,
Yâhî hafîz z ahtîm hafîzâh;" ⁶
"Yâhî hafîz z ahtîm hafîzâh,
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr;" ⁷
"Yâhî hafîz z ahtîm hafîzâh, ¹
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr, ²
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr, ³
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr, ⁴
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr, ⁵
Bîha' az dîr štikîneh dâd-īchîr. ⁶

² ما لا يَنْمَرُ حَثَّهُ لا يَنْمَرُ حَثَّهُ
³ The five verses addressed to his daughter, who appears to have been called 'Affîa, will be found on p. 125 of vol. ii of the *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, and the verses to his mother on pp. 126-7.
⁶ The five verses addressed to his daughter, who appears to have been called 'Affîa, will be found on p. 125 of vol. ii of the *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, and the verses to his mother on pp. 126-7.
POETS & MYSTICS OF ĪL-KHĀNĪ PERIOD

A double radiance left my star this year:

Gone are my brother and my mother dear.

My two full moons have set and ceased to shine
In one short week through this ill luck of mine.

By double torture I am racked of Fate,
By double blow doth Heaven me prostrate.

Double my mourning, double my despair;
Alas that I this double grief must bear!

Two brands for one like me is't not a shame
One fire's enough to set the stack aflame.

One breast a double burden should not bear,
One head of headaches cannot hold a pair.

Beneath the dust my mother lieth dead;
Is't strange if I cast dust upon my head?

Where art thou mother mine, in what strange place?
Canst thou not, mother, show me thy dear face?

From heart of earth come smiling forth once more,
And take compassion on my weeping sore!

Where'er in days gone by thy feet did fall
That place to me doth Paradise recall.

Thy being was the guardian of my soul,
The strong support which kept me safe and whole.

Whene'er those lips of thine to speech were stirred
Ever to my advantage was thy word.

To-day thy silence makes its dumb appeal,
And lo, my lips are closed as with a seal!  

Badr-i-Chách, another poet of Transoxiana, has a considerable reputation in India but is practically unknown in Persia. The town of Chách or Shásh of which he claimed to be the “Full Moon” (Badr) is the modern Táshkand. His poetry, which I have never read, but of which Sir H. Elliot has translated specimens in his History of India, is reputed very difficult, a common characteristic of the Persian poetry produced by men of Turkish race or writing under Turkish influence and patronage, but not in itself, from our point of view, a reason for including him in this survey.

Loc. cit., p. 182, lines 22-3.
"The wizards of thy tresses, like the pens or the bakhshits, Have practised on thy cheek the Uyghur writing."

The following quatrain, addressed to a friend who had lost a tooth, is also rather neat.

"If a pearl is missing from thy sweet casket Thy dignity is in no wise diminished in the matter of beauty. A hundred moons shine from the corners of thy cheek What matter if one star be missing from thy Pleiades?"

The two following poems by Pūr-i-Bahā, written in the grand style cultivated by court poets, and filled with elaborate word-plays and far-fetched metaphors, are chiefly interesting because they can be exactly dated. The first refers to the destruction of Nishāpūr by an earthquake in 666/1267-8, and the second to its restoration in 669/1270-1 by order of Abāqā. Both are taken from that rare work the Mujnūn of Faṭiḥi of Khwāf.¹

¹ Arcturus (Simād) is accounted one of the highest stars in heaven. In the popular cosmogony of the less educated Muslims, the earth is supposed to be supported by a great fish (Ṣamak in Arabic, Māḥt in Persian) which swims in a vast ocean contained by banks of cloud. Hence the Arabic expression mināt-Samak ila-Simād ("from the Fish to Arcturus"), corresponding to the Persian as māḥt ilā māḥt ("from the Moon to the Fish"), meaning from the highest to the lowest.

B. P.
‘Twas because the Lord had such high regard for this old and famous place.
That He turned His gaze on its fashions and ways with the eyes of favour and grace,
And such was the awe which His glance inspired, and His Light’s effulgent rays
That with shaking feet to earth it fell for fear of that awful blaze.
For did not the Mountain of Sinai once fall down and crumble away
Where Moses stood, and the Face of God to behold with his eyes did pray?

"The buildings of Nishápúr Time had striven to displace
And Ruin wide from every side had thither turned its face.
God willed that men should once again its buildings strive to raise
In the reign of just Abiqd, the Nishírdn of our days.
Of all the world the Lord is he, of all the earth the king,
Foe-binder, world-subduer he, all kingdoms conquering.
It happened in the year six-hundred and three-score and nine
That from its ruins rose again this city famed and fine.

Venus and Sol in Taurus, Ramadán was ending soon;
In Gemini stood Mercury, in Pisces stood the Moon.
May this new town’s foundation to thee a blessing bring,
And every desert in thy reign bear towns as flourishing!

Not very much need be said, or indeed, is known, about
Imámí of Herát, whose full name, according to the author of the Ta’rikh-i-Guzída, was Abú ‘Abdílláh Muḥammad b. Abú Bakr b. ‘Uthmán. He was the panegyrist of the rulers and ministers of Kirmán, and died, according to the Majma‘ul-Fuṣūdā in 667/1268-9. An extraordinarily complicated acrostic on his own name, composed by him according to the terminology of the state accountants, will be found in the Guzída². The highest compliment which he ever received was probably that paid him by his contemporary Majdu’d-Dín Hamgar, in reply to a versified question addressed to the latter poet by Mu‘ínu’d-Dín the Parwhna, Malik Iftikhiru’d-Dín, Nítrú’d-Dín Raṣadí, and the Shāhíb-Dwín Shamsu’d-Dín, enquiring his opinion as to the respective merits of himself, Sa’dí and Imámí. His reply was as follows:

"Though I in song am like the tuneful birds,
Fly-like I sip the sweets of Sa’dí’s words;
Yet all agree that in the arts of speech
Sa’dí and I can ne’er Imámí reach."

1. Probably the Shāhíb-Dwín is meant.
2. Vol. i, p. 98.
4. These verses are given by Dawlatsháh, p. 166, l. 24—p. 167, ll. 1–9 of my edition.
of Khurásán, who on one occasion submitted to him the following versified enquiry:

“What says that master of the Law, chief scholar of our land,  
Our guide in doctrine and belief, to this which we demand:  
Suppose a cat at dead of night feloniously should steal  
A cage of pigeons or of doves, and make therefrom a meal,  
Would Retribution’s Law revealed the owner justify  
If he in vengeance for the birds should doom the cat to die?”

To this enquiry, ImAmí answered as follows:

“A subtle question this indeed!  
The palate of the mind  
Therein thy nature’s fragrance fair and reason rare doth find  
No vengeance falls upon the cat, for nowhere hath implied  
Our Prophet in his Holy Law that such is justified.  
Have cats which hunt for birds less right than catkins on the tree?  
Their claws upon the branch they spread when’er a bird they see.  
So, if his own white arm he seeks to keep secure from pain,  
Let him avoid with Pussy’s blood his hand and arm to stain.  
If he the pigeon seeks to save, the dove to keep alive,  
To hang their cages out of reach he surely could contrive!”

Poetical interrogations of this sort seem to have been the fashion at this time, for certain people of KAshAn addressed a similar versified question as to the respective merits of the poets Anwari and Zahir of FAryAb to Majdu’d-Din Hamgar, and to this same question ImAmí also thought good to reply in verse. The text and translation of this correspondence, including the question and the two answers, all in verse, are given in the Ta’rikh-i-Atash-Kadaa, to which the curious reader is referred. Majdu’d-Din Hamgar’s reply contains the date when it was written, viz. the end of Rajab, 674 (Jan. 19, 1276), and both he and ImAmí agree in preferring Anwari to Zahir, a judgement in which nearly all competent critics will concur.

Majdu’d-Din Hamgar was, according to the Ta’rikh-i-Guzfda, a native of Yazd, and a protégé of Bahá’ud-Dín Juwayní, the high-handed governor of Êáris, who died in 678/1279. When the poet came from Yazd to Isfahán, he left his elderly wife behind him, but she soon followed him. News of her arrival was brought to the poet by one of his pupils, who said, “Good news! Your lady has alighted in the house.” “Good news,” replied Majdu’d-Dín, “would rather be that the house had alighted on her!” The lady, to whom this speech was reported, reproached her husband for his unkind words, quoting the quatrain of ‘Umar Khayyám beginning:

“Days changed to nights ere thou wert born, or I?”

“Before me, perhaps,” replied Majdu’d-Dín, “but Heaven forbid that day and night should have existed before thee!”

According to Dawlatshâh, Majdu’d-Dín Hamgar boasted descent from Nûshírwân the Sásánian, and was on this
account a somewhat privileged person at the courts which
he frequented. To this alleged genealogy the poet alludes
in the following verses:

"..."

My virtues all a cruel age hath made for me a bane;
My youthful blood the aged Sphere hath shed in grief and pain.
The envious Mercury hath plucked the pen from out my hand,
The arching Heaven hath drawn a bow to smite me where I stand.
O Sphere, what would'st thou of me, a poor, bare-footed thing?
O Time, what seek'st thou from me, a bird with broken wing?
Make of the falcon's eyes a dish to satisfy the owl:
Make of the lion's thighs the food for which the jackals prowl.
In no wise like the noisy drum will I his blows bewail,
Although his lashes on my back descend as falls the flail.
O foot of trouble's elephant, prithee more gently press!
O hand of this ignoble Sphere, increase my dire distress!
Through tribulations bravely borne my heart hath grown more bright,
As mirrors gain by polishing in radiancy and light.
What time the rose-bush from the dust doth raise its flowering head,
The sapling of my luck (what luck!) hath withered and is dead.
My fault is this, that I am not from some base seed upgrown:
My crime is this, that noble is the pedigree I own.
The sons of Spn, not Tigin, my ancestors I call;
I'm of the race of KisrP, not the household of InPl.
My verse is sweet and exquisite as union with the fair:
My pen in picture-painting hath the gifts of fancy rare.
When youth is gone, from out the heart all love of play is cast:
And lustre fadeth from the sun which hath the zenith passed."

Majdu'd-Din Hamgar wrote poems in praise of Shamsu'd-
Din Muhammad the Šāhīb-Diwān as well as of the Atābek
Sa'd b. Abú Bakr. Manuscripts of his poems are rare, but a fine old manuscript (Or. 3713)
in the British Museum, transcribed in the year
A.D. 1293-8 by the poet’s grandson, contains a number
of his quatrains. Unlike the quatrains of ‘Umar Khay-
yán, Abú Sa’d b. Abîl-Khayr, and other masters of this
style of verse, Majdu’d-Din’s quatrains deal less with

1 Mercury is the planet which presides over the destinies of authors, scribes and poets.
2 Tigin or Tāgīn is a suffix of Turkish names (e.g. Subuk-tīgīn, Alp-tīgīn, etc.) and Indī is another common Turkish name or title. Kīrā is the Arabic form of Khusraw ("Chosroes"), the proper name of Nāshrīwān and Parviz, and the generic name for all the kings of the Royal House of Sāsān.
mystical and philosophical ideas than with concrete things and persons. Some are merely abusive epigrams, such as the following:

آن مادر شور فرح چون زاد ترا
 او آن دانه حوف خوار سکان رفوا
 "Born of a mother of accursed womb
 From Ganja's town to Abkhaz thou didst come,
 Where that dog-training swineherd nurse of thine
 Fed thee on dog's milk and the blood of swine."

The following, expressing the poet's love of travel, is too ingenious in its word-plays to admit of adequate translation:

ای چرخ عناصر از سفر هیچ متاب
 نامرد سرندیپ ده آپر ز سراب
 هر شمار ز بابیان دهم فرصی نان
 "O heaven, never turn aside my reins from wandering:
 Give me my bread from Sarandib (Ceylon), my water from Sarab:
 Grant me each evening (shdwm) a loaf of bread from Bamiyan,
 And every morning (bdm) give me a draught of water from Shdwm (Damascus)."

In the two following quatrains he laments his advancing age:

آن داد حکم دل، ز تلم چون آتش چَر
 ومی ریست بیدیه، چون درخوشاب
 "My foot of mine no more the stirrup suits
 For me no more are spurs and riding-boots.
 Oppressed by aches and age, there now remains
 No foot for stirrup and no hand for reins."

Here is another very insulting quatrain, but again no record remains of the person to whom it was addressed:

ای دیدنی خوک پشت دیVAR تو خون
 با چهرو تو بوزن به معوث قلوب
 "Compared to thee a pig's a pretty sight:
 Beside thy face an ape's the heart's delight.
 Thy temper's uglier than e'en thy face,
 Compared to it thy face is fair and bright."

Some of the quatrains are acrostics on names, as, for example, the following:

اعداوا حروف نام آن دل، چَست
 چون بخش نیکه سید و شنشت دوست
 "The [sum of the] numbers of the letters in that graceful charmer's name
 Is exactly three hundred and sixty, like the divisions of the heavens.
 The third letter is one-ninth of the fourth letter,
 While the first letter is one-sixth of the second letter."
The name appears to be Nashd, for \( n = 50, \) \( s = 300, \) \( t = 1, \) and \( b = 9, \) which yields a total of 360 and fulfils the two other conditions.

The following is addressed to his sweetheart:

\[
\text{"No means have I by thee to pitch my tent, } \\
\text{Nor money in thy street a house to rent: } \\
\text{My ears and eyes serve only to this end, } \\
\text{To hear thy voice and on thee gaze intent."}
\]

That Majdud-Din Hamgar reached an advanced age is suggested by some of the quatrains just cited, while in another he describes himself as over eighty, but I have not been able to ascertain the precise dates of his birth and death.

Mention must now be made of a poet of far greater talent and originality than those of whom we have spoken above, namely Fakhrud-Din Ibrhhim of Hamadán, better known by his poetical nom de guerre, or takhallus, of ‘Irãqi. Notices of his life are found in most of the later biographies of mystics and poets, notably in the Nafahztu’Z-Uyzz of Jâmî and in the Majdisu’Z-’Us/thdq of Husayn Mirzâ Bayqar; but in the absence of contemporary testimony the particulars there given must be received with a certain reserve, while from his writings, almost entirely of a mystical and erotic character, little or nothing is to be gleaned as to his personal adventures. He is the typical galandar, heedless of his reputation, and seeing in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty. “Love,” as one of his biographers says, “was predominant in his nature,” and hence his ghazals have an erotic character which has exposed him to very harsh strictures on the part of some European critics, notably


Sprenger¹, who find scandalous in a Persian sentiments which in Plato they either admire or ignore.

According to Jâmî, ‘Irãqi was born at Hamadán, and in childhood learned the Qur’ân by heart and could recite it melodiously and accurately. When he was about seventeen years of age, a party of galandars, amongst whom was a very beautiful youth, came to Hamadán, and, when they left, ‘Irãqi, attracted by the beauty of the young dervish, followed them to India. At Multân he became the disciple of Shaykh Bahá’ud-Dîn Zakariyyá, of whom he says in one of his poems:

\[
\text{"If thou shouldst ask of the world 'Who is the guide of men?'} \\
\text{Would hear from heaven no other answer than 'Zakariyyá.'"
\]

Soon after his arrival there the discipline of a chilla, or forty days’ retirement and meditation, was imposed upon him, but on the tenth day the other dervishes came to the Shaykh and complained that instead of meditating in silence he was singing a ghasal or ode which he had composed, and which in the course of a few days was in the mouths of all the revelers in the city, who were singing it in the taverns to the accompaniment of the harp and zither. This ghasal, which is one of ‘Irãqi’s best-known poems, is as follows:

\[
\text{"Nashtin bade Khândar Jâmâr Zârân,} \\
\text{Zehr mast Sâati Wâm Zârân,} \\
\text{Joh bâ Khuday yàntand ahl i tard,} \\
\text{Shabâ bikhudiy dîr Jâmâr Zârân,} \\
\text{Mâ meâghun Jâhân dîr Dâd,} \\
\text{Shabâ Ghaftun Jâhân Nadir Zârân,} \\
\text{Z bâ Slightly bânî cîmar ân Zârân,} \\
\text{Z bâ Dâb bâ Dî bêlarter Zârân."}
\]

¹ Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oude, pp. 440-1.
The wine wherewith the cup they first filled high
Was borrowed from the Sâqi's languorous eye.
Since self-possessed the revellers they found
The draught of selflessness they handed round.
The loved one's wine-red lips supplied the cup:
They named it 'Lover's wine,' and drank it up.
No rest the hair of those fair idols knows,
So many a heart it robs of its repose.
For good and bad a place within our hall
They found, and with one cup confounded all.
They cast the ball of Beauty on the field,
And at one charge compelled both worlds to yield.
The drunken revellers from eye and lip
The almond gather, and the sugar sip.
But that sweet lip, desired of all, most fair,
Maketh harsh words the helpless lover's share.

When Shaykh Bahâ'u'd-Dîn heard the last couplet, he said, "This finishes his business!" He then called to 'Irâqi in his cell, "Do you make your supplications in wine-taverns? Come forth!" So 'Irâqi came forth, and the Shaykh clothed him in his own khirga or dervish-cloak, raised him from the ground to which he had cast himself, and subsequently gave him in marriage his daughter, who afterwards bore him a son named Kabîru'd-Dîn.

Twenty-five years passed, and Shaykh Bahâ'u'd-Dîn died, naming 'Irâqi as his successor. The other dervishes, however, disapproved of this nomination, and complained to the King of 'Irâqi's antinomianism. He thereupon left India and visited Mecca and al-Madîna, whence he proceeded to Asia Minor. At Qonya (Iconium) he attended the lectures of the celebrated Shaykh Sadru'd-Dîn of that city on the Fuṣûs of Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dîn ibn'l-'Arabi, composed his most celebrated prose work, the Lamâ'it ("Flashes" or "Effulgences"), which was submitted to the Shaykh and won his approval. The powerful nobleman Mu'inu'd-Dîn the Parwâna was 'Irâqi's admirer and disciple, and built for him, it is said, a khângâh or monastery at Tâqät, besides showing him other favours. On his death, 'Irâqi left Asia Minor for Egypt, where also he is said to have been well received by the reigning Sultan, whose favour he retained, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies to traduce him. In Syria, whither he subsequently proceeded, he met with an equally good reception, and there, after six

months' sojourn, he was joined by his son Kabiru'd-Din from India. There also he died, on the 8th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 688 (Nov. 23, 1289) and was buried in the Sâlihiyya Cemetery at Damascus, beside the great mystic Shaykh Mubâjiyyu'd-Dîn ibn'l-'Arabi, who had predeceased him by 50 years, and whose influence in Persia, still prevalent even in our days, was largely due to 'Irâqî, Awhâdû'd-Dîn of Marâgha, and others of the same school.

The following poems from 'Irâqî's Diwân may serve besides that already given, as typical of his style:

**Ch. III**

From head to feet thou art gracious, pleasant and sweet, O Love!
Thee to prefer to life 'twere right and meet, O Love!
To thee dost aspire the heart's desire of all, O Love!
A hunter of hearts art thou to hold us in thrall, O Love!
To mine eyes appear thy features fair and dear, O Love!
Awake or asleep like a crystal stream so clear, O Love!
Though Beauty's wine doth incardinate thy cheek, O Love!
Bear with thy comrades, nor causeless quarrels seek, O Love!
They melt in air, hope's promises false and fair, O Love!
Excuses, I ween, you'll find enough and to spare, O Love!
Kisses sip from thine own fair lip, and behold, O Love!
The Water of Life with its savour so sweet and so cold, O Love!
In the dust hard by thy path I die at thy door, O Love!
That a draught of wine on this dust of mine thou mayst pour, O Love!
Jewels of speech on all and each thou dost hurl, O Love!
So that every soul in its ear may wear a pearl, O Love!
None do I see in grace like thee, and I'm sure, O Love!
Thou art soul incarnate and spirit essential and pure, O Love!
In mine eyes and heart thou hast thy part and share, O Love!
Thou dost hide or appear, now dark and dim, now clear, O Love!
Never a moment on earth from North to South, O Love!
Mây 'Irâqî aspire to have his desire of thy mouth, O Love!"
Here is a fragment of another ode:

"Cups are those a-flashing with wine,
Or suns through the clouds a-gleaming?
So clear is the wine and the glass so fine
That the two are one in seeming.
The glass is all and the wine is naught,
Or the glass is naught and the wine is all:
Since the air the rays of the sun hath caught
The light combines with night's dark pall,
For the night hath made a truce with the day,
And thereby is ordered the world's array.
If thou know'st not which is day, which night,
Or which is goblet and which is wine,
By wine and cup divine aright
The Water of Life and its secret sign:
Like night and day thou mayst e'en assume
Certain knowledge and doubt's dark gloom.
If these comparisons clear not up
All these problems low and high,
Seek for the world-reflecting cup
That thou mayst see with reason's eye
That all that is, is He indeed,
Soul and loved one and heart and creed."

Here is a fragment of another ode:

"Forth from the Veil came that fair Cup-bearer, in hand the cup;
He tore our veils asunder, and our vows forthwith broke up;
Showed us His visage fair, and straightway us of sense bereft,
Then sat Him down beside us, when of us no trace was left.
His locks the knots unloosed; our spirits' bonds were cast aside;
Our souls abjured the world, and to His curls their fortunes tied.
There in His fragrant tresses we remained in frenzy fine,
Intoxicated with the proffered cup of ruby wine.
Lost at His hands, our hearts for hearts clung unto His hair,
E'en as the drowning man will catch at straws in his despair.
And when His tresses' chains became the bonds of hearts that raved,
From their own being they escaped and from the world were saved."

Of the following ode a spirited translation was made,
but not published, by my friend Sir E. Denison Ross. The
translation here given resembles and is suggested by his,
but is not identical with it, for I cannot lay my hands on
the copy which I received, nor can I remember it in detail.
‘Although in form of Adam’s race,’ said he,
‘Higher by far than his is my degree.
My beauty mirrored in a glass I see,
And all the world a picture seems of me.
Creation’s Sun am I
If each created atom me displays?
The holy Spirits make my Essence plain,
And human forms my Attributes retain.
The boundless Sea’s a sprinkling of my grace;
The radiant light’s a reflex of my face.
From Throne to Footstool all is but a mote
Which in the radiance of my Sun doth float.
The Veil of Attributes aside is hurled,
And my bright Essence brightens all the world.
The stream which Ichidr’s ebb of life did stop
Was of my Kawthar-stream a single drop.
That breath wherewith Christ loosed the thralls of Death
Was but a blast of my soul-saving breath.

‘Higher by far than his is my degree.
My beauty mirrored in a glass I see,
And all the world a picture seems of me.
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That breath wherewith Christ loosed the thralls of Death
Was but a blast of my soul-saving breath.

Exalted high is Love o’er men’s ambition,
And o’er ideas of union or partition;
For when a thing transcends all thought and mention
’Tis freed from likeness and from comprehension.

But to proceed. A few words on the degrees of Love,
dictated by the mood of the moment, are here set down in
the manner of the Sawāník, that they may be for every
lover a mirror to display the Beloved; though the rank of
Love is too high for anyone to approach the pavilion of its
glory by dint of understanding or explanation, or to gaze
on the perfection of its true nature with the eyes of discovery
and observation.

Exalted high is Love o’er men’s ambition,
And o’er ideas of union or partition;
For when a thing transcends all thought and mention
’Tis freed from likeness and from comprehension.

It is veiled by the Veil of Glory and isolated in its Per-
fec tion. Its Attributes are the Veils of its Essence and
implicit in that Essence. Its Splendour is the Lover of its
Beauty, which is involved in that Splendour. For ever it
makes love to itself, and concerns itself not with aught else.
Every moment it casts aside the Veil from the face of some
loved one, and every instant it raises a new song in the
way of loverhood.

Within the Veil Love sings its air:
Where is the lover to hear it, where?

Exalted high is Love o’er men’s ambition,
And o’er ideas of union or partition;
For when a thing transcends all thought and mention
’Tis freed from likeness and from comprehension.

But to proceed. A few words on the degrees of Love,
dictated by the mood of the moment, are here set down in
the manner of the Sawāník, that they may be for every
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on the perfection of its true nature with the eyes of discovery
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implicit in that Essence. Its Splendour is the Lover of its
Beauty, which is involved in that Splendour. For ever it
makes love to itself, and concerns itself not with aught else.
Every moment it casts aside the Veil from the face of some
loved one, and every instant it raises a new song in the
way of loverhood.
Each moment it chants a different lay,
And ever some melody fresh doth play.
All the Universe echoes its song;
Who hath heard such an anthem long?
Its secret out from the world doth leap;
How can an Echo its secret keep?
I tell no tale, but loud and clear
From the tongue of each atom its secret hear.

Every moment with every tongue it tells its secret to
its own ear; every instant with all its ears it hears its
speech from its own tongue; every minute with all its
eyes it flashes its beauty on its own vision; every second
in every aspect it presents its being to its own notice. Hear
from me its description as it really is:

يُحْدَّثُنِي فِي صَمِّمِيْ نَارَلَاطِي، وَعِبَر الْعَيْنَانِ ثُمَّ تَحْكِمُ الْحَوْاجَة.

It speaks with me through speaking and through speechless;
Through lowered eyelashes and glancing eyes.

Knowest thou what it whispers in my ears?

I am Love, for the which in these worlds there is found not a place:
The 'Anqa' am I of the West, who hath never a trace.

The identity [of each] disappears [in the other], leaving
neither sign nor trace, and they merge in God, the One, the
All-compelling.

First Flash,

Setting forth the pre-existence of Love to both Beloved and
Lover, and the manner of their production by it,
which takes place in the First Differentiation;
and setting forth that wherein each stands
in need of the other.

The derivation of both Lover and Beloved is from Love,
which, in its Abode of Glory, is exempt from differentiation;
and, in the Sanctuary of its own Identity, is sanctified from inwardness and outwardness. Yea, in order to display its perfection, in such way as is identical with its Essence and equally identical with its Attributes, it shows itself to itself in the Mirror of Loverhood and Belovedness, and reveals its Beauty to its own Contemplation by means of the Seer and the Vision. Thus the names of Loverhood and Belovedness appeared, and the description of the Seeker and the Quest became manifest. It showed the Outward to the Inmost, and the Voice of Loverhood arose: it showed the Inmost to the Outward, and the name of Belovedness was made plain.

No atom doth exist apart from It, that Essence single:
'Tis when Itself it doth reveal that first those 'others' mingle.
O Thou whose outward seeming Lover is, Beloved thine Essence,
Who hitherto e'er saw the Object Sought seek its own presence?

Love, by way of Belovedness, became the Mirror of the Beauty of Loverhood, so that therein it might behold its own Essence, and by way of Loverhood the Mirror of Belovedness, so that therein it might contemplate its own Names and Attributes. Although but one object is beheld by the Eye of Contemplation, yet when one face appears in two mirrors, assuredly in each mirror a different face appears.

The Face is only one, yet multiple
When thou in many mirrors see'st it.

Shaykh Abū Ḥāmid Awhadu'd-Dīn of Kirman was, like 'Irāqi, a follower, and, indeed, as it would appear from the Majma'ul-Fuṣahā', a personal friend or disciple of the great Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn ibnu'l-ʿArabī, and had met (according to the same authority) that wild mystic Shams-i-Tabriz, the inspirer of Jalā'ul-Dīn's Mathnawi and Dīvān. He was also acquainted, as some assert, with Awhadī of Marāgha and with 'Irāqi himself, whom, in his heedlessness of appearances and passionate admiration of beauty, he somewhat resembles. Shaykh Shihāb'u'd-Dīn, who, for chronological reasons, cannot be the famous Suhrawārī, strongly disapproved of him, called him a "heretical innovator," and refused to admit him to his presence, on hearing which Awhadu'd-Dīn recited the following Arabic verse:

"I mind not that bad names thou dost me call: I'm glad that thou shouldst mention me at all."

Jāmī apologizes for him for "contemplating the Truth through the medium of its Manifestations in Phenomena, and beholding Absolute Beauty in finite forms," and adds that, being asked by Shams-i-Tabriz what he was doing, he replied, "I am contemplating the Moon in a bowl of water," meaning the Beauty of the Creator in the beauty of the creature; to which Shams-i-Tabriz replied, "Unless you are afflicted with a carbuncle on the back of your neck,

1 See the Tīhrān lithographed edition, vol. i, pp. 89-94, and Jāmī's Nafaḥāt, p. 683.
2 See Jāmī, Nafaḥāt ul-Umr, ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 684-689. This verse is ascribed by Bad'ul-Zamān al-Hamadhānī to a poet named Dumaynā (Rasā'il, ed. Beyrouth, 1890, p. 96 and n. 8 ad calc.). In its original form it was addressed to a woman and runs:—
why do you not look at the Moon in the sky?" Similarly Mawláná Jalálú’d-Dín Rúmí, being told that Awḥadú’d-Dín sought the society of the beautiful, but with purity of purpose, exclaimed, "Would rather that his desires had been carnal, and that he had outgrown them!" Awḥadú’d-Dín expresses his own point of view in the following quatrain:

"Therefore mine eyes insistent gaze on forms
Because the Idea itself displays in forms:
We live in forms; this World's the formal World:
The Idea we thus must needs appraise in forms."

Apart from a few quatrains cited in the Naṭḥá’u’l-’Uns of Jámí, the Majma’u’l-Fuṣahá of Rídá-qlí Khán, and other biographical works, Awḥadú’d-Dín seems to have left little save a matnawá’ poem entitled "The Lamp of Spirits" (Majmu’l-’Arwáḥ), from which long extracts are given in the Majma’u’l-Fuṣahá and the following eight couplets in the Naṭḥá’u’l-’Uns (pp. 688-9):

"Therefore mine eyes insistent gaze on forms
Because the Idea itself displays in forms:
We live in forms; this World's the formal World:
The Idea we thus must needs appraise in forms."

Mention should also be made of Awḥadú’d-Dín's disciple, Awḥadí of Marágha, also called of Iṣfahán, because, though a native of the former place, he passed a considerable portion of his life and died at the latter.

Little seems to be known to the biographers of his circumstances, but the prevalent opinion is that he died in 738/1337-8. His chief poem is an imitation of the Ġadīqa of Saná’ entitled Jám-i-Sám (the "Cup of Jamshíd," also known as the "World-displaying Glass"), of which copious extracts are given by the biographers, and of which I possess a good manuscript. Dawlatsháh, followed by the Haft Iqta’im, states that this poem was so popular that within a month of its production four hundred copies of it were made and sold at a good price, but adds that in his time (892/1487) it was seldom met with and little read. This seems to have been the only matnawá’ poem he wrote, but he also left a diván, estimated by Rídá-qlí Khán, the author of the Majma’u’l-Fuṣahá, to contain six or seven thousand couplets.

1 See my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 210-215; Majma’u’l-Fuṣahá, vol. ii, pp. 94-98; Haft Iqta’im, under Iṣfahán, etc. Jámí, however, (Naṭḥá’u’l-’Uns, p. 707) reverses the rôles of these two cities.

2 Dated 916/1510-11. The text comprises about 4500 couplets.
verses, including qasidas and quatrains, of which a selection is given by the biographers. The following may serve as examples of his style:

(Part of a qasida taken from the Haft Iqlim).

"How long wilt pride in beard and turban take?
That Friend adopt as friend: all else forsake.
With stir and movement fill thy heart with pain;"

Ch. 1111 OF MARAGHA

The soul in rest and quiet strength doth gain.
All scent and hue of self do thou efface,
That He may clasp thee tight in His embrace.
Till thou art contrite vainly shalt thou seek
In truth the beauty of that lovely cheek.
If thou canst do what He enjoins on thee
He'll do what thou dost ask assuredly.
He's kin enough: all else forsake forthwith:
When wilt thou free thyself from kin and kith?
Ask of thyself, when from thyself set free,
God-vexer, where and who thy God may be?
Who's in thee who speaks of 'us' and 'me'?
Who fixed the evil and the good for thee?
If there are 'others,' prithee point them out:
Arth thou alone? Then wherefore 'others' flout?
To be united is not as to see:
In this my speech is no hypocrisy.
Were sight and union one in fact and deed
The eye on looking at the thorn would bleed.
A cup he gives thee: spill not, drink it up!
Hold fast when I bestow another cup!
One is the Master's Face: pluralities
From Mirror and from Mirror-holder rise.
One the King's portrait and the coining-die:
Numbers in gold and silver coinage lie.
One sap supplies the flower which doth adorn
The rose-bush, and the sharp and cruel thorn.
From that life-giving sun wherein they thrive.
A thousand circles issue from the point
What time the compass doth enlarge its joint.
The world entire reveals His Vision bright:
Seek it, ye who are endowed with sight:"

"All things His praises hymn in voices still,
Sand in the plain and rocks upon the hill."

The following fragment is possessed of some beauty,
but is imitated from one of Sa'di's.

"Ai Zoheh Kehf, ye Mirmeh Dari, irst:
Begzeh Kehf Kehf, noe loo Mirmeh Mireh,"

1 Or "Orange and pomegranate," for ndr has both meanings.
2 See the Calcutta edition of 1795, vol. ii, ff. 238*-239*.
"Think O thou who dost inherit, yet didst labour ne'er,
Who was he whose wealth was thine, and who art thou, the heir?
He amassed but did not spend it, so 'twas left behind:
Use it well, that when thou flittest, others good may find.
Gold a goblin is, and woman for the neck a chain:
Chained and goblin-haunted's he who greatly loves the twain.
Over-anxious for thy offspring be not, for the Lord
Icnoweth better than the servant how to guard his ward.
Dally not with lust and passion, which do curses bring,
Curses which thou shalt not 'scape with Flying Ja'far's wing.
This thy lust and this thy craving are a sea of strife:

"Many a Spring shall Autumn follow when thou'rt passed away;
Many an evening, many a morning, many a night and day.
To the World thy heart incline not, though it seemeth fair;
Deem it not a faithful friend who for its friends doth care.
Thou to-day who like a scorpion everyone dost sting,
Snakes shall be thy tomb's companions, shame to thee shall bring.
Comfort some afflicted spirit; that is worth thy while;
Else to vex thy fellows' spirits easy is and vile.
Look not on earth's humble dwellers with a glance so proud:
Knowing not what Knight is hidden midst the dusty cloud."

The following ode is another favourable specimen of Awhadī's work:

To whom the coat and turban naught can profit you:
Wash thy hands of worldly longings: this is washing true!
On the evil wrought by others never will thou dwell
If upon the deeds thou doest thou shouldst ponder well.
Truth there lacks not in the sayings Awhadī doth say:
He who hearkens to his counsel wins to Fortune's way!"

The following fragment must conclude our citations from Awhadī:

Canst thou swim not? Wherefore venture in the waves thy life?
Washing of the coat and turban naught can profit you:
Wash thy hands of worldly longings: this is washing true!
On the evil wrought by others never will thou dwell
If upon the deeds thou doest thou shouldst ponder well.
Truth there lacks not in the sayings Awhadī doth say:
He who hearkens to his counsel wins to Fortune's way!"

"I saw Ja'far yesterday in a group of the angels,
Having two wings whereof the pinions were stained with blood." (Ibn'Atīr, ed. Tornberg, vol. ii, p. 181). Hence he was called the "Winged (or "Flying") Martyr." (Muir's Life of Mahomet, new and abridged edition of 1828, p. 410 ad calc.)
These suppliant suitors hold in slight esteem;
Hold thou their vows as frailer than a dream.
Honours which meanness winneth for thy name
Regard, if honour toucheth thee, as shame.
When Fortune's cup into your hands doth pass
Think of the headache as you raise the glass.
Like ill-bred camel seems thy restive soul;
Put on the leading-rein or lose control!

The village of Shabistar (or Chabistar) near Tabriz, in Adharbâjîn, gave birth about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era (seventh of the Mahrûb-i-Shabistâri hijârâ) to another notable mystic, Sa'du'd-Dîn Mahmûd, generally called, after his native place, Shabistârî. Little is known of his life, which seems to have been passed quietly, and, so far as those stirring times allowed, uneventfully, at or near Tabriz, where he died about 720/1320. He was by no means a voluminous writer, but his Gulshan-i-Rdż, or "Rose-Garden of Mystery," a mathnâwî containing about one thousand couplets, is one of the best and most compendious manuals of the mystical doctrine of the Sûfis, and enjoys even at the present day a high reputation. It has been edited with a translation, Introduction, and valuable notes, by Mr E. Whinfield, who gives in his Introduction the few particulars known about the author and the history of the poem. This attracted the attention of European travellers as early as A.D. 1700, reached certain Western libraries during the succeeding century, was utilized by Dr Tholuck in his Seesternzeichen in 1821 and was partly translated into German by the same writer in his Blühtensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik in 1825, and was edited with a complete versified translation in German by Hammer-Purgstall in 1838. The poem was composed, as the poet himself informs us, in the month of Shawwâl, 710 (Feb.–March, 1311) in reply to a series of fifteen questions on mystical doctrine propounded by an enquirer from Khüraâsân named Amîr Husaynî. These questions, which are included in the poem, are briefly as follows:

(1) As to the nature of thought.
(2) Why is thought sometimes a sin, sometimes a duty, and what sort of thought is incumbent on the mystic?
(3) What am "I"? What is meant by "travelling into one's self"?
(4) What is meant by "the Pilgrim," and what by "the Perfect Man"?
(5) Who is the Gnostic ("Arîf") who attains to the Secret of Unity?
(6) "If Knower and Known are one pure Essence, What are the inspirations in this handful of dust?"
(7) "To what Point belongs the expression, 'I am the Truth'?"
(8) "Why call they a creature 'united'? How can he achieve 'travelling' and 'journey'?"
(9) "What is the union of 'Necessary' and 'Contingent'? What are 'near' and 'far', 'more' and 'less'?"
(10) "What is that Sea whose shore is speech? What is that pearl which is found in its depths?"
(11) "What is that Part which is greater than its Whole? What is the way to find that Part?"
(12) "How are Eternal and Temporal separate? Is this one the World and the other God?"
(13) "What means the mystic by those [allegorical] expressions of his?"

\[Published by Trübner, London, 1880.\]
What does he indicate by ‘eye’ and ‘lip’? What does he intend by ‘cheek,’ ‘curl,’ ‘down’ and ‘mole’? (He, to wit, who is in ‘Stations’ and ‘States.’)

“What meaning attaches to ‘Wine,’ ‘Torch’ and ‘Beauty’? What is assumed in being a haunter of Taverns?”

“What Sea is that whereof the shore is speech? What pearl from out its depths our hands can reach?”

The book contains not only the answers to these questions, but a number of incidental illustrations, parables and digressions, and is on the whole one of the best manuals of Sufi Theosophy which exist, especially when taken in conjunction with the excellent commentary of 'Abdu'r-Razzâq al-Lâhijî.

Since the whole of this work is accessible to the English reader in Whinfield’s excellent translation, the following short specimen may suffice here:

**Question X.**

From the *Gulsân-i-Râz* What Sea is that whereof the shore is speech? What pearl from out its depths our hands can reach?"

**Answer X.**

“The Sea is Being; speech its shore; the shell Words, and its pearls Heart’s Wisdom, wot thee well. Each wave a thousand royal pearls doth pour Of text, tradition and prophetic lore. Each moment thence a thousand waves are tossed, Yet ne’er a drop therefrom is ever lost. Knowledge is gathered from that Sea profound: Its pearls enveloped are in words and sound. Ideas and mysteries descending here Need some similitude to make them clear.”

**Illustration.**

“In April’s month, thus was it told to me, The oysters upwards float in ‘Umân’s sea. Up from the depths unto the Ocean’s brim Ascending open-mouthed they shorewards swim.

Shaykh Mahmûd Shabistârî cannot, like so many Persian poets, be charged with writing too much, for the *Gulsân-i-Râz* is, so far as I know, his only poem, while his only other works are the *Haqqî-Vaqîn* ("Certain Truth"), and the *Risâla-i-Shâkid* ("Tract of the Witness"). The former is fairly common, and has been lithographed at Tihrân with other Sufi tracts: the latter I have never met with. The full title of the better-known treatise is “Certain truth on the Knowledge of the Lord of the Worlds,” and it contains eight chapters, corresponding with the eight Gates of Paradise, and dealing with the following topics:

2. The Manifestation of the Divine Attributes, and the Station of Knowledge.
5. On Contingent Being and Plurality.
On Differentiation of movement, and the continual renovation of Differentiations.

(7) On the Philosophy of obligation, compulsion, predestination and conduct.

(8) Explaining the Return and the Resurrection, and Annihilation and Permanence.

The poet Rabi'i of Būshanj, the panegyrist of Fakhrū'd-Dīn Kurt of Herāt, is little known, but a long notice of him is given in that rare and valuable work the *Mujmal* ("Compendium") of Fašīḥī of Khwāfī, under the year 702/1309-1400 in which he was put to death. He was a great drinker of wine, while Fakhrū'd-Dīn was addicted to *bang*; a fact to which reference is made in these two quatrains:

When I was cheerful with the green-hued seed
I'm ready to bestride the heaven's green steed;
With verdant youths on lawns the green
I eat
Ere like the grass the earth on me shall feed.

Rabi'i of Būshanj

In ruby casket emeralds I pour,1
And blinding snake-eyed sorrow, grieve no more."2

While in prison Rabi'i composed a poem called the *Kār-nāma* ("Book of Deeds") and other poems, wherein he sought but failed to move the King's pity. Of these some seventy couplets are cited in the *Mujmal* of Fašīḥī, of which the following may serve as specimens:

(From the *Kār-nāma.*)

1 The MS. which I have used formerly belonged to Colonel Raverty, and was bought by the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund" on his death. A second MS., now in my possession, is from the Library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. There is a third MS. at St Petersburg. There is, unfortunately, a large lacuna comprising the years A.H. 718-840 (A.D. 1318-1436) in the Raverty MS.

2 *I.e.* Indian hemp (*Cannabis Indica*) or *bang,* the green colour of which is also alluded to in its nicknames *Aγικ-γι Sayyīd* ("Master Sayyid") and *Tūhīγ-γi Sabū* (the "Green Parrot").
Thus I myself in grievous fetters found,
As Kā'ōs in Māzandarān was bound.
With feet in fetters, heart weighed down with care,
How long shall I in every sorrow share?
Nor men nor demons are my comrades here:
My soul cries out at such companions drear.
No heart on earth through them doth gladness feel:
Hard as their hearts no iron is, nor steel.
The Devil's but a joke when they are there;
Their pupil, only fit for blows, the bear.
Their custom is to hang, torment and bind;
Bloodshed and slaughter occupy their mind.
Their life-long work is outrage, curse and blow:
To Khaysār⁴ and to Ghur each year they go.
They're highland robbers all, in battle proved,
Themselves like mountains which God's power hath moved.
Ten of these wretches now control my fate:
Alas for my condition desolate!

In another qaṣīda, composed during his imprisonment,
the poet says that he was thirty-one years of age at the time of writing,
and that of this period he had spent seventeen years in the King's service
and fourteen in the Holy Sanctuaries (Mecca and Medina):

سی و یک وقت ز عزوم غریب آز حرم‌تان
هفده در خدمت تو چاره در بیت حرم

A third poem in the same strain and composed under the same conditions
(a mathnawī in this case) is also recorded in the Muğmal,
but all appeals were unavailing, and the unfortunate poet died in prison,
one knows in what manner.

Humāmū'd-Dīn of Tabrīz is another poet of this period
who merits a brief mention. According to the Mughal,
he died in 714/1314, at the age of 86,
while a well-known anecdote brings him into

contact with the great Sa'dī (died 690/1291), with whom
he engaged in a wordy duel, not conspicuous for refinement,
in which he was signally worsted. No other particulars of
his life are known to me, except that he also was one of the
panegyристs of the Sāhib Dvāna.¹ The following specimens
of his verse (which is said to have been greatly influenced
by that of Sa'dī) are taken from the Haft Iṣlām.

۱ خیاسار is a fortress in خراسان, not far from حراط (Yāqūt,
vol. ii, p. 307); and Ghur a mountainous district in افغانستان.
Perhaps, like Kalkī-Navār at the present day, they were formerly
used as penal settlements.
² See Sir Gore Ouseley's Biographical Notices of Persian Poets

"That day of parting seemed the Day of Doom:
How were it if our friendship had been less?
Make much, then, of your friends while they are here,
For this false sphere is fraught with faithlessness.*

A good many other poets of this period, such as Afdal-i-Kāshī, Athir-i-Awmdni, Sayfu'd-Dīn-i-Isfarangi, Raffu'ud-Dīn-i-Abhari, Farī'īd-i-Ahwal ('the squint-eyed') and Nizārī of Quhistān might be mentioned, did space allow, but as in most cases their works are inaccessible to me save in the brief extracts given by the biographers, it has seemed better to pass them over for the present. Of the last-named, however, a few words must be said, for a MS. of his poems (Or. 7909) has been acquired by the British Museum since the publication of the Supplement to the Persian Catalogue, and of this MS. a transcript was made for me in the autumn of 1913 by an Indian copyist, Mawlawi Isma'il 'Ali. This transcript I desired because of the strong probability that Nizārī belonged to the sect of the Isma'īlis, Malbhīda, or Assassins, and I hoped that his poems might afford proof of this fact, and perhaps reveal a genius comparable to that of the one great Isma'īli poet hitherto known, Nāṣir-i-Khusraw*. That Nizārī of Quhistān belonged to the Isma'īlī sect is not merely suggested by his pen-name and place of origin, but is asserted or hinted at by most of the biographers. On the death of al-Mustanṣir, the eighth Fatimid or Isma'īli Caliph (A.D. 1035-1044), there ensued a struggle for the succession between his two sons al-Musta'ṣuf and Nizārī in which the latter lost his life and his throne, but continued to be regarded by the Eastern or Persian Isma'īlis (including the derived Syrian branch) as the legitimate Imām. It was from him, no doubt, that the poet took his nom de guerre, for the other suggestion, that it was derived from the Persian adjective nisār ('thin,' 'weak') is quite untenable. Quhistān, moreover, was a stronghold of the Assassins, especially the towns of Qāyīn and Birjand to which he particularly alludes in one of his poems, where he says:

\[\text{I am seated over my treasure, whether I be in Birjand or Qāyīn;}
\text{O Nizārī, henceforth, free and untroubled, thou hast the treasure of}
\text{poverty and a safe corner.}\]

The MS. of Nizārī's poems alluded to above contains only ghazals or odes, and these, though spirited enough, appear for the most part to be of the usual Bacchanalian type, and to give little or no indication of the poet's religious views or general circumstances. It is in qasidas and mathnawsīs that such indications are generally to be found, and, unfortunately, neither of these classes of poems are represented in the MS. in question. According to Sprenger, Nizārī died in 720/1320, and left two mathnawsīs, one of which, entitled Dāstīr-nāma, he describes as "very witty and amusing," but I have never seen it. Nizārī's writings would probably repay further study.

In conclusion a few words must be said about Sulṭān Walad (or Vēled, according to the Turkish pronunciation), the son and ultimately the spiritual successor of the great Maulānā Jalālū'd-Dīn Rūmī. He was born in Asia Minor at Lāranda (the modern Qaramān) in 623/1226 when his father was only nineteen years of age, and his proper name was Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āhmād.
His best-known work is a mathnavi poem, entitled Rabîb-nâma (the "Book of the Rebeck"), which, though mostly written in Persian, contains 156 verses in Turkish, which Gibb describes as "the earliest important specimen of West-Turkish poetry that we possess." These archaic verses have attracted the attention of Von Hammer, Wickerhauser, Bernhauer, Fleischer, Salemann, and Radloff, and Gibb has very fully discussed them and their author in the first volume of his great History of Ottoman Poetry, pp. 149–163. "To Sultan Veled," he says (loc. cit., pp. 156–7), "belongs not only the honour due to the pioneer in every good work, but the credit which is justly his who successfully accomplishes an arduous enterprise. To have inaugurated the poetry of a nation is an achievement of which any man might be proud." Thus even so great an admirer of Turkish poetry as Gibb is constrained to admit that it chiefly owes its inception to a Persian, and in fact, in a sense, a branch of Persian poetry, to which for five centuries and a half (A.D. 1300–1850) it owed its inspiration. At all events the rise of both the Ottoman State and Turkish literature belong to the period which we have discussed in this and the preceding chapters, and henceforth it will be necessary to allude to both with increasing frequency.

1 For references see Gibb's Hist. of Ottoman Poetry, vol. i, p. 157 ad calc. Radloff's article, which he does not mention, is entitled Über Alt-Türkische Dialekte. i. Die Seldschukischen Verse im Rabîb-nâma. It was published in 1890 in vol. x, Livraison 1, of the Mélanges Asiatiques at St Petersburg.
CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF TÎMÛR.

The power of the Mongols in Persia practically came to an end on the death of Abî Sa'id (13 Rabi' II, A.H. 736 = Nov. 30, 1335), and some eight months later in the same year of the hijra (Shâ'bân 25 = April 8, 1336) was born Tîmûr, called Lang ("the limping"), and generally known in the West as "Tamerlane," who was destined to become in his turn almost as great a scourge to the Muslims of Western and Central Asia as Chingîz Khán. The approximate coincidence of the death of the last great Mongol ruler of Persia with the birth of this new organizer of Tartar depredations has been remarked by the author of the Ma'âla'û's-Sâ'dayn, and makes this date a convenient starting-point for the period of seventy years which we are now about to consider; a period which, in spite of the anarchy wherewith it began and the bloodshed wherewith it ended, is remarkable alike for the quantity and the quality of the poets and writers which it produced. Of the former were Salmân of Sâwa, Khwâjû of Kirmân, `Ubayd-i-Zâkânî, `Imád of Kirmân, `Aṣṣâr of Tabrîz, the two Jalâls, known respectively as 'Adud and 'Abbâb ("the physician"), Kamâl of Khujuand, Maghribî, Bushâq, Ibn-i-Yamîn, and last but not least the incomparable Hâfiz of Shirzâz; of the latter were the historians of Tîmûr, Niẓâm-i-Shâmî and Shârâfu'd-Dîn 'Alî Yazdî, and Mu'înû'd-Dîn Yazdî, the historian of the House of Mu'âffar which perished at Tîmûr's hands, not to mention others who, though Persians, wrote chiefly in Arabic, such as the Sayyîd-i-Sharîf of Jurjân, Sa'du'd-Dîn Taftâzânî, and 'Adu'd-Dîn al-I'jî.

1 See Rieu's Persian Catalogue, p. 182.
THE PERIOD OF TIMŪR

Timūr's first invasion of Persia took place in A.D. 1380, when he subdued Khurasān, Sīstān and Māzandarān; his second in A.D. 1384–5, when he again invaded Māzandarān and extended his operations into Adharbājān, Irāq-i-ʿAjam and Georgia, finishing up with the subjugation of Shirāz and a massacre of 70,000 persons at Isfahān; and his third and last in A.D. 1392, when he again subdued Fārs and extirpated the Muẓaffarī dynasty, having already destroyed the Sarbadārs of Sabzawār (in 1381) and the Kurts of Herāt (in 1389). During the 45 years succeeding Timūr’s birth and Abū Saʿīd’s death (A.D. 1335–1380) Persia was, however, left to its own devices, and was divided between four or five petty dynasties, of which the Muẓaffarīs, ruling over Fārs, Irāq-i-ʿAjam and Kirmān, were the most important; then the Jalā’īrs or Šāhīns of Baghdad and Tabrīz as the direct heirs of the shrunken Mongol power, and under whose aegis likewise many eminent poets flourished. The Sarbadārs (or Sarbadāls) of Sabzawār seem to have held sway over a very restricted territory, and were in fact (as their name, “Head-on-the-gallows,” implies) little better than successful outlaws and highway-robbers; while the Kurts of Herāt, though more civilized, greater patrons of letters, and more stable in character (they ruled for 144 years, from A.D. 1245 to 1389), were established in a domain which is no longer included in Persia, but now forms part of Afghānistān, and were themselves, perhaps, of Afghān or semi-Afghān descent. Of each of these dynasties some brief account must now be given.

The Muẓaffarīs.

Apart from the general histories, such as the Rawḍatuʿl-Ṣafā, with which every student of Persian is familiar, there exists a monograph on the House of Muẓaffar by a contemporary scholar of some repute, Muʿīnūd-Dīn of Yazd, who was made professor at one of the colleges of Kirmān in 755/1354. This history exists only in manuscript,1 and I have been able to consult

1 See Rieu’s Persian Cat., p. 168, and Persian Suppl., p. 33.
B. P.

existence of numerous small courts, rivals to one another, and each striving to outshine the others, was singularly favourable to the encouragement of poets and other men of letters, who, if disappointed or slighted in one city, could generally find in another a more favourable reception.

Before speaking of Timūr, then, it is necessary to give some account of the petty dynasties which flourished in Persia during this half-century’s interregnum.

Of these the Muẓaffarīs were the most important, both on account of the position and extent of their realms, and by reason of the eminent poets—notably Ḥāfīz of Shirāz—who frequented their courts. Next to them we may place the Jalā’īr or Šāhīn princes who ruled over Baghdad and Tabrīz as the direct heirs of the shrunken Mongol power, and under whose aegis likewise many eminent poets flourished. The Kurts of Herāt, though more civilized, greater patrons of letters, and more stable in character (they ruled for 144 years, from A.D. 1245 to 1389), were established in a domain which is no longer included in Persia, but now forms part of Afghānistān, and were themselves, perhaps, of Afghān or semi-Afghān descent. Of each of these dynasties some brief account must now be given.

THE MUẒAFFARĪ DYNASTY
it in an old copy belonging to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, dated 778/1376-7, and, since January, 1917, in two MSS., one written in the author's lifetime, from the library of the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler. It comes down only to the year 767/1365-6, and so omits the last thirty years of the dynasty; and it is, moreover, written in a very stilted and artificial style. So difficult, indeed, was it that a certain Mahmūd Kutbī, while engaged in transcribing the Ta'rikh-i-Guzida in 823/1420, thought good to add to that history an independent account of the Muẓaffarī dynasty from his own pen. This account is contained in the fac-simile of an old MS. of the Guzida published in the Gibb Memorial Series (vol. xiv, i, pp. 613-755), and carries the history of the dynasty down to its extinction in Rajab, 795 (May, 1393). This, and the account contained in the modern Fārs-nāma-i-Nāşirī of Ḥājī Mīrzā Ḥasan (pp. 49-66), have been chiefly used in compiling the following brief account of the dynasty, but I should like also to acknowledge my indebtedness to an excellent and most readable sketch of its history contained in the Introduction to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell's Poems from the Divān of Ḥafīz (pp. 8-28).

The ancestors of the House of Muẓaffar are said to have come to Persia from Arabia in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest, and to have settled near Khwāfīn Khurāsān, whence Amīr Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn Ḥājī Khurāsānī, the grandfather of Muẓaffarī Muḥammad, the first king of the dynasty, migrated to Yazd during the period of the Mongol invasion. One of his three sons, Abū Bakr, with 300 horsemen, accompanied Hūlagū's expedition against Baghdad, and was subsequently killed in Egypt by Arabs of the Banū Khafāja tribe. His brother Muḥammad succeeded him as deputy to the Governor of Yazd, but died without issue. The third son, Jalā'ī'd-Dīn Mansūr, lived at Maybud, near Yazd, and likewise left three sons, Sharafu'd-Dīn Muẓaffar, Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī, and Muẓaffarī Muḥammad. The first is said to have been notified in a dream of the distinction to which his family was destined, and while still young distinguished himself by destroying a band of robbers from Fārs who were committing depredations in his province. In 685/1286 he went to Kirmān and entered the service of Sūrghatmīsh Qarā-Khitā'. Later he served the four Mongol sovereigns Arghūn, Gaykhatū, Ghāzān and Uljāyū Khūdā-banda, to the last-named of whom he was presented at Khānīqān in 711/1311, and who conferred on him a more extensive government. He died in 713/1313, leaving to succeed him his son Muẓaffarī Muḥammad, then only thirteen years of age, who was confirmed in his father's offices by Uljāyū (died Dec. 16, 1316). At the age of 29 he married as his second wife Bānū Jahān, the grand-daughter of Sūrghatmīsh. He had five sons, Sharafu'd-Dīn Muẓaffar (born 725/1325, died of a wound in 754/1353); Shāh Shujā' (born 733/1333); Qutbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad (born 737/1336); and two others named Ahmad and Bāyazīd. Muẓaffarī Muḥammad is generally reckoned the first of the Muẓaffarī dynasty, the duration of which, from his accession in A.D. 1313 to the extirpation of the dynasty by Timūr in A.D. 1393, covered a period of 80 years. His original government, as we have seen, was the little town of Maybud near Yazd, but in A.D. 1319 the latter town was added to his jurisdiction. In A.D. 1340 Kirmān also fell to his share, though the previous ruler, Qutbu'd-Dīn, invoked and received help from the Kūrt kings of Herāt, and offered a stubborn resistance. In A.D. 1353, after a still more prolonged struggle, he succeeded in wresting the province of Fārs with its capital Shīrāz from Abū Ishaq Injū, whose little son, 'Alī Sahī, aged ten, was taken prisoner and cruelly put to death by Shāh Shujā' at Rašīnān. One of Muẓaffarī Muḥammad's first measures was to enact severe laws against wine-drinking and other forms of

[2] See also Rieu's Persian Cat., p. 82.
dissipation prevalent amongst the pleasure-loving Shirizis, concerning which his son Shab Shujah composed the following quatrain:

"Closed are the taverns now throughout the land;
Zither and harp and tambourine are banned;
Banned is wine-worship to the libertine;
Only the proctor's drunk, though not with wine!"

In the following year, A.D. 1354, whether in consequence of this unpopular measure or not, Shhiraz was seized by rebels against the Mu'azzafs, but was soon retaken. About this time Mubdrizu'd-Din declared his allegiance to the titular Caliph al-Mu'tadid, whose name he caused to be inserted in the *Khutba.*

Abu'l-Fath Abri Bakr al-Mu'tadid bi'llah, son of al-Mustakfi, one of the titular 'Abbasi Caliphs who exercised a merely nominal sway in Egypt after the sack of Baghhdad until the Ottoman conquest (A.D. 1517), succeeded his brother al-Hakim bi-amr'llih in 753/1352-3 and died in 763/1362. See as-Suyufi's *Ta'rikhu'l-Khulafa* (ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1857), p. 516.

His severity was such that, according to one of his intimates, Lutfullah b. Sadru'd-Din 'Iraqi (cited in the *Fars-nama-i-Nasiri*), he would often lay aside the Qur'an which he was reading to decapitate some criminal brought before him for judgement, and then calmly resume the perusal of the Sacred Book.

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1. The Muhtasib, here rendered "proctor," was an officer whose function it was to maintain public order and morality and ensure that the goods sold by tradesmen should both in quantity and quality maintain a proper standard.

Mubārizu'd-Dīn was succeeded by his son Shāh Shujā', whose chief claim to fame is that he was the patron of the immortal Ḥāfiz. He himself was not devoid of poetic talent, and wrote verses both in Arabic and Persian, specimens of which are given by Māhmūd Kūthī. Nor did his intellectual attainments end here; he knew the Qur'ān by heart when he was nine years of age; could remember eight verses of Arabic poetry after hearing them read once; was famous for his epistolary style, wrote a fine hand, and was skilled in all martial exercises. He was also a great patron of men of learning, and at one time used to attend the lectures of Mawłānā Qiwāmu'd-Dīn, while he appointed the eminent Sayyid-i-Sharif-i-Jurjānī professor in the Dāru'sh-Shifā College which he had founded at Shīrāz. Nor did his reign lack military glory of the somewhat barren kind prevalent at that time, for he retook Shīrāz from his brother Māhmūd, who had ousted him from it by a trick, and Kirmān, which had been seized by Dāwat-shāh; and, on the death of Sultān Uways Jalā'ir at Tabrīs in March, 1375, occupied not only that city, but also Nakhjuwān, Qarābāgh, Awjān, Sultānīyya, Shūstār and even Baghvdād, so that he became for a while the master of the greater part of Persia.

In his family relations he was not happier than the rest of his House. His brother Māhmūd, who had strangled his wife, the daughter of Shaykh Ābū Ishāq, about A.D. 1368, died in 1375 at the age of 38. On hearing of his death Shāh Shujā' wrote the following quatrain:

"My brother Māhmūd, lion-like crouched low,
For crown and ring was my relentless foe.
At length we shared the earth that men might rest:
I took the surface, he the realm below."

He was also troubled by the real disloyalty of one son, Sultān Uways, and the fancied disloyalty of another, Sultān Shibli, whom in a fit of anger, intensified by drink, he caused to be blinded, and only repented of his rash act when it was too late. This happened in A.D. 1383, a year before his death, which took place on October 9, 1384, he being then 53 years of age and having reigned 27 years. On his death-bed he wrote a letter to the great Tīmūr, setting forth his devotion and loyalty, and commending to his care his sons and brothers, especially his successor Zaynu'l-'Abīdīn. How much effect this letter, with its admonitions that "loyalty to promises is a part of Faith," produced on Tīmūr was shown nine years later when he made a massacre of the whole family. The body of Shāh Shujā' was conveyed to Medīna for burial, or, according to another account, buried in a place called Kāk-i-Gūzīda (the "Mountain of Forty Stations") a little to the North-east of Shīrāz. The date of his death is given by the chronogram: "Alas for Shāh Shujā'!", the numerical equivalents of the component letters of which add up to (A.H.) 786 (= A.D. 1384).

Zaynu'l-'Abīdīn (786-789 = 1384-1387).

Zaynu'l-'Abīdīn's reign was both short and troubled, for not only was it marred by those family feuds and fratricidal strifes which were characteristic of this dynasty, but the menace of Tīmūr and his Tartars hung ever more threateningly over the land. Soon after his accession Zaynu'l-'Abīdīn was attacked by his cousin Shāh Yahyā, and shortly after this arrived Tīmūr's envoy Qūbū'd-Dīn and required the insertion in the khitla

1 The text of this letter will be found on pp. 730-733 of the fac-simile of the Ṭāʾrīkh-i-Gūzīda (Gibb Series, vol. xiv, 1).
of his master’s name, which was tantamount to recognizing him as over-lord. In 789/1387 Timūr himself made his first entry into Fārs and Fārs. From Isfahān, which was governed by Majdu’d-Dīn Muẓaffar, the uncle of Zaynu’d-Dīn, he demanded a large sum of money, in collecting which his agents showed so harsh and arrogant a disposition that the inhabitants rose against them and killed them. Timūr took a terrible revenge on them, for he ordered a general massacre, in which 70,000 persons1 are said to have perished. He then advanced on Shīrāz, but Zaynu’l-ʿAbidīn did not await his arrival, and fled to Shūstār, where he was treacherously seized by his cousin Shāh Ḵān Murshid, who thereupon marched to Shīrāz and drove out his brother Yahyā, who fell back on Yazd. The next six years (A.D. 1387-1393) passed in continual strife between the three Muẓaffārī princes Shāh Ḵān Murshid (who reigned over Fārs and Isfahān), his brother Shāh Yahyā (who ruled at Yazd), and his cousin Shāh Ahmad (who held Kirmān), until in 795/1393 Timūr for the second time descended on these distracted provinces. He first took the Qal’a-i-Safīd (“White Castle”), killed the garrison, and released and restored to the throne Zaynu’l-ʿAbidīn, and then continued his march on Shīrāz, whence Shāh Ḵān Murshid fled to Pul-i-Fasqā. Of some of the Shīrāzīs who had followed him thither he enquired what the people of Shīrāz were saying of him. “Some say,” they replied, “that those who wielded maces weighing ten maunds and carried quivers weighing seventeen maunds have fled like goats before a pack of wolves and have left their families as an easy prey to the foe.” On hearing this Shāh Ḵān Murshid, moved alike by shame and compassion, resolved to go back to Shīrāz and face the inevitable death which a conflict with Timūr’s hosts involved. He had with him only 3000 men, of whom 2000 fled soon after the battle began, while the Tartar army “were more numerous than ants and locusts,” yet with such valour and desperation did he engage the enemy that more than once he forced his way almost to within striking distance of Timūr, until at last, wounded in the neck and shoulder, he turned in flight towards Shīrāz. He was overtaken by some of Shāh Rukh’s soldiers, who dragged him from his horse and severed his head from his body. The year of his death (795/1393) is given by the chronogram ملک میت ("he relinquished the kingdom"). The other Muẓaffārī princes (Ahmad ʿImādu’d-Dīn and Sultān Mahdī, son of Shāh Shujā’, from Kirmān; Nusratu’d-Dīn Shāh Yahyā and his sons Muʿizzu’d-Dīn Jahāngīr and Sultān Muḥammad from Yazd; and Sultān Abū Ḩishāq, son of Sultān Uways, son of Shāh Shujā’, from Sīrjān) surrendered themselves to Timūr and were at first treated honourably, but were finally put to death at Qumishah, a little to the south of Isfahān, on Rajab 10, 795 (May 22, 1393), a date commemorated in the following verses:

بعبرت نظر خن بالملت،
شیانی طکه گوی از سلاتین یوروند;
که در هرد صود و جن و توین زهیورت;
دهر شب ز ماء رجب چون غنوند;
چو خورا بانان در زمانا برشند;
چو تروه بانک زمانت غنوند;

Only two were spared, Zaynu’l-ʿAbidīn and Shiblī, both of whom had been blinded, the one by his cousin Manṣūr, the other by his father Shāh Shujā’. These were taken by Timūr to Samarqand, his capital, where they spent the remainder of their days in tranquillity. So ended the Muẓaffārī dynasty, which for eighty years had held sway over the greater part of southern and central Persia. Several of their princes

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1 This is the number given in the Fārs-nāma-i-Nāṣirī, but the Tarīkh-i-Gusūda (p. 739 of fac-simile) raises the number to 200,000.
were distinguished alike by their taste and their talents, and their patronage of learning and letters drew to their court not only numerous poets of distinction, including the incomparable Hāfiz, but savants such as ‘Adudu’d-Dīn al-Īfī and Mu’īnu’d-Dīn Yāzdī. Materially they did little to benefit their subjects, save for the building of a few colleges; while even in Eastern history it would be difficult to find a household so divided against itself and so disposed to those fratricidal wars and savage mutilations or destruction of their kinsmen which constitute the greater part of their history.

**The Jalā’irs, Íl-khānīs, or Ílkānīs.**

During the period of the disruption of the Mongol Empire two Shaykh Ḥasans play a prominent part, one known as “the Great” (Buzurg), the other as “the Little” (Kūchak). The latter was the grandson of the great Amir Chūbān, whose power and influence were still further increased by his marriage in 719/1319 with Sāṭī Beg, the daughter of Uljaytū and sister of Abū Sa’īd, who bore him three sons, besides the six sons and one daughter (Baghdād Khawāja) born to him by another wife. Of these ten children the most celebrated were Amir Ḥasan, Timūr-Tāsh, Dimashq Khwāja, and Baghdād Khawāja. Amir Ḥasan and his three sons, Tālisht, Hājjī Beg, and Hūch Ḥusayn, all died violent deaths about 727/1327. Timūr-Tāsh rebelled and fled to Egypt, where he was at first well received by al-Malik an-Nāṣir, who, however, becoming alarmed at his increasing influence and evident ambition, put him to death in 728/1328. He was the father of the above-mentioned Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Kūchak (“the Little”), also called after his grandfather “Chūbānī,” and of Malik-i-Ashraf. Dimashq Khwāja, the third of Amir Chūbān’s sons, was put to death by Abū Sa’īd in 727/1327 (a year very fatal to this family).

1 Concerning the Jalā’irs, a tribe cognate to the Mongols, see the *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross (London, 1898), p. 88.

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**CH. IV**

**The Íl-khānīs or Jalā’irs.**

on a charge of carrying on an intrigue with one of the widows of the late king Uljaytū. His daughter Dilshād Khātiān and her aunt Baghdād Khātiān were both ladies of considerable note, and, extraordinary as it appears, both were married at one time in their lives to the Sulṭān Abū Sa’īd and at another to the rival Shaykh Ḥasan, called “the Great” (Buzurg). Baghdād Khātiān is said to have been remarkable for her beauty, and was married in 723/1323 to Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg, but unfortunately Abū Sa’īd saw her, was smitten by her charms, and conceived so violent a passion for her that in 727/1325 he compelled her husband to divorce her so that he might marry her himself. On Abū Sa’īd’s death in 736/1335–6 and the elevation to the throne of Arpa, she was put to death privately by the new Sulṭān on suspicion of having poisoned her late husband, and Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg compensated himself by appropriating the late monarch’s other widow Dilshād Khātiān. She bore him Sulṭān Uways, whose power she subsequently shared, and, like him, was the subject of many panegyrics on the part of the poet Salmán of Sāwa.

Shaykh Ḥasan “the Great” was the son of Ḥusayn, the son of Aq-Būghā, the son of Aydakān, and claimed descent from Hūlāgū, whence, I suppose, the title of Ílkānī (ایلخانی, not Íl-khānī, though probably a mere variant of it) by which, as well as Jalā’ir (the tribal name) the dynasty was known. For about eight years (736–744/1335–1343) after the death of Abū Sa’īd the history of Persia consists largely in the struggles and intrigues of these two houses (of Chūbān and Jalā’ir) for the supreme power, their ambitions being thinly masked by the puppet-princes of the race of Hūlāgū whom they successively raised to a nominal and generally very

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1 The author of the *Ḥabīb’s-Siyar*, Khwāndamīr, endeavours to explain the illegality of Abū Sa’īd’s marriage with Baghdād Khātiān and her niece Dilshād Khātiān by assuming that he divorced the former before marrying the latter. He also asserts that Baghdād Khātiān avenged this slight by poisoning Abū Sa’īd.
brief sovereignty. By 737/1337 Shaykh Hasan-i-Buzurg was in possession of Baghdad and Tabriz, the two capitals of the Mongol Il-khans and afterwards of the Jal’irs, who would therefore appear to have represented most directly the older dynasty; but his tenure only became relatively secure on Rajab 27, 744 (Dec. 15, 1343), when his rival Shaykh Hasan-i-Kuchak was murdered by his unfaithful wife in a very horrible manner, which nevertheless called forth a savage and untranslatable epigram from SalmAn of Sdwa, the panegyrist of the Jal’irs, of which the text has been already given on p. 60, supra.

The Jal’ir or Il-khanid dynasty founded by Shaykh Hasan-i-Buzurg endured for some 75 years, and, though much harassed by Timur during the last fifteen or twenty years of its existence, was never entirely crushed by him like the Mu’affarids. Shaykh Hasan and his son Shaykh Uways, whose mother was Dildshad Khatun, each reigned about twenty years (A.H. 736 or 737 to 757 and A.H. 757 to 776 respectively); and all three seem to owe much of their fame and good repute to their indefatigable panegyrist SalmAn of Sdwa, most of whose poems are consecrated to their praise. The portrait of them presented by most historians and biographers is therefore a very flattering one, and, though their virtues may have been exaggerated, there seems no reason to believe that it is altogether unfounded. After the death of Sultan Uways, however, on the 2nd of Jumada I, 776 (Oct. 7, 1374), the fortunes of the dynasty began to decline. On that same day the late ruler’s eldest son Hasan was put to death by the nobles, and the younger son Husayn was placed on the vacant throne at Tabriz, whence he was driven out, after a successful war with the Turkmen, for a space of four months by Shih ShujA’ the Mu’affarid. Shortly after this his authority was resisted by his brother ‘AlI, and finally in Safar, 784 (April–May, 1382), he was killed by another brother, Ahmad, who in turn was proclaimed king, and became involved almost immediately in a fratricidal conflict with yet another

brother named Bayazid. A partition of the kingdom was finally effected, Adhbabayjan being assigned to Ahmad and ‘IrAq to Bayazid, but soon fresh conflicts occurred between the two brothers in which the aid of Shih Mansur the Mu’affarid was invoked first by one and then by the other. These unedifying squabbles were brought to an end by the approach of Timur’s army, which, after a protracted resistance on the part of Ahmad, finally compelled him and Qara-Yusuf the Turkmen to seek refuge with the Turkish Sultan Bayazid, known as Yildirim, “the Thunder-bolt.” Thence they passed to Egypt, the ruler of which country was preparing to make his peace with Timur by surrendering them to him when, fortunately for them, news arrived that that sanguinary conqueror was dead. Shortly afterwards Ahmad’s bad faith led to a rupture between him and Qara-Yusuf, who defeated him near Tabriz on the 25th of Rabi’ II, 812 (Sept. 6, 1409). The same night he was captured and put to death, after a troubled and turbulent reign of twenty-seven years, by his conqueror, and with him practically ended the Il-khanid or Jal’ir dynasty, though its final extinction at the hands of the Qarqoyunlu or “Black Sheep” Turkmen did not take place until a year or two later.

The Kurts.

We pass now to the Kurt dynasty which ruled over extensive territories in the N.E. of Persia and the adjacent countries with their capital at Herat. The most detailed account of them which I have met with is contained in a still unpublished history of Herat entitled Rawg’dtu’l-Janndt fi ta’rtkhi madtrzati Herat (“Gardens of Paradise: on the history of the city of Herat”), composed by Mawlana Mu’in of Isfizir. This history, which comes down to the year 875/1

1 The name is generally spelt Kart by English Orientalists, but in the carefully-written ms. of the History of Herat, which will be mentioned immediately, it is repeatedly pointed Kurt, which pronunciation I have therefore adopted.
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1473-4 or thereabouts, is based on the older works of Abū Ishaq Ahmad b. Ya-Sin; Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Fāmī; Sayfī of Herät; and the Kurt-nāma of Rabī'ī of Būshanj; and is divided into 26 Rawdās ('Gardens'), each containing two or more Chimāns ('Parterres'). Of these, Rawdās vii–x deal with the period and dynasty now under review. I am indebted to Mr A. G. Ellis, Assistant Librarian of the India Office, for the loan of an excellent ms. of this work, transcribed in 1073/1662–3 and superior in accuracy and legibility to either of the British Museum codices. Another work which supplies some useful information about this dynasty is the very rare Muzhali of Fasihi of Khwāf, from which the poems of Rabī'ī cited in the last chapter are taken. Some account of the dynasty is, of course, also contained in all general histories of Persia of a later date, such as the Rawḍātū's-Ṣafā, Ḥabībū's-Siyar, Maṭla'ū's-Sādayn, etc.

The ancestor of the Kurts was a certain Tāju'd-Dīn 'Uthmān-i-Marghini, whose brother, 'Izzu'd-Dīn 'Umar-i-Marghini, was the powerful Wazir of Sultān Ghiyāṭhu'd-Dīn Muhammad-i-Ghūrī (d. 599/1202–3). Tāju'd-Dīn was made Warden of the Castle of Khaysbr, and on his death his son, Malik Ruknu'd-Din Abh Bakr, married the daughter of the above-mentioned Sultān. Their son Shamsu'd-Dīn succeeded his father in 643/1245–6, joined Sāli Noyan in an invasion of India in the following year, and met the great Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā (the spiritual director of the poet 'Irāqi) at Multīn in 645/1247–8. Later he visited the Mongol ruler Mangū Qā'ān (646–655/1248–1257) who placed under

Shamsu'd-Dīn Kurt

1 Rabī'ī, called Khaṭīb, of Būshanj, was killed, according to the Muğmal of Faṣīḥī, in 702/1302–3. He was court-poet to Fakhru'd-Dīn Kurt.
2 Add. 2238 and Or. 4106.
3 See p. 150 supra, ad calc., where the MSS. are enumerated. The St Petersburg ms. is No. 271 of the Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. See Baron Victor Rosen's Manuscrits Persans, pp. 111–113.

The allusion is to the verse in the Qur'rān (sūra Lxxxi, 1) "When the sun is rolled up," for the title of the deceased ruler, Shamsu'd-Dīn, signifies the Sun of the Faith.

The title of Malik (which means King in Arabic, but in Persia at this period meant no more than Prince or Amir) seems to have been first taken by Ruknu'd-Dīn, but already the Shaykh Thiqatu'd-Dīn Fāmī had given the higher title of Shāh to his uncle 'Izzu'd-Dīn 'Umar in the following verse:

The Kurts: [BK 11]

his sway Herät, Jām, Būshanj, Ghūr, Khaysbr, Fīrūz-Kūh, Gharjistān, Murgabh, Merv, Fāryāb (up to the Oxus), Isfizār, Farāh, Sīstān, Kābul, Tirāh, and Afghānistān up to the Indus. In 662/1263–4, after having subdued Sīstān, he visited Hūlagū, and three years later his successor Abāqā, whom he accompanied in his campaign against Darband and Bākū. He again visited Abāqā, accompanied by Shamsu'd-Dīn the Śāhībū Dīwān, in 675/1276–7, and this time the former good opinion of the Mongol sovereign in respect to him seems to have been changed to suspicion, which led to his death, for he was poisoned in Sha'bān, 676 (January, 1278), by means of a water-melon given to him while he was in the bath at Tabrīz.

Abāqā even caused his body to be buried in chains at Jām in Khurāsān. Mawlānā Wajīhu'd-Dīn Nasāfī commemorated the date of his death in the following verses:

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The title of Malik was, however, that borne by all the succeeding members of this house.

Shamsu'd-Din was succeeded in 677/1278-9 by his son Rukn'u-d-Din, who thereupon assumed his father's title with the adjective Kihin ("the Younger"). He died at Khaysar on Safar 12, 705 (Sept. 3, 1305), but seems at a much earlier date to have been practically set aside by his son Fakhru'd-Din, who, having been imprisoned by his father for seven years, was released at the intercession of the Mongol general Nawruz, whom he ill requited by betraying him in 696/1295-6 to Ghazan Khan, against whom Nawruz had revolted. Three years later Fakhru'd-Din himself fought against Ghazan's brother Khudabanda, who succeeded Ghazan in 705/1305-6, and in the following year sent an army of 10,000 men under Dahanishmand Bahdurr against Herat, of which the fortifications had been greatly strengthened by Fakhru'd-Din. Dahanishmand was, however, killed by a treacherous stratagem after he had been allowed to occupy Herat, together with many of his men, and Fakhru'd-Din then returned from Amankh, whither he had fled, and reoccupied the city. Soon afterwards he died on Sha'ban 22, 706 (Feb. 26, 1307). He was a great patron of literature. Sayfi says that forty poets of note were his panegyrists, and that he himself had composed eighty qasidas and one hundred and fifty mugattat'at in his praise. On the other hand his rule was austere: he forbade women to walk abroad, and sternly repressed wine-drinking and public mourning.

Fakhru'd-Din was succeeded by his brother Ghiyathu'd-Din, who soon afterwards had a quarrel with his brother 'Ala'u'd-Din, and went to lay his case before the Mongol sovereign Khudabanda, who accorded him a gracious reception. On his return to Herat in 708/1308-9 he extended his power over Ghur, Khaysar and Isfizar. 'Ala'u'd-Din Hindu's intrigues against him compelled him again to visit Shah Khudabanda in

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714/1314-15, and it took him some time, aided by the intercession of Shaykh Nuruddin 'Abdur-Rahman of Isfara'in, to regain that monarch's confidence. On his return he was confronted first, in 718/1318-19, with an invasion of Khurasan by Prince Yasur the Nikuddar, in the following year, with the hostility of Qubud'd-Din of Isfizar and the people of Sistan, on which latter war Pur-i-Bahá of Isfizar has the following verses:

"O King, do not again, supported [only] by the weak Sistánis,
Venture to give battle to the army of the Persians.
The people of Sistán are nothing more than beards and moustaches;
Beware lest thou place thy reliance on felt and cords!"

In 720/1320 Prince Yasur was killed and the Nikuddar dispersed, and in Rajab of that year (August, 1320) Ghiyathu'd-Din set out to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son Malik Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad to act as Viceroy. In 729/1329 Ghiyathu'd-Din died, leaving four sons, the above Shamsu'd-Din who succeeded him; Haifiz and Mu'izzu'd-Din who successively ascended the throne; and Baigir.

On the date of Shamsu'd-Din's accession the following Arabic chronogram was composed by Jamalu'd-Din Muhammad ibn Husain:

The words Khollid munukhu ("May his rule be eternalized") give, according to the abjad reckoning, the date 729; but unhappily so slight was their appropriateness that

1 See Howorth's Hist. of the Mongols, Part iii, pp. 590-1.
B. P.
Shamsu’d-Din died two months after his accession, and was succeeded by his brother Ḥāfiz, who in turn, after a brief and troubled reign of about two years, was succeeded by the third brother Abū’l-Husayn Malik Mu’izzu’d-Dīn.

The accession of Mu’izzu’d-Dīn in 732/1331 almost synchronized with three important events, the death of Abū Sa’īd (which practically marked the end of the Mongol dominion over Persia), the birth of Timūr; and the rise of the Sarbadār Dynasty.

The Sarbadār Dynasty

The history of this dynasty, so far as it need be discussed here, may well be considered in connection with that of the Kurts. It is well summarized by Stanley Lane-Poole1, who says that they held Sabzawār and the neighbouring district for nearly half a century, “during which period twelve successive chiefs assumed the command, nine of whom suffered violent deaths.” It may be added that no one of them reigned more than six or seven years, and that they were enthusiastic adherents of the Shīʿa doctrine, while in Nishāpūr and Herāt the Sunnī doctrine predominated. Nevertheless Khwāja ‘Alī Mu’ayyad, the last of the line, succeeded in taking Bištām and Farhādjird and winning over Nishāpūr, which, however, was recaptured by the Kurts in 777/1375–6. The revolt which gave rise to this dynasty—if such it can be called—occurred on Sha’bān 12, 737 (March 16, 1337), when Amir ‘Abdu’r-Razzāq of Bayhaq, a disciple of Shaykh Husayn Jūrī (whose murīds or disciples formed an important element in the forces of this little kingdom) first raised the standard of rebellion, saying, “A gang of evil-doers dominates and oppresses the people. By God’s grace we will do away with the oppression of these tyrants, failing which we will see our heads on the gibbet (sar-ḥa-dār), since we can no longer endure these tyrannical aggressions,” and it was to this expression that the dynasty owed its name.

One notable poet, Ibn-i-Yāmīn, is associated with the Sarbadārs, but after the battle of Zāwa, in which Shaykh Husayn Jūrī was killed and the Sarbadār forces routed, he fell into the hands of Malik Mu’izzu’d-Dīn Kurt, by whom he was well received and treated with honour. Mu’izzu’d-Dīn Kurt reigned for forty years, not ingloriously, though not without occasional acts of barbarity, which were, unhappily, characteristic of that time, as when, after the capture of Bādghīs, he erected, in the style later made familiar by Timūr, two towers or minarets of the heads of his enemies. Finally he sickened and died in 771/1369–70, a date expressed in the following chronogram:

آنا كه جنان بر از زر و زور شود،
مانند حسین طُرِت در گور شود،
بر دالی دعا ن بر زنی یاد نکنی،
تاریخ وفات خسرو غور شود.

He was buried at Herāt by the side of the Ghūrī monarch Sultān Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām and of his own father Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Kurt, and was succeeded by his son Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Pīr ‘Alī. It was about this time that the shadow of Timūr (Tamerlane) began to fall over the land, but as usual his first advances were of a friendly character, and he gave his niece Sevinj Qutluq Aghā in marriage to Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Pīr ‘Alī’s son Pīr Muḥammad in or about the year 778/1376. Five years

1 The original words (Rawḍatul-Jannat, Mr Ellis’s ms., f. 147) are as follows:

جعیم مفسدان استیلا یافته بر خلایت سهر میکنند، اکر توافق
بابیر دفع ظالم طالبان نبایر و الا سرخود بر دار بی‌نیم که دیگر
تَحَّلّل تعذیب ظلم نداریم، بدین سبب ایشان را سربدار کند.
later, in the spring of A.D. 1381, early in his first Persian campaign, Timur occupied Herat, placed it and the adjacent territories under the control of his son Miran-shah, and carried off the Kurt ruler Ghiyathu'd-Din Fir 'Ali and his eldest son Fir Muhammad to Samarqand, where he imprisoned them, while two other members of the family, Amr Ghuri and Malik Muhammad, were similarly imprisoned at Andakhan. Soon afterwards, however, an abortive rebellion at Herat in A.D. 1389 furnished their captor with an excuse for putting them to death, and so ended the Kurt dynasty, a year after the extinction of their rivals the Sarbadars.

Amongst the four dynasties whose history has been briefly sketched above was Persia for the most part divided when, in the last quarter of the eighth century of the hijra and the fourteenth of the Christian era, Timur burst upon the land and ravaged it as Chingiz Khan had done some hundred and fifty years before. Between the two Central Asian conquerors there are many points of resemblance; both had to begin by consolidating their power and destroying rivals amongst their own people; both had passed the age of forty when they embarked on their invasions of Persia; and both were responsible for incalculable bloodshed and suffering. Two circumstances chiefly differentiate them, the fact that Chingiz Khan was a heathen while Timur was, in name at least, a Muhammadan; and the fact that, while Chingiz Khan was confronted with the great empire of the Khwarazmshahs, Timur found Persia, as we have seen, parcelled out amongst a number of petty rulers whose dominions had no fixed frontiers, and who were constantly at war with one another and even with ambitious members of their own families. That Timur was a Muhammadan certainly tended to mitigate in some measure, so far as Persia and other Muslim lands were concerned, a natural savagery not inferior to that of Chingiz, for he at least showed more respect for
shrines and sacred edifices, and for men reputed holy or learned. Yet we must not be misled by panegyrist like Sharafu'd-Din 'Ali Yazdi, author of the *Zafar-nāma* ("Book of Victory")\(^1\), who wrote under the patronage and for the pleasure of the conqueror; though we need not, on the other hand, endorse all the abusive language employed by the Arabic writer Ahmad ibn 'Arabshāh in his *Ajd ibn'l-Maqdār fi akhbari Tīmūr* ("Marvels of Destiny in the History of Tīmūr")\(^1\), where the conqueror is habitually described as "this traitor," "this criminal," "this mad dog," and the like. But Sharafu'd-Din's fulsome flattery is less tolerable than Ibn 'Arabshāh's abuse, for though he is unable to omit all mention of Tīmūr's massacres and pyramids of skulls, he does not scruple to declare that "his generous personality manifested the boundless grace of God, while the purest virtue and philanthropy were concealed in his light-seeking mind; and such acts of wrath and retribution as were ostensibly committed in the initial stages [of his conquests] by some of his world-endowed followers and partisans, as will be presently set forth, were prompted only by the exigencies of conquest and the necessities of world-empire."

As specimens of those acts mention may be made of his massacre of the people of Sīstān in 785/1383-4, when he caused some two thousand prisoners to be built up in a wall; his cold-blooded slaughter of a hundred thousand captive Indians near Dīhilf in 801 (December, 1398); his burying alive of four thousand Armenians in 803/1400-1, and the twenty towers of skulls erected by him at Aleppo and Damascus in the same year; and his massacre of 70,000 of the inhabitants of Iṣfahān in 789 (November, 1387), to quote only a few out of many similar instances of his callous indifference to bloodshed and human suffering. Sir John

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\(^1\) Published in two volumes at Calcutta in the *Bibliothea Indica* Series in 1887-8. This history, which comprises in this edition some 1560 pages, is prolix, tedious, florid and fulsome.  
\(^2\) Published at Leyden, 1636; Calcutta, 1818; Cairo, A.H. 1385, etc.  
Malcolm's judgements of Timūr will command the assent of all fair-minded students not blinded by a misplaced hero-worship of great conquerors, such as Alexander, Chingiz, Timūr or Napoleon, who deemed no price of human suffering too great for the gratification of their ambitions. "Such a leader as Timour," says Malcolm, in his excellent History of Persia, "must have been idolized by his soldiers; and, with an army of six or seven hundred thousand men attached to his person, he was careless of the opinion of other classes in the community. The object of this monarch was fame as a conqueror; and a noble city was laid in ashes, or the inhabitants of a province massacred, on a cold calculation that a dreadful impression would be made which would facilitate the purposes of his ambition. He pretended to be very religious, was rigid in performing his sacred duties, and paid attention to pious men; who, in return for his favour, used to assure him that God had given the countries of other monarchs to his victorious sword. The parade which he made of these prophecies proves that he either believed in them, or that he thought they might produce an effect favourable to his designs."

"From what has been said," observes this judicious historian a little further on, "we may pronounce that Timour, though one of the greatest of warriors, was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave and generous; but ambitious, cruel and oppressive. He considered the happiness of every human being as a feather in the scale, when weighed against the advancement of what he deemed his personal glory; and that appears to have been measured by the number of kingdoms which he laid waste, and the people that he destroyed. The vast fabric of his power had no foundation, it was upheld by his individual fame; and the moment that he died, his empire dissolved. Some fragments of it were seized by his children: but it was in India alone that they retained dominion for any length of time. In that country we yet perceive a faint and expiring trace of the former splendour of the Moghul dynasty; a pageant, supported by the British nation, still sits upon a throne at Delhi; and we view in him the gradual decline of human greatness, and wonder at the state to which a few centuries have reduced the lineal descendants of the great Timour."

Besides the two histories of Timūr already mentioned, the Persian Zafar-nāma of Shārāfu'd-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Arabic Aj'dībū'l-Maqdūr of Ibn 'Arabshāh, there exists a third contemporary history, unpublished, and, so far as is known, represented only by the unique MS. Add. 23,980 of the British Museum. This history, also written in Persian, and also entitled Zafar nāma, was undertaken at Timūr’s command in 804/1401-2 by Nizām-ı-Shāmī, and was concluded and presented to Timūr in 806/1403-4, just a year before his death. The author was living in Baghdād when it was taken by Timūr in 795/1393, and was the first person who came out to greet him. "God have mercy on thee," said Timūr, "for thou wert the first person to come forth from this city before me."

This history, conciser and less florid than the homonymous work of Shārāfu'd-Dīn, appears to deserve publication, and seems to have formed the basis of the later work. In writing this chapter I have had at my disposal not only my own brief notes on its contents, taken during spare hours in the British Museum, but also a complete transcript made for me by my friend Dr Ahmad Khān.

Reference must also be made to the so-called "Memoirs" and "Institutes" of Timūr (Māfīzāt and Tuzküd-i-Timūr), which, though translated into English from the Persian and widely quoted and used by European writers, are now generally, and I think properly, regarded by the best judges as apocryphal.

1 Sir John Malcolm's History was published in 1815, long before the Indian Mutiny, which led, among other results, to the final extinction of the dynasty of Timūr, commonly known as the "Great Moghuls."

2 MS., f. 99.
The Persian version of this book was first produced in the seventeenth century of our era, in the reign of Shāh Jahān (1628–1659), by a certain Abū Tālib al-Ḥusaynī, who professed to have translated it from a Turki original discovered by him in the library of a certain Ja‘far Pāshā, governor of Yaman (Arabia Felix). Of the existence of this Turki original no evidence whatever exists save this statement of Abū Tālib’s, and it appears much more likely that he himself compiled the Persian work, in imitation of Bābur’s authentic autobiography, with the aid of the Zafar-nāma and other histories of Tīmūr. A manuscript of this work was brought to England by Major Davy in 1779, and on his death in 1784 passed into the possession of his son. In 1779 he wrote to Dr White, then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, a high appreciation of this book and a vehement defence of its authenticity, and in 1783 both the text and translation of the “Institutes” were published in collaboration by these two. In 1787 Professor Langlès produced a French translation with the following cumbersome title: *Instituts politiques et militaires de Tamerlan, proprement appelé Timour, écrits par lui-même en Mongol, et traduits en Français, sur la version Persane d’Abou-Taleb Al-Hosseini, avec la Vie de ce Conquérant, d’après les meilleurs Auteurs Orientaux, des Notes, et des Tables Historique, Géographique, &c.* In 1830 Major Charles Stewart published an English translation of the *Mafṣūdat* or [pseudo] autobiographical Memoirs.

Not only as one of the greatest conquerors the world has ever seen, but as the ancestor of the so-called Moghul dynasty in India, Tīmūr has attracted the attention of many European (especially English) as well as Asiatic historians, and has furnished a subject for many writers. For the purposes of this book, in which the historical portion of the subject is necessarily subordinated to the literary, it will be sufficient to give a brief sketch of his career, based chiefly on the Zafar-nāma and Ibn ‘Arabshāh, especially that portion of it which is connected with Persia.

Tīmūr (a name which in Turkish signifies “Iron”) was born at Kash in Transoxiana on Sha’bān 28, 736 (April 11, 1336). As usual in the case of men who afterwards became famous, attempts are made by his panegyrists on the one hand to affiliate him (through Qarīchār Naydn) to the Mongol Royal House of Chingīz Khan, and on the other to surround his birth with all manner of portents indicative of his future greatness. Ibn ‘Arabshāh, on the other hand, merely gives the names of his father (Taraghāy) and his grandfather (Abghāy), says that “he and his father were herdsmen, belonging to a gang of rascals devoid alike of intelligence and religion,” and ascribes the limp to which he owed his sobriquet of “the Lame” (*Lang*) to a wound received while engaged in stealing sheep. His early adventures and the steps by which he gradually attained the leading position amongst his people need not here detain us, and it is sufficient to say that he first became prominent at the age of 24 in 761/1360; received the title of *Ṣāḥib-Qirdn* (“Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction”) ten years later when he succeeded in killing his rival Sultān Husayn in Sha’bān, 771 (March, 1370); spent six or seven years after this in consolidating his power in Transoxiana, and did not seriously turn his attention to Persia until the spring of A.D. 1381, when he was 45 years of age. In this first campaign, which lasted only for the inside of a year, his attention was confined to Khurasān. At Andakhūd he paid his respects to a more or less crazy dervish known as Bābā Sangū; and, with that superstition which was so strangely blended with his
ferocious energy, interpreted as a presage of victory the piece of meat which that holy but demented personage threw at his head. Sarakhs surrendered to him, and, after visiting another holy man, Zaynu'd-Din Abú Bakr, at Táyabád, he captured and destroyed Bóshanj. The reduction of Herát and submission of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír 'Ali, the Kurt ruler, followed; and thereafter came the turn of Tús, Isfárá'ín (which was levelled with the ground and many of its inhabitants slain), and Kalát. He then returned to Samarqand and Buhkárá for the winter.

In the spring of the following year (A.D. 1382) he continued his operations against Persia. At Kalát, where he encamped, he was joined by his son Mirán-sháh from Sarakhs and by the now 'submissive Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kurt from Herát; and, having established a blockade of this strong place, he passed on to Turshíz, which also surrendered to him. Here he received an ambassador from Sháh Shujá’, the Muẓaffarí ruler of Fárs, whose daughter he demanded in marriage for his grandson Pír Muhammad. Having received the submission of Amir Wáli, the ruler of Mázandárán, Tímr returned for the winter to Samarqand, his capital, where he was for a while plunged in sorrow by the death of his wife Dilshád Aghá and her elder sister Qutlugh Turkin Aghá.

In the autumn of A.D. 1383, after despatching an expedition against the heathen Mongols to pursue Qamaru'd-Dín, Tímr again set out on a campaign against Mázandárán and Sístán. Towards the end of October he attacked Sabzáwár, undermined and destroyed the citadel, and took captive some two thousand persons, whom “he piled alive on another, compacted them with bricks and clay, and erected minarets, so that men, being apprised of the majesty of his wrath, might not be seduced by the demon of arrogance, and so cast themselves into the pit of wailing and destruction.” Having received the submission of Faráh, he attacked Ziríh, which was fiercely defended by some five thousand men, most of whom were slain, and their heads built up into minarets. In December Sístán fell before his onslaught, and “whatever was in that country, from potsherds to royal pearls, and from the finest fabrics to the very nails in the doors and walls, was swept away by the winds of spoliation, while the lightning of rapine, comprehending alike the greater and the less of that land, consumed moist and dry together.” After reducing two or three other fortresses, and constructing more pyramids of the skulls of his enemies, Tímr captured Qandáhár, hanged the commander of the garrison, and returned to his capital Samarqand, where he allowed himself a period of repose lasting three months.

It would be tedious, and, in a work of this character, out of place to describe in detail the almost annual campaigns which occupied the remaining twenty years of Tímr’s life, but in brief they were as follows:

In 786/1384–5 Tímr invaded Mázandárán and Ádharbájándose, wintered at Ray, continued his campaign in the spring of 1385, and, having reduced the Caspian provinces and the North of Persia as far as Súltániyya, returned to his capital Samarqand for the winter.

In 788/1386–7 Tímr, seeing the distracted state of Persia, determined to effect its total subjugation, and set out on a three years’ campaign against that country. He first marched against Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín, the ruler of Luristán, sacked Durújírd and Khurramábád, and caused many of his opponents to be cast alive over precipices. He next marched on Tabríz, where Súltáán Ahmad Jalá'ír had collected an army to oppose him, but on his approach the latter, deeming discretion the better part of valour, retreated to Nakhuwánsí, and, after a fierce battle, succeeded in making good his escape. Tímr spent the summer at Tabríz, and despatched thence to Samarqand a selection of the most skilful artificers and craftsmen whom he could find in the conquered city. In the autumn he crossed the Araxes,
pushed forward towards Nakhjiván, and, having subdued the strong fortress of Qārs, proceeded to devastate Gurjistān (Georgia). Having captured Tiflis, and, indulged in a great hunting-expedition, in which the game slain was so abundant that most of it was left to rot on the ground, he returned to winter quarters in Qar-P-Bagh.

In the spring of A.D. 1387 (A.H. 789) Tīmūr renewed his campaign in Asia Minor, subdued the cities of Bayazid, Erzeroum, Erzinjān, Mūsh, Akhlāt and Vān, and received the submission of Salmās and Urmiya, and in the autumn, in consequence of the refusal of the Muẓaffārī prince Zaynu’l-ʿAbidīn to appear before him, he marched against Fārs. On the way thither he entered ʿIsfahān, and levied a heavy contribution on the people of that city. This provoked a riot, in which a good many of Tīmūr’s tax-collectors and agents were killed, and Tīmūr took a terrible revenge, making a general massacre of the people, in which it is computed that 70,000 perished, whose heads were counted and afterwards built up into minarets. This happened on Monday, Nov. 18, 1387. Tīmūr then continued his march to Shīrāz, which submitted to him in the following month (Dec. 1387), and it is on this occasion that the legendary interview between the great conqueror and the poet Ḥāfīz is supposed to have taken place. Dawlatshāh, who relates the anecdote, with characteristic inaccuracy assigns this meeting to the year 795/1395–6, when Ḥāfīz had been dead for four years. The story, which is probably entirely apocryphal, is that Tīmūr summoned Ḥāfīz to his presence and upbraided him for the well-known verse in which he says:

"If that unkindly Shīrāz Turk would take my heart within her hand,
I’d give Bukhārā for the mole upon her cheek, or Samarkand."

"With the blows of my lustrous sword," exclaimed Tīmūr, "have I subjugated most of the habitable globe, and laid waste thousands of towns and countries to embellish Samarqand and Bukhārā, my native towns and the seats of my government; and you, miserable wretch that you are, would sell them both for the black mole of a Turk of Shīrāz!"

"Sire," replied Ḥāfīz, with a deep obeisance, "it is through such prodigality that I have fallen on such evil days!" Tīmūr is said to have been so much delighted by this quick rejoinder that he not only refrained from punishing the poet but gave him a handsome present. There is a variant of the story, which I have heard in Persia but not met with in any book, according to which Ḥāfīz replied, "They have misquoted me: what I really wrote was not

\[ \text{Bi-khāl-i-khundwāsh bakhsham Samarqand u Bukhārā-rā} \]

but—

\[ \text{Bi-khāl-i-khundwāsh bakhsham du man qand u si khurmd-rā} \]

I would give for the mole on her cheek two maunds of sugar and three dates."

No mention of any such meeting occurs in contemporary biographers of Tīmūr, such as Sharafu’d-Dīn ‘Allī of Yazd, nor have I met with any trustworthy evidence in support of it.

To return to Tīmūr’s invasion of Fārs. Zaynu’l-ʿAbidīn, the Muẓaffārī prince, had fled to his cousin Shāh Manṣūr, governor of Shūstār in the S.W. of Persia, who, violating alike the bonds of kinship and claims of hospitality, cast him into prison. Most of the other princes of the House of Muẓaffar, as well as the Atābeks of Luristān and other petty rulers, waited on Tīmūr at Shīrāz and tendered their submission. But, even in the moment of his triumph, news was brought to the conqueror by a messenger, who had accomplished the long journey from Samarqand to Shīrāz in the incredibly short space of seventeen days, that a fresh revolt of the stiff-necked Tūqāʿmish required the presence of Tīmūr to defend his own realms. Thereupon, in February, 1388, he at once set out for Samarqand, bearing with him, as part of his spoils, the learned Sayyid-i-Sharīf-i-

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1 Zafar-nāma, i, p. 404.
2 Ibid., p. 435.
3 See pp. 305-6 of my edition.
Jurlání, and appointing the Mużaffarí princes Šáh Yahyá, Sultán Muḥammad, Sultán Ahmad and Sultán Abú Ḥisháq governors of Šíťráz, Isfahán, Kirmán and Sīrján respectively.

For the next four years and a half Tūmūr was engaged in warfare against Ṭūqátmish, the Mongols, the realm of Khvárazm or Khiva, and other northern peoples, and Persia enjoyed a brief rest from his attentions, though a rebellion which broke out in the summer of 1389 in Khu-rásán (apparently prompted by reports of his defeat at the hands of Ṭūqátmish) was put down in the usual bloody and barbarous fashion by Míránsháh, especially at Ťús, where some ten thousand persons were massacred, and their heads built up into pyramids or minarets.

On the last day of July, 1392, Tūmūr, after some delay occasioned by a serious illness, once again crossed the Oxus on another of his devastating campaigns in the South. This, known as the “Five Years’ Campaign” (Yūrīsh-i-panj-sāla') included the Caspian provinces, Fārs (where he exterminated the princes of the Mużaffarí dynasty, as already described at p. 169 supra), Armenia, Georgia, Mesopotamia, and South Russia. In Gurgīn and Mázandarān he came in contact with certain heretical Sayyids, many of whom he slew, “delivering those regions from the mischievous influence of those misguided communists.” Sharafu’d-Dīn’s account of their tenets is neither clear nor detailed, but it appears highly probable that they belonged to the heretical Ḥurūfī sect, whose founder, Fadlu’llāh, appeared, preached his doctrines, and suffered death in Tūmūr’s reign, and was a native of Astarābād. We shall have more to say about him and his doctrine presently.

In the latter part of December, 1392, Tūmūr, having received a visit from his wives and family, set out for South Persia, travelling by way of Dāmghān, šāmīnān, Ray, Qazwīn, Sultānīyya, Kurdistān, and Burūjird (which he reached on February 14, 1393'), and putting to death on his way many of the Lurs. He reached Dīzful on March 2 and Šīšhtar a day or two later, and thence set out for Šīťráz. On his way thither he captured the strong fortress of Qal‘a-i-Safīd and released the blinded captive prince Zayn-ul-ʿĀbidīn, whom he treated with honour and promised vengeance on Šīťráz Mansūr. Nor was this vengeance long delayed, for, as already narrated, Šīťráz Mansūr was slain in battle a few days later, while most of the remaining princes of the House of Mużaffar were put to death by Tūmūr’s order on May 22, 1393. “All the most skilful of the craftsmen and artisans of the provinces of Fārs and ‘Īrāq,” were, according to Sharafu’d-Dīn ‘Alī of Yazd, transferred by Tūmūr to Samarqand.

On August 10 Tūmūr, who was approaching Baghdād was visited by Shaykh Nūru’d-Dīn ‘Abdu’r-Rahmān of Isfārā’īn, who came as an ambassador from Sultān Ahmad Jalā’īr to make his excuses for not waiting on Tūmūr in person. His excuses were ill received by Tūmūr, who nevertheless treated the Shaykh with the respect which, according to the Zāfar-nāma (p. 629), he habitually accorded to learned and pious men. Shortly afterwards he entered Baghdād and occupied the palace of Sultān Ahmad, who fled before him. Some of Tūmūr’s amīrs went in pursuit, overtook the fugitives near Karbalā, and captured much spoil and some of the wives and sons of Sultān Ahmad, who, however, succeeded in making his escape. His son ‘Alā’u’d-Dawla, together with his wives, a selection of the most skilful artisans of Baghdād, and the celebrated musician Khwāja ‘Abdu’l-Qādir, were sent to Samarqand by Tūmūr, who also despatched an ambassador to Barqūq al-Maliku’z-Zāhir, the ruler of Egypt, with a view to concluding a treaty of friendship and commercial intercourse with him.

Tūmūr’s next exploit was the reduction of the strong fortress of Takrit, which was gallantly defended. Finally, however, the defenders were overcome and put to death, and their heads built up into minarets. Continuing his march

\[1\] Zāfar-nāma, i. pp. 561 et seqq.
\[2\] Ibid., pp. 576-7.
\[3\] Ibid., p. 587.
northwards he passed by Karkūk, Arbīl, Mawṣīl (Mosul) and Rawḥā, where, in March, 1394, he was overtaken by stormy and rainy weather, and compelled by this and the disobedience of Malik ʿIzzūʾ-Dīn to return to Mesopotamia. Having in a brief space of time dealt with this rebellious chieftain, Tīmūr again turned northwards and reduced the fortress of Mārdīn. Luckily for the garrison, news had just reached Tīmūr of the birth, at Sulṭānīyya, on March 22, 1394, of a grandson, the afterwards celebrated Ulūgh Bey, son of Shāh-rukh, and this put Tīmūr in such good humour that he spared their lives, which would otherwise have certainly been forfeited. Āmid (Diyār Bakr) next succumbed to his victorious arms in April, but he had to abandon his attempt to raze the fortifications on account of their extraordinary strength and solidity. He then passed on to Siwās, Mūsh, Bitlis, Akhlāt and Aydīn, halting for a while in the Plain of Ὁλα-δάγh to receive his wives and younger children, who came to visit him from Sulṭānīyya, and despatching an army in pursuit of his enemy Qara Yūsuf and his Turkmān followers. At the end of July, 1394, he captured the fortress of Aynak, on the upper waters of the Araxes, and sent its defender, Miṣr the son of Qara Yūsuf, to Samarqand, together with Sulṭān ʿĪsā, the ex-governor of Mārdīn. He next invaded Georgia and occupied Tiflis. Fortunately for Persia, a fresh menace on the part of his old enemy Tūqātmīsh compelled Tīmūr at this juncture, towards the end of February, 1395, to march northwards to defend his own territories, and this, with the ensuing campaign in Southern Russia, in the course of which he penetrated as far as Moscow, kept him occupied for more than a year. During and in consequence of his absence several revolts broke out in Persia, such as that of Qara Yūsuf the Turkmān in ʿĀdharbāyjān; of Gūdarz (probably a Zoroastrian) at Sirjān; of Sulṭān Muljamūn, son of

1 Zafar-nāma, i, p. 680.
2 Ibid., p. 735.
3 Ibid., p. 757.
4 Ibid., p. 684.
5 Ibid., p. 761.
6 Ibid., pp. 784-5.

ABŪ Saʿīd of Tabas, and some Khurāsān soldiers who had formerly been in the service of the Muẓaffāri dynasty at Yazd; and of Buhūl at Nihāwānd. All these revolts were quickly and sternly repressed, and the ringleader of that last mentioned, Buhūl, was burned alive. The ensuing month of Ramaḍān was passed by Tīmūr at Hamadān "in obedience and devotion to the Divine Benefactor, and in the observance of the obligations of fasting and vigils and of every kind of religious rite and ceremony." He then, having ordered his generals to subdue the whole Persian shore of the gulf from Kūhzistān to Hurrūmūz, set out on July 18, 1396, for Samarqand.

On this occasion Tīmūr remained quiet at his capital for a longer period than usual, and devoted a good deal of attention to beautifying it and its environs by the labours of "the expert engineers and skilful architects who had been gathered to the Royal Metropolis from every clime and country from East to West." He also gave a series of gorgeous banquets, of which one of the chief was to celebrate the conferring of the kingdom of Khurāsān, including Sīstān and Māzandarān, from Fīruskūh to Ray, on his son Shāh-rukh, which happened in May, 1397. Less than a year later, in the spring of 1398, he set out on his Indian campaign, instigated thereto, as asserted in the Zafar-nāma, by his desire to promote Islam and crush idolatry, and by the accounts which reached him of the toleration shown by the Muslim rulers towards their Hindū subjects and neighbours. After some preliminary operations against the Afghāns (or Awghāns) of the Sulaymān Kūh and the Sīyāh-pūsh ("Black-robed") heathen of Kāfriṣtān, he crossed the Indus on Muharram 12, 801 (Sept. 24, 1398) and proceeded to carry fire and sword into India. It is unnecessary for our purpose to follow these operations in detail. They were characterized by the usual bloodshed and barbarities, amongst the worst of which was the massacre

1 Ibid., i, p. 788.
2 Ibid., ii, p. 6.
3 Ibid., i, pp. 803-4.
4 Ibid., ii, p. 15.
in cold blood of 100,000 Indian prisoners near Delhi on December 12, 1398. Compared to this monstrous crime the horrors enacted a few days later at Delhi, and the massacre of 10,000 persons a month earlier at Batnur sink into insignificance.

Reports of troubles in Persia (especially in Ardharbeyjan, where his son, Mira-nshah, to whom the government of this important province had been entrusted, was courting disaster by his insane vagaries, generally ascribed to an injury to his head caused by a fall from his horse) impelled Timur to cut short his Indian campaign early in the year A.D. 1399, and to hasten homewards. He crossed the Indus on his return journey on March 8 of that year, five months and seventeen days after he had crossed it at the beginning of his campaign, and the Oxus three weeks later. On April 7 he reached his native town of Kash or Shahr-i-Sabz (the "Green City"), and entered Samarqand, his capital, on April 27. A fortnight later (May 9, 1399) he laid the foundation-stone of the magnificent mosque (Masjid-i-Jami) which he had long intended to erect for the embellishment of his metropolis.

On September 9, 1399, Timur again quitted Samarqand for Ardharbeyjan, where the erratic conduct of his son Mira-nshah, of which fresh accounts continued to reach him, urgently demanded his attention. At Aywának, near Ray, he was joined by his son Shahr-rukh and by another army which he had despatched by way of Mazandaran. Mira-nshah was induced to come to his father's camp to render account of his misconduct, which included the waste or embezzlement of a large proportion of the revenues, the putting to death on mere suspicion of certain men of consequence against whom he had conceived a spite, the wanton destruction of certain historic buildings, and the exhumation of the eminent Minister and historian Rashidul-din Fa'alu'llah, whose body he caused to be re-interred in the Jews' cemetery. Mira-nshah was punished by his father's displeasure and the virtual transference of the authority he had misused to his son Abú Bakr, but Timur's fiercest wrath fell upon certain minstrels and poets who had been Mira-nshah's boon-companions, and who were alleged to have corrupted his principles and encouraged his extravagances. Several of these, namely Mawlání Muhammad of Quhistán, "who, together with a complete mastery of the technicalities of the various sciences, was unique in his age and the marvel of his time in verse and prose composition, both serious and frivolous," Qutb-ud-Din Nā'ī, Hābīb-ī-'Udī and 'Abdu-l-Mū'mīn the rhapsodist, were condemned to death on this charge and hanged at or near Qazwín. According to Dawlatshah, Muhammad of Quhistán must needs indulge his propensity for jesting even on the scaffold. Turning to Qutb-ud-Din, one of his fellow-victims, he said, "You had precedence in the King's company: precede me, therefore, here also." "O unlucky heretic," replied the other, "do you bring matters to this pass, and cannot you cease jesting yet?" When it came to Muhammad's turn to die, he recited the following punning verse:

"'A'īnān ḥārāt wa 'Ākhir do'rast muddhā;  
Minaṣṣūr wa 'Ākhir bāro bin dá'ār;  
Manṣūr-e-bayān dar bayān bayādar nist;  
"Tis the end of the matter and the last round, O heretic!  
Whether thou goest or not, the choice is no longer in thy hand!  
If they lead thee, like Manṣūr, to the foot of the gibbet (pāy-yi-dār),  
Stand firm (pāy-yi-dār) like a man, for the world is not enduring (pāy-yi-dār)!"

1 Zafar-nāma ii, p. 92.
The campaign on which Timur was now embarked, and which included some of his most remarkable achievements, is called by Sharafa’ud-Din ‘Ali Yazdi (ii, 206) the “Seven Years’ Campaign.” As it began about Muḥarram 8, 802 (Sept. 10, 1399), and as Timur returned to his capital, Samarqand, in Muḥarram, 807 (July, 1404), this appellation must be regarded as a misnomer. Even the abridged account of the many bloody battles and brilliant victories included in this period which is given in Price’s *Chronological Retrospect* fills 166 quarto pages, and in this place it must suffice to indicate only its chief events.

The winter of A.D. 1399-1400 was spent by Timur in Qaribāgh near the Araxes, and ere spring had melted the snows he once more invaded Georgia, devastated the country, destroyed the churches and monasteries, and slew great numbers of the inhabitants. In August, 1400, he began his march into Asia Minor by way of Avnik, Erzeroum, Erzjinān and Sivas. The latter place offered a stubborn resistance, and when it finally capitulated Timur caused all the Armenian and Christian soldiers to the number of four thousand to be buried alive; but the Muhammadans he spared. Meanwhile an animated correspondence was taking place between him and the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid, called Yıldırım (the “Thunder-bolt”), from whom Timur demanded the surrender of Sulfin Ahmad of Baghdād and Qarā Yūsf the Turkmen. This Bayazid refused, as, until a very recent occasion, the Turks have ever been wont to refuse such betrayal of guests; and, moreover, as must be admitted, and as will presently be seen, he couched his refusal in language little calculated to appease his great rival. With the Sultan of Egypt also (al-Maliku’n-Nāṣir Faraj) Timur became embroiled by reason of the unlawful detention of his ambassador at Cairo, and thus the campaign became diverted not only against the territories over which the two fugitive kings had reigned respectively, but against the Ottoman and Egyptian, and incidentally the Syrian lands.

After taking ‘Aynīb, Timur besieged and reduced Aleppo in October, 1400, and there captured and sent with other spoils of war to Samarqand his future historian Mawlidā Naẓmud-Din called Shaḥīl (the “Syrian”). Having next subdued in turn Ḥama, Ḥims (Emessa) and Ba’labakk (Baalbek) he proceeded to invest Damascus. Here an assassin, instigated by al-Maliku’n-Nāṣir, Sultan of Egypt, attempted his life, but failed and was put to death. Damascus surrendered, but again revolted, and was again subdued in March, 1401, when it finally submitted, and suffered Timur’s name to be inserted in the *khzāna*, after it had suffered the horrors of Tartar incendiarism and looting. Another portion of Timur’s army ravaged the Syrian coast as far south as ‘Akkā.

Timur next turned his attention to Baghdād, the capital of the recalcitrant Sultan Ahmad Jalā’īr, and, having taken it, made, on June 20, 1401, a great massacre, in revenge for the many notable officers of his army who had perished in the siege. Each soldier was ordered to bring a head, and in the words of Sharafa’ud-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, “the market of retribution became so brisk that the broker of death sold at one price the old man of eighty and the child of eight, while the oven of wrath was so enkindled that it consumed in like manner the corporeal vestiture of the wealthy plutocrat and the wretched pauper.”

Having left Baghdād a smoking charnel-house, Timur again turned his attention to the unfortunate Georgians, until the approach of winter drove him in November, 1401, into his winter quarters at Qarabāgh. About the middle of February, 1

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1 Published in London in 4 vols., 1811-1821. The portion to which reference is made is vol. iii, Part i, pp. 297-463.
1402, he prepared to attack the Ottoman Sultán Bāyāzīd, from whom he had received another defiant letter which goaded him to fury. On July 20, 1402, was fought the memorable battle of Angora, in which the Ottoman Turks were utterly defeated and their Sultán, Bāyāzīd, “the Thunderbolt,” taken prisoner. The well-known story that Timūr confined him in a cage and carried him about with him wherever he went is now generally discredited. No mention of this is made, I think, by Sharafu’d-Dīn ‘Ali of Yazd and other Persian historians of Timūr, and the story may have arisen from an expression used by Ibn ‘Arabshāh, who, as already mentioned, hated Timūr, and sought always to represent his actions in the worst light. The expression in question is:

وَفَقَّعَ أَبِنَ عَلِيٍّ في قَنْصٍ، وَصَارَ مُفْقَدًا حَتَّى خَاتَمَهَا إِلَى الْقَدْسِ

“The son of ‘Osmān fell into a hunter’s snare, and became confined like a bird in a cage.”—

a phrase which it is not necessary to take literally, and which may well have been employed metaphorically and to fulfil the exigencies of the rhymed prose in which Ibn ‘Arabshāh’s work is composed. Sharafu’d-Dīn explicitly says that when Bāyāzīd, with hands bound, was brought before Timūr, the latter, after reproaching him for his previous contumacy, expressing his regret at having been compelled to make war on a fellow-believer who had rendered such signal services to Islām, and reminding him how he would have probably behaved to the conqueror had their respective positions been reversed, concluded by saying that “in gratitude for the victory and help vouchsafed to him by the mercy of God” he would do naught but good to his captive and the other Turkish prisoners.

1 It is, however, accepted by Professor H. A. Gibbons in his very interesting work on the Foundation of the Ottoman Empire (Oxford, 1916). See his long foot-note on p. 255, where the matter is very fully discussed.

brought close before him that he might see them better; for his eyesight was bad, he being so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely. He received them graciously, enquiring, "How is my son the king? Is he in good health?" and then turned to the nobles who stood round him, saying, "Behold! here are the ambassadors sent by my son the King of Spain, who is the greatest King of the Franks, and lives at the end of the world. The Franks are truly a great people, and I will give my benediction to the King of Spain, my son. It would have sufficed if he had sent you to me with the letter, and without the presents, so well satisfied am I to hear of his health and prosperous state."

The Spanish envoys were subsequently entertained at several banquets, of which Clavijo gives detailed descriptions, and saw Timür several times. They seem to have been much struck by the quantities of meat and wine consumed, and the frequent drunkenness. "The drinking," says Clavijo (p. 148), "was such that some of the men fell down drunk before her" (Caño, wife of Timür); "and this was considered very jovial, for they think there can be no pleasure without drunken men." On another occasion (Oct. 9, 1404), besides the banquet, they were treated to an exhibition of Timür's "justice," for "in the place where the traders had pitched their tents, he ordered a great number of gallows to be set up; and declared that, in this festival, he knew how to be merciful and kind to some, and how to be severe to others." On these gallows he forthwith hanged several persons of quality, besides "certain traders who had sold meat for more than it was worth," and some shoemakers. "The custom is," adds Clavijo, "that, when a great man is put to death, he is hanged; but the meaner sort are beheaded"—a curious inversion of the mediaeval practice in England.

The ambassadors do not seem to have seen Timür after November 1, 1404, on the morrow of which day "he did not come out of his tent, because he felt ill." They were bidden by the Mirzás, or Secretaries of the Court, to depart, but this they at first declined to do until they should receive their dismissal from Timür and his messages and compliments to their own King. Finally, however, they were compelled to leave without another audience (Timür being then, as they were led to believe, sick unto death) and quitted the city on November 18 with the "ambassadors from Turkey" and "the ambassador from the Sultan of Babylon." After remaining for three days in a garden outside the town, they started on their homeward journey on November 21, 1404. They reached Tabrīz on February 28, 1405, and were delayed there and at the camp of 'Umar Shaykh Mirzā in Qarābāgh for six months, not leaving Tabrīz on their homeward march until August 22. After passing through Armenia, of whose inhabitants Clavijo says that "the Christian Armenians are an evil race, who would not let the ambassadors pass until they had given up some of their property," they reached Trebizond on September 17, Constantinople on October 22, 1405, Genoa on January 3, 1406, and San Lucar in Spain on March 1 of the same year, after an absence of nearly three years.

But few notices of this Embassy occur in the Persian historians, though mention is made of it by Sharafu'd-Din 'Ali of Yazd, who says: "At this juncture there arrived an ambassador from the ruler (fārān-dīh) of the Frankish realms, who presented many fine gifts and presents, and a variety of offerings and oblations," amongst which "certain tissues adorned with designs and pictures which would have filled Manes with despair" specially aroused the author's admiration. He also mentions on the next page the presence of the Spaniards at one of the banquets given by Timür, adding that "even chaff finds its way into the sea," and, a few pages lower, chronicles their departure.

By this time Timür was apparently recovered from his indisposition, tired of the settled life, and eager for fresh

1. Žafar-nāma, ii, p. 598.
2. Ibid., p. 633.
adventures, and he resolved to undertake a campaign against China in order to destroy the temples of the heathen, spread the true faith, and incidentally enrich himself and his army with the spoils of that spacious, ancient and wealthy land. After making all necessary arrangements for the campaign and for the administration of his vast territories during his absence, he set out from Samarkand on his eastward march on November 27, 1404. The winter was exceptionally severe, and the army, after suffering much from the cold, crossed the Jaxartes (Sihân) on the ice, and reached Utrá on January 14, 1405. A month later Timur fell ill, and, though treated by Mawláná Faḍlulláh of Tábríz, who was accounted one of the most skilful physicians of his age, his sickness increased and complications set in until he finally succumbed, a week after the first attack, on February 18, 1405, being then seventy-one [lunar] years of age, and having reigned thirty-six years. His mind remained clear to the last, and having nominated his grandson Pir Muhammad-i-Jahángír to succeed him as ruler of his vast empire, he embodied his last wishes in a discourse which is fully reported by Sharafu’l-Dín1, and died with the profession of the faith of Islám on his lips.

The character of Timur has been differently appraised by those who are dazzled by his military achievements on one hand, and those who are disgusted by his cruelty and utter disregard of human life on the other. One factor in such judgement is the acceptance or rejection of the much discussed and quoted TusÍkdt, or “Institutes,” which profess to contain Timur’s own philosophy of Empire. Thus Gibbon says, in a foot-note in ch. lxv, that though he “did not expect to hear of Timour’s amiable moderation”...he “can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the Institutes,” though in the corresponding portion of the text, he criticizes him pretty severely, and admits that “perhaps we shall conclude that the Mogul Emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind.” Sir John Malcolm’s very judicious observations have been already cited1. Sir Clements R. Markham2 says that, although Timur’s conquests were the cause of much suffering to the human race, yet “he certainly was not the remorseless tyrant he is represented by [Ibn] ‘Arabsháh and his other enemies,” and that “there is evidence that he had loftier aims than the mere gratification of his lust for conquest.” He adds3 that though “the name of Timur is frequently coupled with that of Chingiz Khán, yet the latter was a rude uncultivated barbarian, while there is evidence that the former was versed in all the knowledge of his age and country.”

As regards the facts of Timur’s life, there is little difference of opinion: his massacres and pyramids of skulls are equally chronicled by his panegyrists, Sharafu’l-Dín ‘Ali of Yazd and Nizám-i-Shámí, and his detractor Ibn ‘Arabsháh, though the former affect to regard them as “manifestations of the Divine Attributes of Wrath” (SÝkát-i-faddîyya or Qahriyya), and the latter as the outcome of diabolic malignity. The latter view appears to me the more reasonable and natural; and as for the “Institutes,” which supply a quasi-philosophic basis for this policy of “frightfulness,” I incline to the reasoned opinion expressed by Rieu4 that they are spurious.

Before closing this brief account of Timur, some reference should be made to certain despatches which passed between him and the Ottoman Sultan Bâyazîd and others, of which the texts are preserved in an important collection of State Papers known as the Munshi du-i-Firidún Bey, of which a good edition was printed at Constantinople in Jumáda II, A.H. 1274 (February, 1858). The compiler of this work, Ahmad Firidún, known as Tawqût (Tevqót), flourished in the middle of the tenth

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century of the Muhammadan (sixteenth of the Christian) era, and composed, besides the Munšha'dt (compiled in 982/1574–5), a history entitled Nuz-hat'ul-Akhbár. The first volume of the Munšha'dt comprises State Papers ranging in date from the time of the Prophet (seventh century of the Christian era) to the middle of the sixteenth century. It contains 626 large pages, of which pp. 118–142 contain letters to, from, or about Timur, as follows:

1. Letter from Qarā Yūsuf to Sultan Bāyazīd, written in Persian and undated, complaining of the aggressions of Timūr, whom the writer describes as “that quickener of the fire of evil and trouble and agitator of the chain of mischief and insolence, Timūr the object of Divine Wrath (may God destroy and crush him!),” and demanding help from Bāyazīd (pp. 118–119).

2. Bāyazīd’s answer to the above, also written in Persian and undated (p. 119).

3. Letter from Timūr to Bāyazīd, written in Arabic and undated, requiring in peremptory language that no shelter shall be afforded to Qarā Yūsuf and Sultān Ahmad, and warning the Ottoman Sultan against disobedience to this command (pp. 120–1).

4. Bāyazīd’s answer to the above, also written in Arabic and undated. This begins (after the doxology), “Know, O raving dog named Timūr,” and hurls defiance at the invader, daring him to advance (p. 121).

5. Letter from Sultān Ahmad Jalā’īr of Baghdād to Sultan Bāyazīd, written in Persian and undated. The writer describes how, after the capture of Baghdād and the two ‘Irāqs by Timūr, he withdrew to Malatya and Siwās to await the arrival of Qarā Yūsuf, according to Bāyazīd’s instructions, and how in conjunction they attacked, routed and annihilated the Uzbeks who formed the vanguard of Timūr’s army, but were awaiting with certainty an attack from his main army so soon as news of this disaster should reach him (pp. 124–5).

6. Bāyazīd’s answer to the above, announcing that, in consequence of the news received from Sultān Ahmad, he has concluded peace with the “Tekfur,” or Byzantine Emperor, and has advanced to Tōzāt to aid in checking the invasion of Timūr (p. 125). Dated Shābān, 798 (May, 1396).

7. Second letter from Timūr to Bāyazīd, written in Persian and undated. It begins with a “salutation tempered with reproach” (salam-i-‘itâb-dâmte), describes the writer’s forty years’ career of conquest, and how he has now advanced to Siwās, and taunts his adversaries with their failure to capture Malatya and Sinope. He is still, however, ready to come to terms, since he is unwilling that the dissensions of Muslims should afford fresh opportunity to the “Frankish infidels” to pursue their schemes of aggression. In conclusion he describes himself as of the family of the Ī-khāns, and demands a speedy and conciliatory answer to his overtures (pp. 126–7).

8. Bāyazīd’s answer to the above, also in Persian and undated. The writer boasts of the martial prowess of the Turks, reminds Timūr how his ancestor Er-Toghril with 300 horsemen routed 10,000 “Tartar and Mongol heathens,” and rehearses other like glorious deeds of his predecessors. He claims to be the protector of the Muslims, and declares that “hitherto not one of the House of ‘Othmān has sought by flattery to turn aside an enemy, or has had recourse to deceit or guile” (pp. 127–8).

9. Timūr’s third letter to Bāyazīd, written in Persian and undated, acknowledging a letter sent by means of the Qādī Farḍū’l-Dīn and a person named Najāshī, and expressing a desire for friendship and alliance. Timūr alludes to his Syrian campaign, objects to the Sultans of Egypt calling themselves “Kings of the two Holy Shrines” (Sultānul-Haramayn), and complains of the return of Sultān Ahmad Jalā’īr to Baghdād (pp. 128–131).

10. Bāyazīd’s answer to the above, written in Persian. It is couched in much politer language than his previous
letters, but declines absolutely to surrender Sultán Ahmad Jalá'ír and Qará Yúsuf, which, says the writer, would be entirely incompatible with the Ottoman traditions of hospitality. He alludes to the continuance in Egypt of the lawful descendants of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, and calls on Timúr, if his intentions are really peaceful, to surrender Siwás (pp. 131–2).

(11) Timúr's fourth letter to Bázayíd. In this letter he boasts his orthodoxy and adherence to the Sunni creed, denounces the actions of Sultán Ahmad Jalá'ír and Qará Yúsuf, and demands their banishment from Ottoman territory, and an apology from Bázayíd (pp. 132–4).

(12) Bázayíd's answer to the above (pp. 134–5).

(13) Letters from Sháh Mansúr, the nephew of Sháh Shujá', the Mu'azzarrí ruler of Shírz, to Bázayíd, written in Persian after Dhu'l Qa'da, 802 (June–July, 1400), describing the mischief wrought by "the accursed ones of Chaghatáy," and the deceitfulness and cunning of "that sinner and rebel" Timúr (pp. 135–9).

(14) Bázayíd's answer to the above. He abuses Timúr, alludes to the depredations wrought by him in Fārs and at Shírz, and states that, though actually engaged in an attempt to capture Constantinople, he is preparing to abandon this in order to attack Timúr (pp. 139–40).

(15) Timúr's fifth letter to Bázayíd, written from Marágha in Persian, but undated. He alludes to his capture of Baghhdád, and, after quoting a verse to the effect that to win the whole world it is not worth vexing even an ant, indulges in veiled threats as to what he will do if Bázayíd still refuses to listen to his demands (pp. 140–2).

Here ends the correspondence between Timúr and Bázayíd preserved by Firidún Bey.

It only remains to be added that Timúr's corpse was conveyed across the frozen Khujand River on the night of Feb. 19, 1405, and interred four days later at Samarqand, while the Chinese campaign—happily for that people—was finally abandoned.

CHAPTER V.

THE POETS AND WRITERS OF THE TIME OF TIMÚR.

Attention has already been called to the curious but indisputable fact that in Persia, at any rate, periods of great turmoil and disorder have generally produced the finest poetry, while periods of relative prosperity, when the country was under a strong and stable government, have generally been singularly barren in this respect1. In comparatively modern times Persia has never been more strong, united and prosperous than under the Safawi dynasty (A.D. 1502–1736), more particularly during the sixteenth century; yet, though, not only in military strength, national unity and commerce, but also in the arts (especially architecture and painting) and the sciences (especially theology), this period was particularly brilliant, it hardly produced a single poet of commanding genius or wide-spread reputation; a phenomenon of which the causes will be discussed when we come to speak of the epoch in question. The period with the literary aspects of which we are now about to deal is, on the other hand, as will have been sufficiently apparent from the preceding chapter, one of anarchy, misery and bloodshed; yet it would be hard to indicate any period of seventy years (A.D. 1335–1405) which produced so many remarkable poets, a galaxy of talent in which the great Ḥáfiz is merely the brightest of many brilliant stars. Probably the existence of numerous little courts, each anxious to rival and excel the others, is favourable to the development of poetical talent, since the poet who fails to win appreciation from one royal patron can easily find another who may prove more susceptible to his song; while, when there is but one capital

1 Cf. pp. 160–1 supra.
and one court, he who fails there (not necessarily from lack of talent so much as from lack of opportunity, ill fortune, or the machinations of jealous rivals) is likely to be permanently discouraged, or at least to remain unknown outside his own immediate circle.

From this point of view, Persia, immediately after the collapse of the Mongol power, and before the irruption of Timur the Tartar, was an ideal field for the wandering poet. In the North-East, with their capital at Herát, were the Kurt princes; at Sabzawár and the neighbourhood the little Sarbadár dynasty (if such it can be called) held sway; the Il-khánís, Shaykh Hasan-i-Buzurg, his son Sultán Uways, and their descendants, ruled over a curious elliptical domain which had its northern capital at Tabriz and its southern capital at Baghddá; while Southern Persia was divided amongst princes of the House of Mużaffár, often independent of, and even at war with, one another, with Shiráz, Isflán, Yazd and Kirmán as their seats of government. There were no hard and fast frontiers to these little states, and no map could be made showing the divisions of these fluid, ever-shifting kingdoms; rather, if we wish to reconstruct the political geography of Persia at that period, we must conceive of some seven or eight centres whence radiated, in ever-varying strength, the influence of as many petty warrior-princes, whose truculent activities were oftener than not combined with a fine literary taste.

Of the poets of this period some ten at least deserve mention, either on account of their evident originality and beauty, or because of the reputation which they enjoy in their own country. These two things do not necessarily go together, but either of them seems to me to entitle a poet at any rate to honourable mention; for a foreign critic must always entertain some mistrust of his judgements, and must remember that, strive as he may, he can hardly hope to develop the fine and discriminating taste of the cultivated native critic, and that the mere fact that a poet has maintained his reputation amongst his own countrymen for several centuries entitles him at least to some respectful consideration. This applies to lyrical poets like Khwágú and 'Imád of Kirmán and Kamál of Khujand, of whom one is apt to think as mere dim reflections of the incomparable Háfíz, devoid of any salient originality; but it must not be forgotten that the first died 37 and the second 18 years before him, and that they may therefore well have prepared the way for his greater achievements, while the eminence of the third, who was his contemporary, is to a certain extent certified by Háfíz himself in the verse—

\[\text{Jon Uzabai, Tor o laks, Hafiz Shad,}\\
\text{Kur-Isba, bote, Sheer Noob, Beshand,}\\
\text{which is translated by Rosenzweig-Schwanau}^{1}—
\]

\[\text{"Wenn er erst Hafisens Lieder hörte,}\\
\text{Die als zart und lieblich Jeder kennt,}\\
\text{Wird sich selbst Kemal nicht unterfahren}\\
\text{Dichtend aufstretren in Chodschen."}\\
\]

On the other hand poets like 'Ubayd-i-Zákání and Bushaq (Abú Isháq) are so original that, whether appreciated or not in their own country, they cannot be ignored by any student of Persian literature.

I propose, therefore, to discuss in this chapter the following poets, and, that priority may be duly considered in relation to actual merit, in chronological order. This, however, can only be regarded as approximate, since in most cases the date of death only is recorded (and that often uncertainly), and we often do not know whether the poet died young or at an advanced old age. Indeed, notwithstanding the numerous biographies of poets given by Dawlatshšá,

1 *Háfíz, Diwán*, vol i, pp. 328, 329, ll. 13-14 of text.
and in the *Atash-kada*, *Haft Iqlm* and other similar well-known works, the lack of authentic particulars as to the lives and characters of these poets is a very discouraging feature in our quest. Most of the anecdotes given in these books are trivial or fictitious, and, save for what can be gleaned from their verses (where again we are often hampered by the lack of anything approaching a critical edition), we are finally driven to admit that we know very little indeed about most of them. They were generally poor men, often socially obscure, and as such were completely ignored by contemporary historians, while all that later generations, who appreciated their merit, could do was, as a rule, to string together a few more or less trivial anecdotes, evidently constructed in many cases to explain or illustrate passages in their poems. An exception must be made in favour of one rare manuscript work, the *Mujmal* ("Compendium") of Faṣḥī of Khwāf, a chronicle of some thousand pages compiled in 845/1441-2 and containing many valuable details not to be found elsewhere, especially in what concerns the province of Khurāsān in general, and the city of Herāt in particular.

The poets of this period whom I propose to discuss are the following:

1. *Ibn-i-Yāmīn* (Amīr Muhāmmad ibn Amīr Yāmīn) d. 745/1345 according to Dawlatshāh, or 769/1368 according to the more authoritative *Mujmal* was associated with the Sarbadār dynasty.

2. *Khwāāf of Kirmān* (d. 753/1352, or, according to Dawlatshāh, 742/1341-2).

3. *Ubayd-i-Zūkānī*, the great satirist and parodist (d. 772/1371).

4. *Imād of Kirmān* (d. 773/1372).

5. *Salmān of Sāwā* (d. 779/1378), the panegyrist of Sultan Uways.


7. *Kamāl of Khujand* (d. 793/1391, or 803/1400).

8. *Magḥribī, the mystic* (d. 809/1407).

9. *Bushqā* (Abū ʿIshāq) of Shīrāz, the gastronomic poet (d. 814/1416).


Of each of these poets I shall now proceed to speak in detail.

I. *Ibn-i-Yāmīn*

(*Amīr Muhāmmad ibn Amīr Yāmīn*)

Although notices of this poet and his father Yāmīn-dīn (from whom he derives the name Ibn-i-Yāmīn—"son of Yāmīn"—by which he is commonly known) occur in Dawlatshāh1, the *Haft Iqlm*, *Atash-kada*, *Majma'ul-Fuṣāḥ* and other biographical works, the few particulars about him which are known to us are chiefly derived from the rare *Mujmal* of Faṣḥī. In this work Ibn-i-Yāmīn is thrice mentioned, under the years 743/1342-3, and 769/1367-8, the year of his death.

The first of these two notices, so far as it concerns Ibn-i-Yāmīn, runs as follows:

"War of Malik Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Abūl-Ḥusayn Muḥammad-i-Kurt with Khwāāf Wajīhu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd-i-Sarbadār and Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Jāfī between Zāva and Khwāf, and death of Shaykh

---

Hasan-i-Jurf at the hands of Khwaja Wajhuh'd-Din Mas'ud's men on the 13th of Safar [A.H. 743 = July 18, 1342], and flight of Khwaja Wajhuh'd-Din.

"Loss of the Diriwan (complete poetical works) of the late Amir Fakhru'Haqq wa'd-Din Mahmud ibn-i-Yamin the Mustawfi (government accountant) of Faryimid, which was looted in the battle mentioned above. Here is the fragment [in which Ibn-i-Yamin refers to this event]:

"It fell into the hands of the spoilers, and thereafter no trace of it was found."

"The above-mentioned Amir Fakhru'd-Din Mahmud [Ibn-i-Yamin] sent the following fragment which he had composed from Sabzawar to Malik Mu'izzu'd-Din Abu'l-Husayn-i-Kurt:

Seek as they might his Diriwan was not to be found, so he made a [fresh] compilation from the anthologies of the Masters [of this art], and from what each [amateur of verse] remembered by heart and from what he himself subsequently composed:

"So that my verses, scattered like the Seven Thrones, Might be again co-ordinated like the Pleiades."

1 I.e. the Great Bear, also called "the Seven Brothers" (Haft Birdardan), and by the Arabs Banha'N-Nas'h, "the Daughters of the Bier," or "Pall-bearers."
This ends the first notice of Ibn-i-Yamn in the Mujmal, but, before passing on to the second, I should give a translation of the fourteen couplets quoted above, which, if not remarkable as poetry, are of interest on account of the data which they afford.

(Translation)

"If Heaven, by a trick, snatched my Divan out of my hands,
Thanks be to God! He who made the Divan is still with me!
And if Fate plucked from me a string of pearls fit for a king,
Yet I grieve not at its loss, since the remedy is with me.
And if the wind tore a flower from a branch of the rose-bush of my talent,
A garden full of anemones, egline and basil is still with me.
And if one of my shells of brilliant pearls was emptied,
I still have a mind filled with pearls like the sea of 'Umman.
What matters it if a few drops of the sputterings of my pen are lost?
There still remains with me a talent bountiful as the April cloud!
If the sweet water of my verse has been cast to the winds like dust
It matters little, for with me is the Fountain of the Water of Life.
And though my heart is grieved at the loss of my Divan,
Why should I grieve at this, since my pearl-producing genius remains?
And if the praise of the King of the World is, like the fame of his justice,
Spread abroad throughout the earth, the praise-producing talent is mine!
Although I could compile another Divan, yet
My life's work is wasted, and regret for this remains with me.
If this vile Age is unkind to me
My life's work is wasted, and regret for this remains with me.
If the favours of the King of the Age are mine?
That just Prince Mutizzu'd-Din, whose virtue cries,
'Whatever of glory can enter the Phenomenal World is mine.'
The chief of the favours which in all circumstances
The King of the Age doth show me amongst all my peers
Is this, that by his favour one of noble rank says to me
'Rejoice, O Ibn-i-Yamn, for the constituent parts of the Divan
are in my possession!'
Life has passed: may he continue successful until Eternity,
And may the daily portion of me his servant be prayers for the King
so long as life remains to me!"
Concerning the son, Ibn-i-Yamín, he tells us little, save that he was the panegyrist of the Sarbadârs, which is doubtful, and that he died in 745/1344-5, which is almost certainly incorrect; but he endeavours to make up for this dearth of information by a digression of ten pages on the history of the little Sarbadar dynasty, which lasted about fifty years and was finally extinguished by Timúr about 788/1386. The *Haft Iqlîm, Aûsh-kâda* and *Majma‘ul-Fushûdah* practically yield no further information, except that the last-named work states that Ibn-i-Yamín was the panegyrist of Tughá-Timúr. Owing to the loss of his *Dîwán,* as described above, it is impossible to determine with certainty who were his patrons and to whom his panegyrics were chiefly addressed.

Ibn-i-Yamín’s extant work consists of his *Muqâtta‘dt,* or “Fragments,” most of which are of a philosophical, ethical or mystical character. An edition of them was printed at Calcutta in 1855, and I also possess a pretty and carefully-written manuscript dated Rajab 5, 881 (Oct. 24, 1476). A German rendering of many of these poems by Schlechta-Wssehrd has also been published. The following fine verses on the evolution of the soul are amongst the best and most celebrated of Ibn-i-Yamín’s poems:


The following is a rather free translation of the above:

“From the void of Non-Existence to this dwelling-house of clay
I came, and rose from stone to plant; but that hath passed away!
That too hath passed away!
In a human breast, no longer a mere unheeding brute,
This tiny drop of Being to a pearl I did transmute:
That too hath passed away!
At the Holy Temple next did I foregather with the throng
Of Angels, compassed it about, and gazed upon it long:
That too hath passed away!
Forsaking Ibn-i-Yamín, and from this too soaring free,
I abandoned all beside Him, so that naught was left but HE:
All else hath passed away!”

The same ideas have been equally well expressed, however, by the great mystical poet Jalálú’d-Dín Rûmî, who lived a century earlier, in a very well-known passage of the *Mathnâwî* which runs as follows:

"I died from mineral and plant became
Died from the plant, and took a sentient frame;
Died from the beast, and donned a human dress;
When by my dying did I e'er grow less?
Another time from manhood I must die
To soar with angel-pinions through the sky.
'Midst Angels also I must lose my place,
Since 'All things shall perish save His Face.'
Let me be Naught! The harp-strings tell me plain
That 'unto Him do we return again!'

(Another Fragment)

Only for one of reasons twain the wise
Possession of this varied world do prize:
Either to benefit their friends thereby,
Or else to trample down some enemy.
But he who seeketh wealth upon this earth,
And knoweth not wherein consists its worth
Is as the gleaner, who with toil doth bind
His sheaf, then casts the harvest to the wind.
Naught but a weary soul and aching back
Accrue to those who understanding lack.

The following is typical in its Manichaean and Malthusian pessimism:

Daini che mohiye shah che frasand az bade,
Mast toобр ahe frasand hokhast,
Ghata darin che manat to mohiye hast,
Mast frasand az hokhast.

1 Compare Tennyson in Locksley Hall:
"Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight."

The fragment next following also represents a line of
thought common with Ibn-i-Yamin and others of his school:

Knowest thou wherefore the child no gratitude bears
E'en to the father who makes him the chief of his heirs?
"Twas thou,' he seems to say, 'who my peace didst mar
By bringing me into a world where such miseries are!'
Who bade the Pen\textsuperscript{1} inscribe upon thy brow
Whate'er betided thee from then till now,
It ill beseems Him on the Judgement-Day
'This was well done, and that done ill' to say!
For he who sows the camel-thorn can ne'er
Expect the aloe-tree to blossom there.
Since, then, the Muslim and the Christian stand
Subject alike to His supreme command,
'Why should He give,' in wonder ask the wise,
'To this one Hell, to that one Paradise?'\textsuperscript{2}

\textit{(Another Fragment)}

\[
\text{A corner which no stranger can explore,}
\text{Where no one bores you, and you no one bore,}
\text{A sweetheart, lute and song, a friend or two—}
\text{At most a party not exceeding four;}
\text{A harp, a zither, roasted meats and wine,}
\text{A cup-bearer who is a friend of thine,}
\text{Reason, which doth distinguish good and ill,}
\text{Regarding not thy ploy with eyes malign}
\text{Whoever doth disparage such affair}
\text{Is in the spirit-world devoid of share}
\text{To Ibn-i-Yamin should such luck accrue}
\text{For no one in this world or that he'd care!}
\]

The following fragment is practically a paraphrase of
some very well-known Arabic verses ascribed to Qābūs ibn Washmīr, Prince of Tabaristān (reigned A.D. 976–1012),
which are quoted in the Story of the Merchant and the
\textit{jin\textsuperscript{3}} in the Arabian Nights\textsuperscript{1}:

\[
\text{Afr.}\}
\text{1 See W. H. MacNaghten's edition (Calcutta, 1839), vol. i, p. ii, ll. 1–8.}
Not as I would, O friends, the world doth go:
Of men of genius 'tis the constant foe.
Though fickle Fortune trouble me, what then?
Trouble's the portion of all noble men.
The sky holds countless stars, of which not one
Suffers eclipse, except the moon and sun.
'Tis custom now that he who wants for wits
Ever above the man of talent sits,
As on the sea the dust and rubbish swim
While pearls lie sunk in its abysses dim."

Although nearly all the well-known biographies, such as Dawlatshah, the Haft Iplim, the Atah-hada; the Majma'u'Z-Fusa'd, etc., contain notices of Khojji of Kirman, they are singularly jejune and lacking in precise information, while such precise information as is given is often demonstrably incorrect. Indeed the carelessness with which these works are compiled and copied is deplorable. To take one instance only, Ridá-qulí Khán, in spite of his undeniable attainments as a poet, a lexicographer and a historian, states in the Majma'u'Z-Fusa'd that Khojji was the panegyrist of Sultán Abú Sa'id Khán, who


Verses showing his love of his native place Kirman

Pleasant the fragrant and sweet-scented blast
Which o'er the earth of Kirman late hath passed!

Pleasant the days of that sweet Philomel
Kirman
Which in its groves and gardens fair doth dwell;

What fault was mine that Heaven did decree
From that pure land I must an exile be?

Wherefore in Bagdad city must I dwell
That tears like Tigris from mine eyes may well?

During his travels, according to the Haft Iplim, Khojji made the acquaintance of many of his contemporaries amongst the poets and men of letters, and became the disciple of the eminent and pious Shaykh Ruknu'd-Din 'Alá'u'd-Dawla of Simnán, with a sketch of whose life Dawlatshah seeks to compensate us for the exiguity of his information about the proper subject of his biography. Rieu quotes some verses in which a little-known contemporary poet named Haydar of Shfáz fiercely attacks

1 Loc. cit., p. 249, ll. 10-21.
2 Literally, "Where nought but the Tigris comes into my eyes."
This may either mean "Where my eyes serve only to shed rivers of tears," or, "Where I can see nothing but the Tigris."
Khwájú, whom he calls "a Kábulí thief from Kírmán town," as a plagiarist. He says:

"Do not mention the name of Khwájú before a poet, for he is a thief from the Diwán of Sa'dí. Since he cannot compete in verse even with me How dares he talk about Sa'dí?"

I can find no mention of Khwájú in the Mzgwzad of Fašláí, but Hamdu'llPh Mustawfi of Qazwín accords him a brief notice and cites one of his poems in the Ta'rikh-i-Guzida, which was completed in 730/1330, so that even during his lifetime he was evidently well-known throughout Persia. He is also mentioned in the Majálisu'l-Mú'mínín, that late but extensive biographical work on the ornaments of the Shí'a sect of Islám, which, however, in this case does little more than copy Dawlatsháh.

It may be laid down as a general principle that the only satisfactory method of writing the lives of Persian poets, with the possible exception of some of the older ones, who lived before the Mongol invasion had destroyed the scientific spirit of historical criticism in Persia, is to collect and collate such particulars as can be derived from their own works as preserved in old and correct manuscript copies, since little confidence can be placed in some of the modern lithographed editions. This method has been followed in the case of many of the older poets, such as Firdawsi, Nižámí, Anwarí, Khágání, etc., and in this respect Khwájú is more fortunate than many of his contemporaries, for so long ago as 1848 Dr Franz von Erdmann published a short account of him, in which, after quoting and translating Dawlatsháh's article, he gives a brief description of a manuscript of his Khámsa, or five longer mathnáwi poems, adding some useful particulars derived from them and from his Diwán. These particulars I shall here summarize, together with the additional details contributed by Rieu.

According to his own statement, in his poem Naw-ráz u Gul ("New Year's Day and the Rose"), he was born on Shawwal 15, 679 (Feb. 7, 1281). He began his poetical career by attaching himself to the court of one of the Muzaффarí princes, probably Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the founder of that dynasty, at Yazd. Later he frequented the court of Shaykh Abú Isáq (reigned 742-754/1341-1353) at Shiráz, and, as may be gathered from the dedications of some of his qaṣídas (panegyrics) given by von Erdmann, the courts of Shirwání-sháh and Qizil Arslán, Prince of 'Iráq, while the poem already cited shows that he also spent some time at Baghdad. In short he would seem to have wandered through the greater part of Persia, and cannot be regarded, like some of his contemporaries, as essentially the poet of one particular dynasty.

Khwájú's poems comprise the five romantic mathnáwís which constitute the Khamsa, or "Quintet" (of which no copy is accessible in Cambridge, though the British Museum possesses a fine copy made in 798/1396), and a Diwán containing qaṣídas (some religious, but mostly panegyrics), ghazals (odes), muqáfí'át (fragments), rubá'íyyát (quatrain), etc. Of the Diwán I possess two manuscripts, one quite modern, and the other, bought at the sale of the Fioít-Hughes library about twenty years ago, copied by "Darwís Háfíz of Shiráz" (not, of course, the great Háfíz, who died more than a century earlier) in 899/1493-4. A former owner of the last-mentioned manuscript has computed the number of verses which it contains at about four thousand.

1 P. 818 of the fac-simile edition published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, iv, 1. See also pp. 29-30 of the reprint of an article on the Biographies of Persian Poets contained in...the Ta'rikh-i-Guzida which I contributed to the J.R.A.S. for Oct. 1900 and Jan. 1910.

The five poems which constitute the *Khamsa* are:

1. *Naw-rūz o Gūl* ("New Year's Day and the Rose"), of which the contents are briefly stated by von Erdmann, who says that it comprises 2615 verses (*bayt*).

2. *Humādū y Humādūn*, dedicated, apparently, either to Sultán Abú Sa'ād (716-736/1316-1335) or to his minister Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muhammad, and containing 3203 verses. This poem, as Rieu has shown, was composed at Baghdād in 732/1331-2.

3. *Kámál-námā* (the "Book of Perfection"), composed in 744/1343-4, and dedicated to Shaykh Abú Ishāq, Prince of Fārs, who had ascended the throne only two years previously.

4. *The Rawātatu'l-Anwār* ("Garden of Lights"), a mystical poem composed at the shrine of Shaykh Abú Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the patron saint of Kizārīn in Fārs, in 743/1342-3, a year before the poem last mentioned.

5. Another mystical poem of the title of which I am uncertain. The whole *Khamsa*, or "Quintet," is apparently an imitation of the celebrated *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī of Ganja, and was concluded in 744/1343-4.

In spite of the comparative celebrity which Khwājū enjoys, I have not been able to discover any striking beauty or conspicuous merit in his odes (*ghazals*), of which I have read some seventy-five. The following may serve as a fairly favourable specimen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مکدر ز ما گزه خاطر لما در وفاتی تست؛</td>
<td>My love for thee is greater than my life;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دل بر امید وعده و جان در وفاتی تست؛</td>
<td>My heart longs for thee and thy promises;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سبلست اگر رضا تو ترک رضا ماست؛</td>
<td>If thou depart from my love,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>معقّد می ما ن دُنبِّی و عقّبی رضایی تست؛</td>
<td>I am enmeshed in thy love;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>زین پس چو سر فداى قفای تو سر دردنا،</td>
<td>My heart is cast aside by my love for thee;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مارا مزان من پیش چه دل در قفای تست؛</td>
<td>While away within my heart;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides odes (*ghazals*) and the above-mentioned *mathnawīs*, Khwājū has several *tarkīb-bandās*, one or two "fragments" (*maqāṣid*), and a few quatrains, including one about the dove crying "*Kū, Kū*?" ("Where, where are the great ones of yore departed?") generally ascribed to 'Umar Khayyām.
The following mustazd is not without grace:

Come back, for we hope from thee for ourselves
Fidelity to promises.

This is a very common word-play, e.g. in the well-known verse:

The Turks of Cathay or Chinese Tartary are celebrated in Persia for their fair complexions and beauty.

(Translation)

"Is there none to say from me to that Turk of Cathay (Khâât)"  
"If any fault (khât) has been committed"
Come back, for we hope from thee for ourselves
Fidelity to promises.

1 Rue (zîpâna) and pepper (filfil) are burned in incantations against the Evil Eye. The black mole (khâl) or beauty-spot on the red cheek of a beautiful person is often compared by the Persian poets to rue on the fire.

2 i.e. bent with grief and disappointment.

3 Na'îl-bâhâd, or "hoof-money," is money paid to invading troops to induce them to abstain from looting.

4 This alludes to Alexander's quest for the Water of Life in the Land of Darkness.
"Ubayd-i-Zākānī
(Nizámû'd-Dín 'Ubaydullāh).

'Ubayd-i-Zākānī is, perhaps, the most remarkable
parodist and satirical writer produced by Persia, and
though, like most Persian, Arabian and Turkish
satirists, his language is frequently so coarse
as to render a large part of his writings unfit for trans-
lation, his Akhâqu'l-Ashâfī, or "Ethics of the Aristocracy,"
is, where not so marred, a fine piece of irony, while some
of his serious poems (which have been too much ignored
by most of his biographers) are of singular beauty. Of
his life, as usual, little is known, save that he was originally
from Qazwîn (for which city he seems to have had little
affection, since he is constantly gibing at the stupidity of
its inhabitants), lived at Shîrây (to which, on the other
hand, as several of his poems show, he was much attached)
during the reign of Shaykh Abû Ishâq Injû (who was killed
in 747/1346-7), abandoned serious writing for a ribaldry
more in accord with the taste of the great men of that
time, but none the less (as several of his poems and a well-
known anecdote about his death indicate) suffered much
from penury and debt, and finally died about 772/1371.
Another well-known anecdote describes his quarrel and
reconciliation with his contemporary Salmân of Sâwar,
to which is prefixed a Persian preface, probably by the late
Mirzâ Ḥâbîb of Isfahân, followed by another of M. Fertî,
was printed at Constantinople, at the Press of Ebu'z-Ziyâ
Tevfîq Bey, in 1303/1885-6. As these two prefaces
contain most that is to be said about 'Ubayd-i-Zâkānî, I
here append a translation, omitting only a few unsuitable
passages.

"Preface.

"That most witty poet 'Ubayd-i-Zâkānî was of the village of Zâkân
near Qazwîn, and was one of the notabilities of the eighth century of the
Flight. He was a man of talent and learning, one of the masters of
style and sound taste. Although some reckon him as one of the ribald
writers, it is only fair to state that, though jests, ribaldry and satire
take in his poems, he deserves to rank as something more than a
mere satirist, being, indeed, conspicuous amongst the older poets for
his grace and wit, and in these respects approached by few. He was
particularly skilful in incorporating in his poems and investing with a
ludicrous sense the serious verses of other poets, an achievement in
which he left no ground unturned. His own serious poems, on the
other hand, are incomparable in fluency of diction, sweetness and dis-
tinction, and are unrivalled in grace and subtlety.

'Ubayd-i-Zâkānî pursued his studies at Shîrây in the reign of Shâh Abû Ishâq, and became one of the most accomplished men of
letters and learning of his time, acquiring complete proficiency in every
art, and compiling books and treatises thereon. He subsequently

1 There is also a cheap English rendering, with the same woodcuts,
of which I once picked up a copy at the railway bookstall of Llandudno
Junction.
2 It comprises 128 pp.
3 Hamdu'llâh Mustawfi of Qazwîn in his Târîkh-i-Guizâda (Gibb
Memorial Series, vol. xiv, 1, pp. 845-6) speaks of the Zâkânîs as one
of the notable tribes or families of Qazwîn, says that they were
descended from the Arabian tribe of Khafîja, and quotes in the original
Arabic a rescript (manshâr) addressed to them by the Prophet Mu-
hammad. At the end of this article he mentions our poet as follows:
"Of them is that honoured gentleman Master [Khwâjâ] Niṣâmû'd-Dîn
'Ubaydullâh, who has some fine poems and incomparable writings." This
book was written in 730/1330, and as 'Ubayd-i-Zâkâni was then
already a man of note in his own city of Qazwîn, he cannot have been
born much later than 700/1300.
4 Fourteenth of the Christian era.
returned to Qazwin, where he had the honour of being appointed to a 
Judgeship, and was chosen as the tutor and teacher of sundry young 
noblemen. At that time the Turks in Persia had left no prohibited or 
vicious act undone, and the character of the Persian people, by reason 
of association and intercourse with them, had become so changed and 
corrupted that 'Ubayd-i-Zakâni, disgusted at the contemplation thereof, 
sought by every means to make known and bring home to them the 
true condition of affairs. Therefore, as an example of the corrupt 
morals of the age and its people, he composed the treatise known as 
the 'Ethics of the Aristocracy' (Akhlaq-i-Askrdn), which was not 
intended as mere ribaldry, but as a satire containing serious reflections 
and wise warnings. So likewise, in order to depict the level of intelli-
gence and degree of knowledge of the leading men of Qazwin, each 
one of whom was a mass of stupidity and ignorance, he included in 
his 'Joyous Treatise' (Risdâ-i-Dilgushd) many anecdotes of which 
each contains a lesson for persons of discernment. As a measure of 
his accomplishments, experience, learning and worldly wisdom, his 
'Tract of a Hundred Counsels' (Risdâ-i-Sad Pand) and his 'Definitions' 
(Tafíyat) are a sufficient proof. Moreover, even those who speak 
of him as a mere ribald satirist admit that he composed a treatise on 
Rhetoric ('IZm-i-Madnt u Baydn) which he desired to present to the 
King. The courtiers and favourites, however, told him that the King 
had no need of such rubbish. Then he composed a fine panegyric, 
which he desired to recite, but they informed him that His Majesty did 
not like to be mocked with the lies, exaggerations and fulsome flattery 
of poets. Thereupon 'Ubayd-i-Zakâni said, 'In that case I too will 
pursue the path of impudence, so that by this means 
I may obtain access 
to the King's most intimate society, and may become one of his 
courtiers and favourites,' which he accordingly did. Then he began 
recklessly to utter the most shameless sayings and the most unseemly 
and extravagant jests, whereby he obtained innumerable gifts and 
presents, while none dared to oppose or contend with him.

It is said that after 'Ubayd-i-Zakâni had despaired of entering the 
King's assembly, he extemporized the following quatrain:

In arts and learning be not skilled like me,
Or by the great like me despised thou'llt be.
Wouldst earn applause from this base age of thine?
Beg shamelessly, play lute and libertine!

One of his acquaintances, hearing this, expressed astonishment 
that one so talented and accomplished could abandon learning and 
culture in favour of ribaldry and lewd utterances. To him 'Ubayd-i- 
Zakâni sent the following verse:

Keep clear of learning, Sir, if so you may,
Lest you should lose your pittance for the day.
Play the buffoon and learn the fiddler's skill:
On great and small you then may work your will!

It is said that Salmân-i-Sawaji, a contemporary poet, wrote these 
verses satirizing 'Ubayd-i-Zakâni, whom he had never seen:

The point of this verse is that Persian wits affect to regard the 
people of Qazwin as fools, just as they dub the Khurdsdnfs
'asses,' the

Here follow some very coarse verses on a lady named Jahân-
Khâtn whose hand had been sought in marriage by Khwája Amnu'd-
Din, one of Shih Abh Ishdq's ministers. She also was a poetess, and 
I possess a MS. of her poems, the only copy I ever met with.

The people of Qazwin are reputed (very unjustly) to be the 
stupidest in Persia.
people of Tūs ‘cows,’ those of Bukhārā ‘bears,’ and those of Transoxiana ‘Mashhadās,’ that is, heretics (Rafidīs), all of which attributions are of the nature of disparagement.

"As soon as 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī heard this verse, he at once set out for Baghdād. On his arrival there, he found Salmān, surrounded with great pomp and circumstance, on the banks of the Tigris, occupied with pleasure and diversion and the society of learned and accomplished men. When by some means he succeeded in entering the circle, Salmān had just composed this hemistich descriptive of the Tigris:

'dajlara' amal riftāri 'ajib mustānā ast

'With drunken frenzy and fury fierce this year the Tigris flows'—which he asked the bystanders to complete. Thereupon 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī extemporized the following complementary hemistich:

bāyār zmizgīr va hif folāb mārk doowādā ast

'With its foaming lips and its feet in chains, 'twere mad, you might suppose.'

"Salmān was delighted, and enquired whence he came. He replied, 'From Qazwīn.' In the course of the ensuing conversation Salmān asked him whether his name was known or any of his verse familiar in Qazwīn, or not. 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī replied, 'The following fragment of his poetry is very well known:

A frequenter of taverns am I, and a lover of wine,
Besotted with drink and desire at the Magians' shrine.
Like a wine-jar from shoulder to shoulder amongst them I pass,
And go from one hand to another like goblet or glass.'"

"'Now although Salmān is an accomplished man,' added 'Ubayd, 'and these verses may perhaps be truly ascribed to him, yet in my opinion they were most probably composed by his wife.'"

Salmān perceived from this witty speech that this was none other than 'Ubayd himself, whereupon he made much of him, apologized for his satire, and so long as 'Ubayd remained in Baghdād, fell short in no service which he could render him. And 'Ubayd used often to say to him, 'O Salmān, fortune favoured you in that you so speedily made your peace with me, and so escaped from the malice of my tongue!"

Then follows as a postscript the short Introduction ascribed to M. Férté, who describes therein his devotion to Oriental and especially Persian literature, his desire to contribute something to a fuller knowledge of it, and his appreciation of the works of 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī, a manuscript of which happened to come under his notice. From this manuscript he made the selections (amounting to about three-quarters of the whole contents) contained in this volume. These include:

1. The Akhlāqūl-Ashraf, or "Ethics of the Aristocracy," (prose), composed in 740/1340.
2. The "Book of the Beard" (Rišānāmā), in mixed prose and verse, undated.
3. The "Book of a hundred Counsels" (Risāla-i-Sadīq), composed in 750/1350 (prose).
4. The "Definitions" (Tarfīdū), or "Ten Sections" (Dah Dāšt), undated (prose).
5. Poems of different kinds, mostly obscene, including parodies.
6. The "Joyous Treatise" (Risāla-i-Dilgusha), divided into two parts, the one containing Arabic, the other Persian anecdotes and facetiae.

On the other hand, there are omitted from these selections all 'Ubayd's serious poems and panegyrics, as well as the "Book of Lovers" (Ushshqā-nūmā), "Book of Omens" (Fādū-nūmā), etc. Of the three MSS. of this poet's works which I have examined in the British Museum (Or. 2947, Or. 5738, and Or. 6303) the last contains the largest selection of poetry, including panegyrics on Shaykh Abū ʿIsāq, Sulṭān Uways, Ruknū'd-Dīn ʿAmlū'l-Mulk, etc. Among these one of the prettiest is the following:

'I CH. V] 'UBAYD-I-ZĀKĀNĪ 235

The implication is, of course, that his wife was a woman of loose morals and bad character.
Once again a passion has entered my head; again my heart inclines in a certain direction.

He is of Royal birth, I am of the dust; he is a King, and I am portionless.

One tall of stature, with locks like lassoes, an autocrat descended from Sultan Husayn:

One with eyebrows like bows and slender waist, one unkind, fair and deceitful.

Such a charmer of hearts, such a graceful cypress-tree, such a shower of oats and seller of barley! Without him the sun gives no light; without Pîr the world has no lustre.

Wherever his ruby-lip smiles, there sugar is of no account.

Everywhere the heart holds with his vision pleasant speech and sweet discourse. Thou wouldst say that I come to the house of a physician, that perhaps I may procure a remedy for my heart.

Everyone else complains of a foe, but our complaint is of a friend. Should the eyes of 'Ubayd not look their fill upon him, then his eyes do not regard any other misfortune!

Another fine manuscript of the works of 'Ubayd-i-Zâkânî, bearing the class-mark Suppl. persan 824, is in the possession of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris. It was transcribed in Muharram, 834 (Sept.-Oct., 1430), comprises 111 leaves, and contains besides the poems, serious and flippant, the "Book of Lovers" ('Ukhshq-d-nâma), in verse and partly in dialect; the "Ethics of the Aristocracy" (Akhlq-d-qu' Ashraf), the "Book of the Beard" (Risâ-l-nâma), and the "Ten Chapters" (Dah Fašt). The most striking feature of the serious poems is the constant references to Pârs and its capital Shîhrâz, which evidently held the affection of the poet far more than his native city Qazwîn. Thus, to quote a few examples, he says (f. 13b):

By the auspicious justice of that King who is so gracious to his servants the region of Shîhrâz has become an earthly Paradise.

So again he says (f. 23b):

By the favour of the Creator the Kingdom of Pârs hath become pleasanter than the Courts of Paradise and gayer than the Spring.

And again (f. 28b) he says:

The victorious standard of the King who is so gracious to his servants hath reached with glee and happiness the region of Shîhrâz:

Shaykh Abû Ishq, that world-conqueror of youthful fortune, our liege-lord who slayeth opponents and maketh the fortune of his loyal supporters.

The following verse, again (f. 35b), is strongly reminiscent of, and was probably inspired by, a very well-known verse
of Sa'di's occurring in a poem quoted in vol. ii of my Literary History of Persia, p. 535, lines 13-15:

"The gentle breeze of Muṣāliā and the stream of Ruknābād cause the stranger to forget his own native land."

The following verse occurring in a poem in which Ubayd bids farewell to Shīrāz affords further testimony of his attachment to that place:

"I leave the region of Shīrāz, being in peril of my life:
Alas, how full of anguish is my heart at this inevitable departure!"

As in the case of Ḥāfiz so also in Ubayd's Kitāb-i-Zākānī we find one disparaging allusion to Hurmuz (Ormuz) in the Persian Gulf which would seem to show that our poet had once visited that place:

"I am thus cast away in Hurmuz in grief and sorrow, isolated from the companionship of friends and patrons."

Amongst the serious poems is one (f. 30b) in praise of the Ṣadīb-Dīwān 'Amdu'l-Mulk, while amongst the satires are two (ff. 54b and 55a) directed against Kamālud-Dīn Husayn and Shihābud-Dīn Haydar. One of the religious poems at the beginning of the volume (f. 1b), containing the praise of God, the Prophet, and the Four Orthodox Caliphs, indicates that Ubayd was a Sunnī, but, apart from his disreputable facetiae, the following verse shows clearly enough that he neither claimed nor desired to lead a virtuous life:

"Something at least from my small property
Was wont to reach me in the days gone by,
And when friends came to cheer my loneliness
A crust of bread they found, a dish of cress,
And sometimes wine withal, when some new flame
Or some old crony me to visit came.
But now, alas!
All that I reckoned on,
Solid or liquid, from my table's gone,
And only I am left, nor would remain
If my removal were another's gain!"

That poverty and debt were our poet's usual lot appears from other verses, such as the following:

"God, of Thy grace one special hope I nourish,
That Thou wilt cause my pleasure-realm to flourish,
And turn from me the Doom of Abstinence,
And save me from the Plague of Penitence!"

As regards Ubayd's facetiae (hazaliyyāt), which are practically the only poems contained in the Constantinople edition of his works, they are, as already stated, almost without exception unfit for translation, and are regarded with disapproval or disgust by all respectable Persians at the present day. Their only point, moreover, lies in the skilful turning to base uses of the serious verses of earlier or contemporary poets, who are thus held up to ridicule and made to afford material for ribaldry by the unscrupulous Ubayd-i-Zākānī. Amongst the lighter poems which are unobjectionable, however, the following may be cited:

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POETS & WRITERS OF TIMUR'S TIME [BK II

"Others rejoice in merriment, while I am afflicted with debt; My honour, like that of beggars, is cast to the winds, So often have I sought a loan from the door of every beggar. If the Master does not bespeak for me the King's favour How can poor 'Ubayd finally discharge his debts?— Master 'Alī 'd-Dunyā wu'd-Dīn, except whose hand None other in the world hath given Debt its deserts!"

Other poems to the same purport will be found on pp. 58 (ll. 18-23) and 61 (ll. 16-20) of the Constantinople edition, and whether or no the well-known story about 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī's death-bed practical joke on his children be true, it certainly accords alike with his character and his circumstances.

The following epigram on a physician is worth quoting:

"To this fool-doctor no man need apply For treatment if he does not wish to die. At last to him the Death-Angel appears Saying, 'Buy now the goods you've sold for years!'"

"The Mouse and the Cat" (Mūsh u Garbā) is a short mathnawī poem of 174 verses, and in the Bombay lithographed edition, with the numerous quaint woodcuts which illustrate it, comprises only 18 pages. It opens with a description of the voracious, keen-eyed, "lion-hunting" cat, with eyes like amber and sharp claws, feet like a scorpion, a forehead like an eagle, a belly like a drum, a breast of ermine, eyebrows like bows, and sharp teeth:

"I.e. while others fear to become debtors, I pray that I may have the chance of borrowing money and so becoming a debtor."

3 See my Year amongst the Persians, pp. 115-116.

B. P.
This cat, being in need of a meal, goes to a wine-tavern and conceals itself behind a wine-jar. Presently a mouse appears, leaps on to the edge of one of the jars, and begins to drink the wine, until, filled with the arrogance engendered by alcohol, and ignorant of the proximity of its formidable foe, it begins to boast its prowess, saying: "Where is the cat, that I may wring its neck and bear its head to the market-place? In the day of my munificence at the time of conferring benefits I would distribute the heads of a hundred cats! Cats are but as dogs in my sight, were I to meet them in the open field!"

Suddenly the cat leaps out upon it, seizes it, and cries, "O miserable mouse, how wilt thou save thy life?"

The mouse, effectively sobered now, adopts a tone of piteous entreaty, saying, "I am thy slave: pardon me these sins! If I ate dirt (i.e. talked nonsense) I was drunk, and drunkards eat much dirt! I am your slave, your devoted slave..."

The cat, however, pays no heed to the mouse's supplications, kills and eats it, and then goes to the mosque to pray and repent of its mouse-eating:

Another mouse which was hiding in the pulpit of the mosque hears these edifying utterances and hastens to bear the good news of the cat's repentance to the other mice, saying, in a verse which has become proverbial and is alluded to by Häfiz:

"Good tidings, for the cat has become devout, an ascetic, a true believer, a Musulmán!"

The mice thereupon decide to express their satisfaction by sending to the cat a deputation of seven mice bearing suitable presents of wine, roasted meats, sweets, fruits and sherbets. The cat invites them to approach, and then seizes five of them, one in its mouth and one in each of its four paws, while the two survivors escape and carry the sad news of the cat's unchanged nature to the other mice. After a week's mourning for their lost comrades, the mice, 330,000 in number, under the command of their king, march out to do battle with the cats. After a fierce struggle, the cats are defeated, and the chief offender, taken captive, is brought before the king of the mice, who condemns it to die on the gibbet, but at the end the cat breaks away from its captors.

1 See my Literary History of Persia, vol. ii, p. 78, on the figure called tilmîd or "allusion."
kills the king of the mice, and scatters or slays his followers. The poem ends:

"This strange and wonderful story is a memento of 'Ubayd-i-Zakán."

Passing now to 'Ubayd-i-Zákání's prose works, we shall first consider his "Ethics of the Aristocracy" (Akhızdqué'L-Ashrdf), which is a very bitter satire on the morals of his time, composed in 740/1340, and comprising a Preface and seven chapters, each of which deals with one of the virtues in the following order: (1) Wisdom; (2) Courage; (3) Chastity; (4) Justice; (5) Generosity; (6) Clemency and Fidelity; (7) Modesty, Mercy, etc. In each chapter the author treats first of the old or "abrogated" conception of the virtue in question (madh-hab-i-mansukh), and then of the new or "adopted" view (madh-hab-i-mukhattar) of the moderns, whom he ironically extols for their discovery, that, for instance, Courage is not really a virtue, as the ancients taught, but a very dangerous and harmful quality. Concerning the purpose of his book he thus speaks in the Preface:

"Just as the physicians have expended their energies on removing the ailments of the body and maintaining its health, so likewise the prophets have concentrated their attention on removing the maladies and misfortunes of the spirit, so that they may bring it out of the perilous gulf and whirlpools of ignorance and imperfection. When the wise man regards with attentive gaze, it will become plain to him that the object of the mission of those on whom has devolved the Prophet's trust is the refining of the qualities and purification of the attributes of God's servants, a truth thus enunciated in the words of the poet:

'Whether or no a Prophet comes, be thou virtuous in conduct, For he whose conduct is virtuous will not go to Hell.'

"His Holiness the Prophet himself has removed the veil from the virgin face of this idea, and has revealed the beauty implicit therein on the bridal throne of this assurance—'I have been sent to complete virtuous qualities,' while learned men of former times have committed to writing, in lengthy treatises, most of which the defective intelligence of this humble writer fails to comprehend, the laws of this science, known as 'Ethics' or 'Practical Philosophy,' whereby, in the best and safest way, human nature may be perfected. From the auspicious time of the pure Adam until these days the noblest of mankind, with much trouble and extreme endeavour, have made the most strenuous efforts to acquire the four cardinal virtues of Wisdom, Courage, Chastity and Justice, which they account the chief means to happiness in this world and salvation in the world to come, and concerning which they say:

'的日子和黑夜，誰在這世界和下界，

'Of whatever creed thou art, be a well-doer and a giver, For Infidelity combined with good character is better than Islám combined with immorality.'

"But now in this age, which is the cream of all the ages and the crown of all times, the nature of the leaders of mankind has been sublimated, and great and powerful thinkers have appeared who have concentrated their luminous thoughts and salutary meditations on all matters appertaining to this life and the next, and in their clear vision the ancient laws and practices appeared contemptible and unsubstantial. Moreover, by the lapse of ages and passage of time, most of these rules had become obsolete, and the observance of these ethical principles and practices proved burdensome to the powerful minds and luminous intellects of these people. Therefore they manfully trampled under foot these principles and practices; adopted instead, for their guidance in this life and the next, the method now current amongst the great and noble (to the elucidation of some portion of which this epitome is devoted); and based on it their conduct of the affairs of this world and the next. The portals of thought being thus opened and the chain of speech extended, let us enter upon the matter in hand.

"It is now some time since this humble writer 'Ubayd-i-Zákání conceived the ambition of writing a compendious treatise dealing with certain ethical conceptions of the ancients, which the people of our time regard as 'obsolete,' and some portion of the principles and practices of the leaders of thought in this age, which they regard as 'adopted,' in order that this treatise might benefit students of this science and neophytes in this path. Now at last, in this year 740 of the Flight (A.D. 1339-1340) he hath hastily penned this epitome, entitled 'Ethics of the Aristocracy,' dividing it into seven chapters, each of which
contains two views, first the 'obsolete' view, in accordance with which our forefathers regulated their lives; and second the 'adopted' view, now discovered by our great thinkers, whereby they regulate their affairs here and hereafter. And although this treatise borders on ribaldry, yet—

\[\text{Arabic text:} \] ΄Αν έγάμη ζήση Αναλίας, \\ \\ ΄Αν έγάμη ζήση Αναλίας. \\ \\ ΄Αν έγάμη ζήση Αναλίας. \\ \\ ΄Αν έγάμη ζήση Αναλίας.

'He who is familiar with the city will know whence our goods are obtained.'

'The humble author's hope in striving to complete this brief treatise is that—

\[\text{Arabic text:} \]

'Perchance somewhere and somewhen some man of heart \\
\text{may utter a prayer on behalf of this poor fellow.'}''

After these preliminary remarks, the author proceeds to discuss in turn each of the seven virtues already enumerated, beginning in each case with the 'obsolete view' (which is exactly modelled on what is set forth at greater length in such well-known treatises on Ethics as the earlier Akhlāq-i-Nāṣīrī or the later Akhlāq-i-Jalālī or Akhlāq-i-Muḥsīnī), and then passing on to the 'adopted' view of his contemporaries. As a specimen we may take the first chapter, which is less ribald than most.

"First Chapter. On Wisdom.

Philosophers in defining Wisdom say that this consists in 'seeking to perfect the human soul in its intellectual and practical attitudes; whereof the former is effected by an apprehension of the true nature of things as they really are, and the latter by the acquisition of a psychical habit or faculty, whereby the soul is able to perform virtuous actions and to abstain from evil actions, which is called Character.' In other words, there are centred in the Rational Soul two faculties, on the perfection of which its perfection depends; one, the speculative faculty, the other the practical faculty. The first is that which craves after the apprehension of knowledge and the acquisition of science, so that, impelled by its promptings, the soul acquires a power of knowing things as they truly are, whereby eventually it attains the felicity of knowing that true

1 The preceding words in italics are in the original in Persian. In what follows they are explained in Persian.

CH. V] "ETHICS OF THE ARISTOCRACY"

Object of all Search and Universal Goal Who (Exalted and Holy is He) is the Consummation of all Existences. So, guided by this knowledge, the soul attains to the Realm of Unity, nay, even to the Precincts of Union, and becomes tranquil and composed (for 'are not hearts composed by the remembrance of God?'), while the dust of doubt and the rust of uncertainty are cleansed from the visage of its mind and the mirror of its heart, even as the poet says:

\[\text{Arabic text:} \]

'Wherever Certainty entered, Doubt departed.'

"Now as for the Practical Faculty, it is that which coordinates and arranges the powers and actions of the soul, so that they cooperate and agree with one another, by virtue of which equipoise and accord its qualities become pleasing in God's sight. And when such knowledge and practice are combined in this degree in any person, he may fitly be entitled the 'Perfect Man' and 'Vicar of God,' and his rank becomes the highest attainable by the human race, even as God Most High hath said: 'He giveth Wisdom to whom He will, and whosoever is given Wisdom hath been given abundant good.' Moreover his spirit, after its separation from the body, becomes fitted to dwell in Paradise, to enjoy everlasting happiness, and to become receptive of God's grace...

"Thus far is the view of the ancient philosophers."

The writer now passes immediately to the

"Adopted View.

"When the great and wise men of subtle understanding, with whose honoured persons the face of the earth is now adorned, reflected on the perfecting of the human soul and its future destiny, and examined the practices and opinions of the famous men of former times, they soon formulated a complete and categorical denial of all these beliefs. They say: 'It has been revealed to us that the Rational Soul is a thing of no consideration; that its continuance absolutely depends on the continuance of the body, and that its destruction is involved in the destruction of the body.' They further say: 'What is asserted by the Prophets as to its having perfections and defects, and as to its subsisting and continuing in itself after its separation from the body is impossible, as also the Resurrection. Life consists in the just

1 Qur'ān, xiii, 28.
2 Khāīfa ("Caliph"), or Representative, alluding to God's saying, when He created man (Qur'ān, ii, 272), "Verily I am placing a Representative (or Vice-Gerent) on Earth."
3 Qur'ān, ii, 272.
equipoise of the elements comprising the body, and when this is decomposed its owner becomes for ever extinct and null. What is intended by the joys of Paradise and the torments of Hell must be in this world, as the poet says:

\[ \text{انّا را حٰط داّدّ اّنّد هَينٰبِاجٰش داّدّ انّد،} \]

\[ \text{و آّنّا را حٰط نٰبِس وعده بَقِرِاش داّدّ انّد،} \]

\[ \text{‘He to whom they give receives his gift even here,} \]
\[ \text{And he who has nothing [here] is put out with promises for “tomorrow.”’} \]

Consequently our leaders of thought are entirely unconcerned with such matters as the Resurrection, Future Punishment, Nearness to or Remoteness from God, the Divine Approval or Wrath, Perfection and Imperfection, and the like; and the result of this conviction is that they spend every day of their life in satisfying their lusts and pursuing their pleasures, saying:

\[ \text{‘إّي آنّه نتٰبِحّ جٰهٰر و هٰنٰتٰ’} \]
\[ \text{و زٰط حٰط و جٰهٰر داّمث انّد ثَلّتٰ} \]
\[ \text{‘مٰی خٰوُر حٰط هازٰر بَر بٰشٰتٰ فٰتٰن؛} \]
\[ \text{باّز أَمَدثٰت نٰبِس چٰو رٰتٰنٰ تٰنٰث؛} \]

'Final Outcome of the Seven and Four,'
\[ \text{Who by the Four and Seven art vexed sore,} \]
\[ \text{Drink wine! A thousand times I’ve told thee this—} \]
\[ \text{When once thou’rt gone, thou shalt return no more!’} \]

While they commonly inscribe this quatrain on their fathers' tombstones:

\[ \text{‘زٰین سْفُ بِروُن رٰوَاق و دٰهٰبِیزٰ نٰبٰس،} \]
\[ \text{جٰنِّبٰا من و نٰو عٰقِلٰی و تِبیِّزٰی نٰبٰس،} \]
\[ \text{ناجُبٰر کُه وُهٰر کُرٰد۳ حٰنٰا جَبٰری مَهٰنٰی} \]
\[ \text{حمٰوضٰ نکُذٰر اّزٰبٰن حٰیٰل حٰان حٰنٰی نٰبٰس;} \]

'No mansions lie beyond this earth and sea;
No reason dwells outside of me and thee:
That Nothing which is deemed by some men All,
O pass it by; 'tis but vain phantasy!' \[1\]

And it is for this reason that in their eyes attacks on men's lives, property and honour seem insignificant and of small account.

\[ \text{‘زٰر مٰن نَبٰی اّزٰر حٰخٰوردُ لٰوَد و مٰهٰر و مٰطٰرٰم نٰو مِسْاَرَدّ} \]

'To such one draught of wine in hue like fire
Outweighs the blood of brethren or of sire.'

In truth our applause is the just meed of these our great and favoured guides to whom matters which, notwithstanding the cultivation of the reasoning powers, remained hidden for several thousand years have been made plain without trouble.

So in like manner 'Ubayd-i-Zâkînâ deals with the other virtues. Thus in speaking of the "adopted" or current view about Courage, which is the subject of the second chapter, he says:

"Our teachers say that when one confronts a dangerous enterprise, or engages in combat and conflict with another, one of two things will happen: either his adversary will prevail and slay him, or the contrary. If he slays his adversary, he will have on his neck the burden of innocent blood, and as a consequence thereof will undoubtedly sooner or later be overtaken by punishment. If, on the other hand, his adversary prevails, that person will assuredly go the road to Hell. How, then, can a wise man undertake an action presenting such alternatives? What proof, indeed, is clearer than this, that whenever there is a wedding, or a dance, or any social function where delicate meats, sweets, robes of honour and money are in evidence, rakes, effeminate persons, minstrels and jesters are invited there, while when arrows and spears are the entertainment provided, some stupid fool is persuaded that he is a man, a hero, a defeater of armies, a captain courageous, and is thus induced to confront the swords, so that when the poor wretch is slain in battle the rakes and effeminates of the town wag their tails, saying:

\[ \text{‘مٰسٰت حٰکٰم نِبٰثی نٰبٰس و بٰشٰتٰ نٰبٰس،} \]
\[ \text{مَلٰکٰت و مَلٰکٰت نٰبٰس و مَلٰکٰت نٰبٰس،} \]
\[ \text{مٰلٰکٰت و مَلٰکٰت نٰبٰس و مَلٰکٰت نٰبٰس،} \]

'Scant attraction have arrow and axe and spear for me; Minstrels, wine and delicate meats far better agree!' \[2\]

The third chapter, dealing with Chastity, hardly lends itself to translation, but the "adopted view" concerning Justice in the fourth chapter is worth quoting.

"The view of our teachers is that this quality is the worst of all attributes, and that Justice involves much loss; a thesis which they have proved by the clearest arguments. For they say: ‘The founda-
tion of sovereignty, lordship and mastery is punishment, since men will not obey any one until they fear him; all will feel themselves equal; the foundations of administration will be undermined, and the order of public business disorganized. He who practices Justice (which God forbid!) refrains from beating, killing and fining any one, and does not intoxicate himself and quarrel or be angry with his subordinates, him none will fear. Then the people will not obey their kings, nor sons their sires, nor servants their masters, while the affairs of the lands and the people will lapse into chaos. Hence it is that they say:

"Kings to gain a single object oft will slay a hundred souls."

"And they further say: 'Justice bequeaths disaster.'"

What proof, indeed, can be more convincing than this, that so long as the Kings of Persia played the tyrant, like Dabkā the Arabian and Yazdigird 'the Sinner' (who now confer distinction on the chief seats of Hell, together with other later potentates who followed them), their Empire increased and their realm flourished; but when the reign of Khosraw Anšārwān came, who, by reason of his weak judgement and the policy of his feeble-minded ministers chose the attribute of Justice, in a little while the pinnacles of his Palace fell to the ground, the Fire Temples, which were their places of worship, were extinguished, and all trace of them disappeared from the face of the earth! The Commander of the Faithful and Conformer of the Laws of Religion 'Umar ibnul-Khattāb (may God be well pleased with him), who was noted for his justice, made bricks and ate barley-bread, while his cloak, as they relate, weighed seventeen maunds. Mu'tāwiya, by the blessing of Injustice, wrested the kingdom from the hands of the Imām 'Ali (may God ennoble his countenance). Nebuchadnezzar did not establish his authority, nor become eminent in both worlds, nor did his empire increase, until he slew twelve thousand innocent prophets in the Holy City and cast into bondage many thousand more. Chingiz Khān, who to-day, in despite of his enemies, stands supreme in the lower depths of Hell as the exemplar and guide of all the Mongols, ancient and modern, did not attain to the sovereignty of the whole world until with ruthless sword he had destroyed millions of innocent persons.

"Anecdote.

"It is recorded in the histories of the Mongols that when Baghddād was conquered by Hūżaḍ Khān he ordered the remnant of the inhabitants who had escaped the sword to be brought before him. He then enquired into the circumstances of each class, and, when he was acquainted with them, he said: 'Artisans are indispensable,' and gave them permission to go about their business. To the merchants he commanded that some capital should be given, so that they might trade for him. From the Jews he was content to take a poll-tax, declaring them to be an oppressed people; while the effeminate he consigned to his gynaecia. He then set apart the judges, shaykhs, $Gfls, Hājj(ijis, preachers, persons of note, beggars, religious mendicants, wrestlers, poets and story-tellers, saying, 'These are superfluous creatures who waste God's blessings,' and ordered all of them to be drowned in the Tigris, thus purifying the face of earth from their vile existence. As a natural consequence sovereignty continued in his family for nearly ninety years, during which time their Empire daily increased; until, when poor Abū Sa'id conceived in his mind a sentimental passion for Justice, and branded himself with the stigma of this quality, his Empire shortly came to an end, and the House of Hūžaḍ Khān and all his endeavours were brought to naught through the aspirations of Abū Sa'id..."

The "Book of the Beard" (Rish-nāma) is a fantastic dialogue between 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī and the beard considered as the destroyer of youthful beauty.

The "Hundred Counsels" (Sad Pand) was composed in 750/1350, and, as its name implies, comprises a hundred aphorisms, some serious, such as: "O dear friends, make the most of life"; "Do not defer until to-morrow the pleasure of to-day";

"Profit by the present, for life will not return a second time"; and some ironical and ribald, such as: "So far as you are able, refrain from speaking the truth, so that you may not be a bore to other people, and that they may not be vexed with you without due cause"; "Do not believe the words of pious and learned men, lest you go astray and fall into Hell"; 'Do not take lodgings in a street where there is a minaret, so that you may be safe from the annoyance of cacophonous mu'adhdhins'; "Despise not ribaldry, nor regard satirists with the eye of scorn."
The "Definitions" (Ta'yrâs), or "Ten Sections" (Dah Faşl) is, like the "Hundred Counsels" just mentioned, a tract of only a few pages. A few specimens from it will suffice to show its character.

"First Section: on the World and what is therein.
"The World. That place wherein no creature can enjoy peace.
   The Wise Man. He who does not concern himself with the world and its inhabitants.
   The Perfect Man. He who is not affected by grief or gladness.
   Thought. That which wearies men to no purpose.
   The Man of Learning. He who has not sense enough to earn his own livelihood.
   The Ignorant Man. Fortune's favourite.

"Second Section: on the Turks and their friends.
"Gog and Magog. The Turkish tribes when they set out for a country.
   The Infernal Guard. Their leaders.
   Famine. The result of their advent.
   The Constable. He who robs by night and demands payment from the shop-keepers by day.

"Third Section: on the Judge and his appanages.
"The Judge. He whom all men curse.
   The Advocate. He who renders the truth of no effect.
   Bribery. That which does the business of the helpless.
   The Lucky Man. He who never sees the Judge's countenance.
   The Preacher. An ass.
   The Prelector. An ass's tail.
   The Poet. A greedy coxcomb.

"Fourth Section: on Shaykhs and their dependents.
"The Shaykh. Iblis (the Devil).
   The Devils. His followers.
   The Šâfî. He who eats what he has not earned.
   The Lâfjâ. He who swears falsely by the Ka'ba.

"Fifth Section: on the Gentry.
"Boasting and impudence. The Gentry's stock-in-trade.
   Nothing. Their existence.
   Hollow. Their politeness.
   Vanity and folly. Their talk.
   Fault-finding, greed, avarice and envy. Their characteristics.
   The Fool. He who hopes any good of them.

"Sixth Section: on Artisans and Officials.
"The Shopman. He who fears not God.
   The Druggist. He who wants to make everyone ill.
   The Doctor. An executioner.
   The Liar. The astrologer.
   The Athlete. An idle rogue.
   The Broker. The chartered thief of the market-place.
   One per cent. What does not reach the landlord from his crops.
   Complaint. What is carried to the landlord.

"Seventh Section: on Wine and its appurtenances.
"Wine. The source of disturbance.
   Backgammon, beauties, candles and desert. Its instruments.
   The Harp, Lute and Dulcimer. Its music.
   Soup and roasted meat. Its food.
   The Garden and Parterre. Its appropriate place.
   The 'Destroyer of Joys.' Rama'dân.
   The 'Night of Worth.' The eve of the festival.

"Eighth Section: on Bang and its accessories.
"Bang. That which fills the Šâfî with ecstasy.
   The Bejewelled or the Noble on both sides. He who indulges simultaneously in bang and wine.
   The Disappointed. He who enjoys neither.

"Ninth Section: the Householder and what appertains to him.
"The Bachelor. He who laughs at the world's beard.
   The Unfortunate. The householder.
   The Two-horned (Dhu'l-Qarnayn). He who has two wives.
   The most unfortunate of the unfortunate. He who has more.
   The Futile. The householder's life.
Tenth Section: on the true nature of Men and Women.

The Lady. She who has many lovers.
The Housewife. She who has few.
The Viroine. She who is satisfied with one lover.
The Maiden. A name denoting what does not exist.

The "Joyous Treatise" (Risâla-i-Dilgushâ) is a collection of short Arabic and Persian stories and facettes, mostly of a somewhat ribald character, preceded by a short Preface. A few specimens of both parts arc here appended.

(Arabic Stories.)

"Juhâ once went to al-Kindâs ("the Dust-heap") to buy a donkey. A man met him and asked him where he was going. He replied, 'To al-Kindâs to buy a donkey.' 'Say, "Please God,"' answered the other. 'There is no "Please God" about it,' responded Juhâ: 'the donkey is in the market and the money is in my sleeve.'

"Now when he entered the market, some pickpockets fell upon him and stole his money. And as he returned, the man met him again, and enquired whence he came. He replied, 'From the market, Please God. My money has been stolen, Please God. So I did not buy the donkey, Please God. And I am returning to my house disappointed and despoiled, Please God.'"

"A certain man met another riding on a sorry ass, and enquired of him, 'Whither away?' He replied, 'To try to reach the Friday prayer.' 'Out on thee!' exclaimed the other; 'To-day is Tuesday!' 'I shall be lucky,' answered the rider, 'if my ass gets me to the mosque by Saturday!'"

"A man came to Iyâs ibn Mu'awiya and asked him: 'If I should eat dates, would it harm me?' He replied, 'No.' 'What would happen,' he continued, 'if I were to eat fennel with bread?' 'Nothing would happen,' he answered. 'And if I then drank a little water?' he asked. 'What forbids?' replied the other. Said the questioner, 'Date-wine is compounded of these things: how then can it be unlawful?'

'If I throw some earth at you,' said Iyâs, 'would it hurt?' 'No,' said the man. 'And if a little water was poured upon you, would any of your bones be broken?' continued Iyâs. 'No,' said the man. 'But if,' said Iyâs, 'out of the earth and the water I made a brick, and dried it in the sun, and then struck you on the head with it, how would it be?' 'It would kill me,' answered the other. Said Iyâs, 'This case is like that.'"

(Persian Stories.)

"A certain Sh'iite entered a mosque and saw the names of the [four] Companions written on the wall. He wished to spit on the names of Abû Bakr and 'Umar, but his spittle fell on the name of 'Ali. He was greatly annoyed at this, and exclaimed, 'This is only what you deserve for keeping such company!'"

"A certain man claimed to be God. He was brought before the Caliph, who said to him, 'Last year someone here claimed to be a prophet, and he was put to death.' 'It was well done,' replied the man, 'for I did not send him.'"

"Juhâ in his childhood was apprenticed for some days to a tailor. One day his master brought a jar of honey to the shop. Desiring to go out on some business, he said to Juhâ, 'There is poison in this jar: beware lest you partake of it, or you will perish!' Said Juhâ, 'What have I to do with it?' When his master had gone, Juhâ gave a piece of cloth to a money-changer and bought a piece of baker's bread, which he ate with all the honey. When his master returned, he demanded the piece of cloth. 'Don't beat me,' said Juhâ, 'so that I may tell you the truth. A thief stole the piece of cloth while I was not paying attention. I was afraid that when you came back you would beat me, so I said to myself that I would take poison, so that when you returned I should be dead. So I ate all the poison which was in the jar, but I am still alive. The rest you know.'"

"A Qazwîni armed with an enormous shield went out to fight the Heretics. A stone fired from their stronghold struck him and broke through his shield."

1 I.e. the four Orthodox Caliphs, Abû Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Ali, of whom the Shi'ites regard the first three as usurpers.
2 Maládhâda, i.e. the Assassins, whose chief fortress, Alamût, was situated near Qazwîn.
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his head. He was much annoyed and exclaimed, 'O fellow, are you blind that you cannot see so large a shield and must needs hit me on the head?'

'The son of a certain Qazwíní fell into a well. 'O my dear boy,' he exclaimed, 'don't move from where you are until I go and fetch a rope and pull you out!'

'A certain mu'adhdhin was running along shouting the call to prayer. They asked him why he was running. He replied, 'They tell me that my voice sounds best from a distance, so I am running away from it to see if this is true.'

'Sultan Mahmod saw a feeble old man carrying on his back a load of firewood. Being moved to pity, he said, 'Old man, would you prefer that I should give you two or three gold dinars, or a donkey, or two or three sheep, or a garden, so that you may be delivered from this misery? 'Give me money,' said the old man, 'so that I may put it in my girdle, and ride on the donkey, and drive the sheep before me, and go to the garden, and rest there, through your favour, for the rest of my life.' The Sultan was pleased at his reply, and gave orders that this should be done.'

'A man said to his friend, 'My eye hurts me. What should I do?' 'Last year,' replied his friend, 'one of my teeth hurt me and I pulled it out.'

'A bald man coming out from the bath found that his hat had been stolen, and had a violent altercation with the bathman, who declared that he had no hat on when he came. 'O Musulmán!' exclaimed the man, 'is mine the kind of head which goes about hatless?'

'A certain Qazwíní was asked if he knew about 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful. 'Of course I know about him,' he replied. 'Which of the Caliphs was he in order?' they asked. 'I know nothing about Caliphs,' he answered, 'but it was he whom Husayn caused to die a martyr's death on the Plain of Karbalá!'

'A certain gipsy reproached his son, saying, 'You do nothing, and spend your life in idleness. How often must I tell you that you should learn to turn somersaults, make dogs jump through hoops, or walk on the tightrope, so that you may derive some profit from life. If you won't listen to me, by Heaven, I will send you to college to learn their moth-eaten science and to become a learned man, so that all your life you may continue in abasement, poverty and evil fortune, and be unable to earn a single barleycorn anywhere.'

'A certain Qazwíní was returning from Baghdád in the summer. They asked him what he was doing there. He replied, 'Sweating.'

With the "Joyous Treatise," from which the few anecdotes given above are taken, the printed edition of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání's works ends, except for two letters—models of unintelligible vulgarity and full of solecisms—ascribed to Shaykh Shihábü'd-Dín Qalandar and Mawlání Jalálü'd-Dín b. Husám of Herát, but no doubt written by 'Ubayd himself in order to hold them up to ridicule.

I have devoted to 'Ubayd-i-Zákání more space than he may be deemed by many students of Persian literature to deserve, but, in spite of his coarseness and cynicism, his strong originality and boldness of speech appear to me to entitle him to more consideration than he has hitherto received.

His "Ethics of the Aristocracy" is valuable for the light it throws on the corrupt morals of his age, and it is at least conceivable that, as 'Ubayd's biographer suggests, it was really written with serious purpose to awaken his countrymen to the lamentable deterioration in public and private life which had taken place in Persia during the Mongol ascendancy. In style and subject-matter 'Ubayd-i-Zákání stands almost alone amongst the older poets, though he bears some resemblance to his predecessor Súzání, and to his successors Abá Isháq (Bushaq) of Shíráz, the parodist and poet of the kitchen, and Mahmúd Qáří of Yazd, the poet of clothes. Amongst the moderns, the learned Mírzá Hábíb of Isfahán, the editor of his books, who died in Constantinople towards the end of the nineteenth century, rivals and even surpasses him in hazalyyáát or ribald poems.
4. 'Imád of Kírmán.

Such fame as this poet enjoys arises chiefly from the fact that he was a rival of the great Háfiz, and is supposed to be aimed at in a rather spiteful poem by the latter, especially in the verse:

أي طلبت هوى خرائط ضحايا مبوري بأسبت

"O gracefully-walking partridge, whither goest thou? Stop!
Be not deceived because the zealot's cat says its prayers!"

The story is that 'Imád stood high in the favour of Sháh Shújá, the Muẓaffar, with whom, on the other hand, Háfiz was by no means a person grata. 'Imád, who, as his title Faqíh indicates, was a theologian, had a tame cat which he had taught to go through the appropriate postures and genuflections when he prayed, and this art of mimicry was regarded by the Prince as miraculous, but by Háfiz as a piece of hypocritical cunning.

Notices of 'Imád are given by Dawlatsháh and Jámi (in the Baháristán, chapter vii), and in the Atash-kada, the Haft Iqilm and the Hašiba's-Siýar (as mentioned above), and most other biographies of poets, but these contain very little indeed about his life. He is said to have been highly respected at Kírmán, and to have had a college or retreat there.

He was wont, says Jámi, "to recite his verses to all who visited the rest-house (Khanqah), requesting them to criticize and amend them, whence it is that they say that his poetry is really the poetry of all the people of Kírmán." Dawlatsháh quotes the opinion of Ádharí, author of the "Gems of Mysteries" (Jawhírul-Ašádir), who says:

"Critical scholars hold that some redundancy ('stuffing'—hashw) is to be observed at times in the poetry of all the ancients and moderns except in that of Khwája 'Imád-i-Fačí, in which, as they agree, there is absolutely no such lapse, either in words or ideas."

'Imád's extant work comprises a Díván of lyric poetry, of which copies are not common, and at least five mathnáwi poems, of which the earliest, entitled Mašábat-námá-i-Sáhib-díldm, was composed in 722/1322, and the latest, the Mání·sul·Abrár, in 766/1364. According to Dawlatsháh, he died in 773/1371-2, evidently at a fairly advanced age. The following is a translation of the first of the two odes of 'Imád quoted by this biographer:

"The poor patient in the hospital of Religion who details his symptoms to the physicians who sit by the road,
What cares he for the road, the pain, the trouble and the sickness
Who has Khíd for his friend and Christ for his companion?
On the first day of Eternity Past I inscribed on the Tablet of my Soul
Of the words of my father (may his tomb be fragrant!)
these:
'O child, if thou meetest with one who is fallen,
Do not mock him, nor look on him with the eyes of scorn!
For this reason did the great religious leaders ride on lions,
Because they trod the earth more gently than ants.
If no heart in the world is cheered by thee,
At least do not so act that any spirit may be saddened by thee.
O 'Imád, one cannot seek for any friend but God:
Help, O Helper! From Thee do we seek assistance!"

1 See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the Díván of Háfiz, vol. i, pp. 316-317, in the note to which, however, the allusion is otherwise explained. See also p. 243, n. 1 supra.
4 P. 110.
Salimán of Sáwa
(Jamálud-Dín Muhammad Salimán b. ’Alá’ud-Dín Muhammad).

Salimán of Sáwa, who has been already mentioned in connection with ’Ubayd-i-Záknán, is another poet whose eminence has been certified by the great Háfíz in the following verse:

Dost thou know who is the chief of the scholars of this age
In the way of truth and certainty, not in the way of doubt and falsehood?
That monarch of the accomplished and king of the realm of verse
That ornament of Church and State, Jamálud-Dín, the Master of the World Salimán.

He was essentially a court-poet and panegyrist, and was attached during the greater part of his long life to the Fl-khání or Jalá’ír dynasty, his special patrons being Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzzár, the founder of that dynasty, his consort Dilshíd Khánán, and their son Shaykh Uways. Apart from the notices of him given by the biographers cited throughout this chapter,1 attention should be called to two excellent biographies by Indian scholars, one in English and the other in Urdu. The first, in the Catalogue of...the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, Firdawst to Háfíz (pp. 219–225), is by Mawlání ’Abdullá Muqtádir, and gives a very good critical summary of the data furnished by the Persian biographers. The second is contained in an admirable collection of studies of some twenty eminent


That Salimán was born in or about the year 700/1300 is proved, as pointed out by Mawlání ’Abdullá Muqtádir, by a verse in the Firdáq-náma ("Book of Separation"), composed in 761/1360, in which the poet says that his age had then passed sixty-one; and the same scholar gives good reason for believing that he died on Monday, Safar 12, 778 (July 1, 1376). He composed two mathnáwí poems, the above-mentioned Firdáq-náma and another entitled Jamshíd a Khurshíd, and a number of odes (ghazalíyat), fragments (muqattátíyat), and quatrains (rubáíyat), but it is as a qaṣida-writer and panegyrist that he excels, often surpassing, as Jámí says, the earlier masters, such as Kámál Isma’il, Žahir of Fáyáb, Athír-i-Awmañí, Sána’í, etc., whom he took for his models. Of his odes (ghazalíyat) Jámí says that they too are very agreeable and highly finished, but that, "being devoid of the savour of love and passion which is the essence of the ghazal, they are not very highly esteemed by men of taste." In the Bombay lithographed edition of Salimán’s Kázíyát, the qaṣídas, with two tajjí-bands, fill the first 135 pages, the ghásals pp. 136–230, and the quatrains the last six pages.

Salimán’s earliest poems, as ‘Abdullá Muqtádir observes, are apparently his elegies on the death of Sultán Abú Sa’íd (Nov.–Dec., 1335), and of his great minister Khwája Ghiyáthu’d-Dín Muhammad, who was put to death on Ramadán 21, 736 (May 3, 1336). In this same year Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzzár established the dynasty known as Fl-khání, with its capital at Baghdád, and thither Salimán, attracted by the fame of that ruler’s generosity to men of letters, made his way, probably soon after the cruel and
violent death of his earlier patron Ghiyathu'd-Din. It is related by Dawlatshah and other writers that he first won Shaykh Hasan's favour by the following verses which he extemporized on some occasion when that Prince was exhibiting his skill with the bow:

“When the King lifted his Chachi bow
Thou wouldst have said that the Moon was in the Sign of Sagittarius.
I saw the two ‘crows’ of the bow and the three-winged eagle
Bring their heads together in one corner.
They laid their heads on the King's shoulder:
I know not what they whispered in the King's ear.
When the King loosed the bow-string from the finger-stall
From every side arose the twang of the string.
O King, the arrow is subject to thy schemes,
And fortune follows the flight of thy arrow.
In my time complaints arise from none
Save from the bow, which it is but right should lament.
For, in the reign of this auspicious Sultan
None does violence save to the bow.”

It was, however, according to the biographers, chiefly to the beautiful and accomplished Queen Dilshid Khitlin, and to the amiable Prince Uways, that Salmin owed the favours which he enjoyed at the Il-khani court, of which he says:

"Through the auspicious fortune of this House I have captured the world with the sword of my tongue.
To-day from the East to the West I am more famous than the Sun."

Shaykh Uways succeeded to the throne in 757/1356 and reigned nearly twenty years, and to him a great number of Salmin's qasidas are addressed, while anecdotes given by Dawlatshah and reproduced by Ouseley in his Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets show the intimacy which prevailed between the two. This prince is said by Dawlatshah to have been of such striking beauty that when he rode out the people of Baghdad used to flock into the streets to gaze upon a countenance which seemed to reincarnate the legendary comeliness of Joseph. When overtaken by untimely death, he is said to have composed the following fine verses:

From the spirit-world one day to the realms of Body and Sense did I roam;
I sojourned here for a few brief days, and now I am going home.
The servant was I of a mighty Lord, and I fled from my Liege and Lord,
Whom now in shame I am going to meet with a winding-sheet and a sword.
Comrades of mine, I leave you now to joys which I may not share,
And that you may enjoy this banquet long is my parting hope and prayer!

As is usually the case with panegyrists, many of Salmin's qasidas refer to definite historical events, and can therefore be dated. Mawlawi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir gives a list of ten such poems, with their dates and the occasions

1 For the text, see my edition of Dawlatshah, p. 257, II. 15-21.
2 Chachi, or Shash, the modern Tashkand, is a place in Turkistan celebrated for its bows.
3 Each of the two horns or tips of a bow is called 6dgk, “crow.”
4 The “three-winged eagle” is the arrow.
5 This indicates metaphorically the full drawing of the bow.
which called them forth, from the Ḥabib’s-Siyyar. The earliest of them, composed in 739/1338 on the occasion of the flight of Shaykh Ḥasan-i-Buzurg to Baghdād, begins:

 waktu صبهست و لپ دجاله و انفاس ببارا

 "It is the time of morning, and the brink of the Tigris, and the breath of Spring; O, boy, bring the wine-boat to the estuary of Baghdād!"

The two latest, composed in 777/1375, celebrate a victory of Shāh Shujā’ in Adharbāyjān. The second of them, which won that Prince’s high approval, begins:

 "We had heard the fame of three notable persons of this country, and found them differing in their circumstances. Salmin exceeded all that was said in his praise; Yusuf Shāh the minstrel agreed with his reputation; and Shaykh Kajahānī fell short of his."

One of the most celebrated of Salmin’s qaṣīdas, however, was written to commemorate the death of Shaykh Uways, which took place in Jumādā i, 776 (November, 1374). It begins:

 "O Heaven, go gently! It is no slight thing that thou hast done: Thou hast made desolate the land of Persia by the death of the King. Thou hast brought down a heaven from its zenith, And hast cast it on the earth and made it level with the dust. If thou walkest with truth, this is no insignificant matter: Thou hast attacked the life and property and honour of every Musulmn!"

As already stated, Salmān probably died in 778/1376, a year after the composition of two of the qaṣīdas mentioned above, so that he evidently continued to write poetry until the end of his long life, and did not, as stated by Dawlatshāhī, actually retire into seclusion, though he implies his desire and intention of so doing in an interesting poem cited by Shibli Nu’mání in his Shi’rul’-Ajām (vol. ii, pp. 198–200). In this poem he says that for nearly forty years he has celebrated his Royal patron’s praises in the East and in the West; that he is now old and feeble, lame, and weak of sight, and wishes to retire from Court and spend the remainder of his days in praying for the King; that having been the master of the realm of poets, he desires to become the servant of the poor; that he has no doubt that the King will continue his allowance, but that he would like its source and amount to be definitely fixed; and finally that he owes considerable sums of money which he cannot pay, and prays the King to discharge these debts for him. In reply the King is said to have written two couplets on the poet’s versified petition, in the first of which he orders his allowance to be continued as heretofore, while in the second he assigns him the revenues of the village of Irān near Ray.

Shibli Nu’mání concludes his notice of Salmān with a fairly detailed and wholly favourable appreciation of his skill in the different forms of verse. His skill is chiefly

1 P. 261, l. 21, of my edition.
apparent in his gazīdas, which are remarkable for grace and fluency of language, and for a felicity of diction possessed by none of the earlier poets, and peculiar to those of this middle period, between which two groups Salām marks the transition. Shibli gives the following examples to illustrate his assertion:

"Thy mouth smiled, and produced a jar of sugar:
Thy lip spoke, and revealed glistening pearls.
Thy waist was undiscoverable, but thy girdle
Defly clasped it round, and revealed it in gold.
Cast aside the veil from thy face, for those black tresses
Have affected the fairness of thy cheeks."

Shibli next gives examples of Salīm’s skill in inventing those graceful and subtle conceits in which the poets of the middle and later periods take pride. The following specimens may suffice:

1. On account of its extreme slenderness.
2. The Persian New Year’s Day, or Naw-rūz, falls on March 21 and corresponds with the Vernal Equinox.
3. “The White Hand” is the hand that Moses drew forth from his garment “as white as snow.” Here the allusion is to the white blossoms.
"The carnelian of thy lip placed the coin of life in a casket of pearls; It was a precious stuff, so it put it in a hidden place. Thy lips put a ruby lock on the lid of that casket; Thy mole, which was of ambergris, set a seal upon it. A subtle thought, finer than a hair, suddenly came into the heart of thy girdle, and named it 'waist'."

"Henceforth make your rosary from the knots of the Maginn's tresses; Henceforth take as your nihr-abh the arch of the idols' (fair ones') eyebrows. Arise joyous like the bubbles from the rose-red wine, and base no hopes on this bubble-like revolving dome [of sky]."

"The Zephyr found the rose-bud laughing before thy mouth, And smote it so sharply in the mouth that its mouth was filled with blood."

"This means that the life of the lover is in his sweetheart's mouth, which, on account of the brilliant teeth, he compares to a casket of pearls, and, on account of its smallness, to "a hidden place.""

A slender waist and a small mouth are accounted amongst the chief charms of Persian beauties. Both are here described in the most exaggerated terms.

"I will not set my foot one hair's breadth outside this circle, Even though they should split me like a compass into two halves from head to foot."

Other points in Salmán's poetry noted by Shibli Nu'mání are his skill in the successful manipulation of difficult rhymes and awkward refrains. Thus he has long ga'idas in which each verse ends with such words as dast ("hand"), ādy ("foot"), ṭu ("face"), bar sar ("on the head") preceded by the rhyming word, yet which maintain an easy and natural flow of words and ideas.

Shibli Nu'mání next deals with the poet's "fragments" (mugattā'dt), or occasional verses, which, as usual with this class of verse, are connected with various incidents in his life, and therefore have a more personal note than the odes (ghazaliyyād) and elegies (qaṣidi'd), but which are unfortunately omitted from the Bombay lithographed edition.

On one occasion the King gave Salmán a black horse, which he did not like and wished to exchange for one of another colour, but the Master of the Horse apparently would not permit this. Thereupon he wrote as follows to his patron:

"Shāhā ma ba' asā bi mu'ūd-ud lāwad-i bo'dī;"

Dr. Paul Winsor has called my attention to the following parallel verse by Hāfsī, from which it appears that the circle formed by the down on the cheeks is here intended:

"Maddī kūrūsh ābin dāwār mara az hērī;"
"O King, thou didst promise me a horse: no further discussion is possible about the word of Kings. They gave me an old, black horse, and I am of opinion that no more aged black is to be found in the world.

I gave back that horse so that I might get another in such wise that none should have knowledge of this secret. I gave back a black horse, but they would not give me one of another colour; yes, indeed, 'There is no colour beyond black!'" 

Salman further satirized this unfortunate horse as follows:

"King, thou hadst promised me a horse. I had hopes through thy good fortune that I might mount a tall, young and ambling horse. They give me an old, lazy, undersized horse, not such a horse as I can ride. It is a horse black, feeble and lean as a pen: it would be the height of folly to mount such a beast. In truth it must be thirty years older than myself, and it is disrespectful to sit upon one's elders."

In another fragment Salman excuses his absence from the Court on the plea that his eyes are bad, and that though the dust of the King's threshold is a collyrium, yet the evil eye must be kept far from him:

"O King, thou didst promise me a horse: no further discussion is possible about the word of Kings. They gave me an old, black horse, and I am of opinion that no more aged black is to be found in the world. I gave back that horse so that I might get another in such wise that none should have knowledge of this secret. I gave back a black horse, but they would not give me one of another colour; yes, indeed, 'There is no colour beyond black!'"

Finally Shibl Nu'man speaks of the innovations introduced by Salman, and especially of his skilful use of the figure called *thdm* or "ambiguity."

The general conclusion seems to be that Salman deserves to be ranked amongst the great panegyrist and *qasidas* writers; that he was an ingenious, skilful and to a certain extent original poet, but that he lacks the fire, passion and conviction which make a poet great and famous beyond the limits of his own time and country.

6. **Hāfiz of Shiraz**
(Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad Hāfiz).

What has been already said generally at the beginning of this chapter as to the extraordinary dearth of trustworthy information concerning the poets of this period applies especially to the most eminent and famous of them, and indeed of all the poets of Persia, the immortal and incomparable Hāfiz of Shiraz, entitled by his admirers *Lisání'l-Ghayb* ("the Tongue of the Unseen") and *Tarjumání'l-Asrār* ("the Interpreter of Mysteries"). Notices of him naturally occur in all the numerous bio-
The biographies of poets composed subsequently to his death, beginning with Dawlatshih, who wrote just a century after this event, down to quite modern compilations, like Ridáquli Khán's Majma'ul-Fusahá and Riyádul'l-Árifín; but these contain few trustworthy biographical details, and consist for the most part of anecdotes connected with certain verses of his poems, and probably in most cases, if not all, invented to explain or illustrate them. The only contemporary mention of HáFiż with which I am acquainted is contained in the Preface of his friend and the collector and editor of his poems, Muhammad Gulandám, who, after expatiating on the poet's incomparable genius, his catholic sympathy, and the celebrity attained by his verse even in his lifetime, not only in Persia, from Fárs to Khorásán and Ádharbájýán, but in India, Turkistán and Mesopotamia, proceeds as follows:

"However, diligent study of the Qur’dn, constant attendance to the King's business, the annotation of the Kashíkh1 and the Mfshíkh2, the perusal of the Matáli‘3 and the Mfshíkh4, the acquisition of canons of literary criticism and the appreciation of Arabic poems prevented him from collecting his verses and odes, or editing and arranging his poems. The writer of these lines, this least of men, Muhammad Gulandám, when he was attending the lectures of our Master, that most eminent teacher Qiwámu’d-Dín ‘Abdu’lláh, used constantly and repeatedly to urge, in the course of conversation, that he (Háfiz) should gather together all these rare gems in one concatenation and assemble all these lustrous pearls on one string, so that they might become a necklace of great price for his contemporaries and a garland for the bride of his time. With this request, however, he was unable to comply, alleging lack of appreciation on the part of his contemporaries as an excuse, until he bade farewell to this life...in A.H. 791" (A.D. 1389).

1 The celebrated commentary on the Qur’dn of az-Zamakhshari.
2 Of the many works of this name that of al-Mufarrízi (d. 610/1213) on Arabic grammar is probably intended.
3 The Matáli‘-Ánşár of al-Badráwí (d. 683/1284) is probably meant.
4 The Mfshíkh-ul-Ulám of as-Sakkáki (d. 626/1229) is probably intended.
Uns; Lutf 'Ali Beg’s Atash-kada ("Fire-temple"), which mainly follows Dawlatshah; the Haft Iqzila; and the quite modern Majma'ul-Fuqaha ("Assembly of the Eloquent"), which gives several fresh particulars of doubtful authenticity, such as that Hafiz came originally from Tuyusirkán and that he composed a commentary on the Qur'an.

Shibli Nu'manı arranges his matter systematically, beginning with an account of the poet’s parentage and education derived from the above-mentioned May-khana, to which, however, he apparently attaches little credence. According to this account, the father of Hafiz, who was named Bahá'u'd-Din, migrated from Isfahán to Shiráz in the time of the Atábeks of Fars, and there enriched himself by commerce, but died leaving his affairs in confusion, and his wife and little son in penury, so that the latter was obliged to earn a livelihood by the sweat of his brow. Nevertheless he found time and means to attend a neighbouring school, where he obtained at least a respectable education and learned the Qur’an by heart, in consequence of which he afterwards adopted in his poems the nom de guerre of “Hafiz” ("Rememberer"), a term commonly applied to those who have committed to memory and can recite without error the sacred book of Islam. He soon began to compose and recite poems, but with small success until in a vigil at the shrine of Bábá Kúhi on a hill to the north of Shiráz he was visited by the Imam ‘Ali, who gave him to eat some mysterious heavenly food and told him that henceforth the gift of poetry and the keys of all knowledge should be his.

Shibli Nu’mání next passes to the enumeration of the several kings and princes whose favour and patronage Hafiz enjoyed. Of these the first was Shah (or Shaykh) Abú Isháq Injú, the son of Mazjum Injú who was appointed governor of Fars in the reign of

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1 W. Nassau Lees' Calcutta printed ed. of 1859, p. 715.
2 According to the Fars-nama he was put to death by Arpa (in 736/1335-6), who was in turn put to death by his son Mas'ud Injú.

Add. 7468 (Brit. Mus.), f. 34

To face p. 274
Gházán Khán. This Abú Iṣḥāq was a poet and friend of poets, heedless, pleasure-loving, and so negligent of the affairs of state that when he was at last induced by his favourite Shaykh Aminu'd-Dīn to fix his attention on the Muẓaffari hosts who were investing his capital, he merely remarked that his enemy must be a fool to waste the delicious season of Spring in such fashion, and concluded by reciting the verse:

"Come, let us make merry just for this one night,
And let us deal tomorrow with tomorrow's business."

Concerning Abú Iṣḥāq's brief but genial reign at Shíráz, Háfiz says:

"In truth the turquoise ring of Abú Iṣḥāq
Flashed finely, but it was a transitory prosperity."

The following verses, commemorating five merits of Shaykh of the chief ornaments of Shaykh Abú Iṣḥāq's court, also belong to this period:

"According to the Fārs-nāma he captured Shíráz in 743/1342-3, was besieged there by Mubārāz'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar in 753/1352-3, when, after losing his little son ʿAlī Sahl, he was driven back to Isfahān, and was finally captured and put to death by his rival in 758/1357."
During the period of Shāh Shāhīk Abū Ishāq’s rule
The kingdom of Fārs thrived wondrously through five persons.
First, a king like him, a giver of governments,
Who, thou wouldst say, snatched preeminence by justice, bounty and
equity.
Secondly, that Remnant of the Abūl-Zul‘, Shaykh Amlnu’d-Dīn,
Who was numbered amongst the ‘Poles’ and was the meeting-place
of the Azutat’al.
Thirdly, one like that just judge Asṣūl’l-Millat wa’d-Dīn,
Who dedicated his explanation of the Mawqifīf to the King.
Again one so generous as Hijji Qiwamār, whose heart is as the Ocean,
Who, like Hātim, invited all men to partake of his bounty.
These departed, leaving none like unto themselves
May God most Great and Glorious forgive them all!

The Abdāl (“Substitutes”), Aqtdāb (“Poles”), and Awtād (literally
“Tent-peg”) are three classes of the Rijāl-Ghawb, or “Men of the
Unseen World,” who are supposed by the Sufis to watch over the order
of the world and the welfare of mankind. Their number and functions
are discussed in the “Definitions” (Ta’rīkh) of ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī,
who was appointed by Shāh Shujā to a Professorship in Shirāz, and
must have been acquainted with Hāfiz. He died in 816/1413.

1 Aṣadu’d-Dīn ‘Abdu’r-Rahmān b. ‘Ajmad al-‘Ijī composed a
number of works on theology, ethics, philosophy, etc., amongst which
the Mawqīfīf ‘Imāl’-Kalām (on which al-Jurjānī, mentioned in the
preceding note, wrote a commentary) is the most celebrated. He died

2 Hājji Qiwāmār is celebrated by Hāfiz in other poems, as in the well-
known verse:

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2 Hājji Qiwāmār is celebrated by Hāfiz in other poems, as in the well-
known verse:
The reopening of the taverns is celebrated by Háfíz in the following verses:

"At early dawn good tidings reached my ear from the Unseen Voice:
'It is the era of Sháh Shuji': drink wine boldly!"
That time is gone when men of insight went apart
With a thousand words in the mouth but their lips silent.
To the sound of the harp we will tell those stories
At the hearing of which the cauldron of our bosoms boiled.
Princes [alone] know the secrets of their kingdom;
O Háfiż, thou art a beggarly recluse; hold thy peace!"

In another poem Háfiż says:

"On the sound of the harp we will tell those stories
At the hearing of which the cauldron of our bosoms boiled.
Princes [alone] know the secrets of their kingdom;
O Háfiż, thou art a beggarly recluse; hold thy peace!"

In another poem he says:

"I swear by the pomp and rank of Sháh Shuji'
That I have no quarrel with anyone on account of wealth and position.
See how he who [formerly] would not permit the hearing of music
Now goes dancing to the strains of the harp."

In another poem he says:

"In the assembly of the time the concomitants of wine-bibbing are laid low;
Neither is the hand on the harp, nor the tambourine in the hand.
All the revellers have abandoned the worship of wine
Save the city constable, who is drunk without wine."

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1 *i.e.* strings or chords.
2 The sale of wine in Muhammadan countries is carried on by non-Muslims, Jews, Christians, or Zoroastrians. With Háfiż and his congener the "Elder or the Magians" (Pir-i-Moghādā) and the "Magian boys" (Mugh-bacha-hā) are familiar concomitants of the tavern.
3 *i.e.* Wine, similarly called by the Arabs *Bintu 'l-Intāb*. 

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 mulheres do tempo (v. 112)
"The harp began to clamour 'Where is the objector?'
The cup began to laugh 'Where is the forbidder'?
Pray for the King's long life if thou seekest the world's welfare,
For he is a beneficent being and a generous benefactor,
The manifestation of Eternal Grace, the Light of the Eye of Hope,
The combiner of theory and practice, the Life of the World, Shâh Shujâ'."

In spite of this and other verses in praise of Shâh Shujâ', the relations between the Prince and the Poet are said to have been somewhat strained. Shâh Shujâ' was jealous or afraid Shujâ' had a great opinion of a poet named 'Imâd-i-Faqîh ('the Jurisconsult') of Kirmân, who is said to have taught his cat to follow him in its genuflections when he performed his prayers. This achievement was attributed by the Prince almost a miracle, but by Hâfîz a charlatan's trick, concerning which he said:

"The Sûfî hath made display of his virtues and begun his blandishments; He hath inaugurated his scherms with the juggling heavens. O gracefully-moving partridge who walkest with so pretty an air, Be not deceived because the cat of the ascetic hath said its prayers!"

The scorn expressed by Hâfîz for 'Imâd is said to have been the original cause of Shâh Shujâ’'s dislike for him, but the Prince himself was his not very successful rival in the field of poetry, and jealousy appears to have increased that dislike. On one occasion the Prince criticized Hâfîz's verse on the ground of its many-sided aspects: no one motive, he complained, inspired it; it was at one moment mystical, at another erotic and bacchanalian; now serious and spiritual, and again flippant and worldly, or worse. "True," replied Hâfîz, "but in spite of all this everyone knows, admires and repeats my verses, while the verses of some poets whom I could name never go beyond the city gates."

Shâh Shujâ' was greatly incensed at this answer, and soon afterwards came across the following verse of Hâfîz which seemed to deliver the poet into his hands:

"If Muhammadanism be that which Hâfîz holds,
Alas if there should be a to-morrow after to-day!"

Hâfîz being warned that this verse was to be made the ground of a charge of heresy or agnosticism against him, went in great perturbation to Mawlânâ Zaynu'd-Din Abû Bakr Tâyabâdî, who happened at that time to be in Shirâz, and asked his advice. The latter recommended him to add another verse placing the words to which exception was taken in the mouth of another, on the principle that "the reporting of blasphemy is not blasphemy." Thereupon Hâfîz prefixed the following verse to the one cited above:

"How pleasant to me seemed this saying which at early morn
A Christian was reciting at the door of the tavern with tambourine and flute:"
On being charged with atheism he produced this verse along with the other, and said that he was not responsible for the opinions expressed by a Christian.

Shāh Shu'ārā died in 785/1383-4 or 785/2, and was succeeded by his son Zaynu'l-Abidīn, who, however, was deposed and imprisoned by his cousin Shāh Mansūr in 789/1387. Háfīz celebrated his triumph in a poem beginning:

"Come, for the standard of King Mansūr has arrived; The good tidings of conquest and victory have reached the Sun and the Moon."

The deposed ruler Zaynu'l-Abīdīn (who was subsequently blinded) had accepted the suzerainty of Timūr, received his ambassador, Qut bu'd-Dīn, and inserted his name in the khaṭṭa and on the coins, and Timūr himself entered Shīrāz in 789/1387, some time before Zaynu'l-
'Abīdīn's deposition. It must have been at this time, if at all, that the meeting between Timūr and Háfīz, described by Dawlatshāh and those who follow him in connection with Timūr's second entry into Shīrāz in 795/1393, three or four years after the poet's death, actually took place. The story, which is more celebrated than authentic, has been already given on pp. 188-189 supra. Dawlatshāh, with characteristic inaccuracy, first gives the date of this supposed meeting as 795/1393, and then states (incorrectly) that Háfīz died in the previous year, 794/1392. As a matter of fact he died in 791/1389, or possibly in the following year. The former date is that given by

1 This anecdote is given by the Hu š i b u's-Siyār, vol. iii, pt 2, pp. 37 et seqq.
2 The latter is the date given by the Mu jm al of Fašīh in the chronogram حیف از شاه شیع

the chronogram on his tombstone, so ingeniously paraphrased by Herman Bicknell as follows:

"On spiritual man the lamp of Háfīz gleamed; Musalla his home: a mournful date to gain. Thrice take thou from MOSALLA'S EARTH ITS RICHEST GRAIN."

The sum of the letters composing the words is 791, and the same date is obtained by subtracting three times CII (= 309) from MJI (= 1100)². The same date is given by Muhammad Gulandām, the editor of Háfīz's Dīwān; while the following year (792) is given by Jāmī in the Naqafat-ul-Uns, by Khwāndamīr in the Hūsīb u's-Siyār, and by Fašīh of Khwāf in his Mu jm al or Compendium of History and Biography.

Mention has already been made of the celebrity achieved by Háfīz even during his lifetime. As he himself says:

"The black-eyed beauties of Cashmere and the Turks of Samarqand Sing and dance to the strains of Shirāz's verse."

In another passage he says, speaking of a poem he had just composed:

In the chronogram, asSongs from his Poems, translated from the Persian by Herman Bicknell (Trübner and Co., London, 1875), p. xvi.
"All the parrots of India become sugar-breakers
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal,
Behold the annihilation of space and time in the pilgrimage of Poetry,
For this infant, though but one night old, is going on a year's journey!"

Not only with the Mu'azzarí rulers of Shíráz, but with many other contemporary princes, Háfiz entered into relations. Sultán Ahmad ibn Uways-i-Jalá'ír, the accomplished Il-khání ruler of Baghdád, himself a poet, musician, painter and artist, repeatedly strove to induce Háfiz to visit his court, but, as the poet himself sang:

"The zephyr-breeze of Mu'azzarí and the stream of Ruknábád
Do not permit me to travel or wander afield."

However he composed verses in this Prince's praise, amongst others the following:

"I praise God for the justice of the King
Ahmad the son of Shaykh Uways the son of Hasan Il-khání;
A Khán and the son of a Khán, a King of kingly descent,
Whom it were meet that I should call the Soul of the World.

No rose-bud of delight bloomed for me from the earth of Fárs:
O for the Tigris of Baghdád and the spiritual wine!
Curl your locks in Turkish fashion, for in thy fortune lie
The Empire of Khusraw and the status of Chingiz Khán."

But, though Háfiz never achieved the journey to Baghdád, he seems often to have thought of it:

"In Shíráz we did not find our way to our goal;
Happy that day when Háfiz shall take the road to Baghdád!"

Two kings of India also sought to persuade Háfiz to visit their courts. One of these was Mahmúd Sháh Bahmani of the Deccan, a liberal patron of poets, who, through his favourite Mír Fadlu'lláh, invited Háfiz to his capital, and sent him money for his journey. Háfiz spent a considerable portion of this sum before leaving Shíráz, and on arriving at Lár on his way to the Persian Gulf met with a destitute friend to whom he gave the remainder. Two Persian merchants, Khwája Zaynu'd-Din of Hamadáán, and Khwája Muhammád of Kázarún, who were on their way to India, offered to defray the poet's expenses in return for the pleasure of his company. He went with them as far as the port of Hurmuz, where a ship was waiting to convey him to India, but a tempest which arose just as he was embarking caused him such lively consternation that, abandoning his intention, he returned to Shíráz and sent to Mahmúd Sháh the poem beginning:
A verse-translation of the whole of this poem (though the verses stand in an order different from that given above) will be found amongst Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell's graceful renderings of *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*¹ (No. xxi, pp. 91–93), in which the stanzas corresponding to the four couplets cited above are as follows:

"Not all the sum of earthly happiness
Is worth the bowed head of a moment's pain,
And if I sell for wine my dervish dress
Worth more than what I sell is what I gain I

The Sultan's crown, with priceless jewels set,
Encircles fear of death and constant dread;
It is a head-dress much desired—and yet
Art sure 'tis worth the danger to the head?

Down in the quarter where they sell red wine
My holy carpet scarce would fetch a cup—
How brave a pledge of piety is mine,
Which is not worth a goblet foaming up!

Full easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
Lightened by hope of gain—hope flew too fast!
A hundred pearls² were poor indemnity,
Not worth the blast."

Another Indian king, Sultan Ghazyathud-Din ibn Sultan Sikandar of Bengal, stated by Shibli Nu'mani (who is responsible for the story)¹ to have ascended the throne in 768/1366–7, is said to have corresponded with Hafiz, who wrote for him the ode beginning:

"A cup-bearer there is talk of the cypress, the rose and the anemone,
And this discussion goes on with 'the three cleansing draughts':²
All the parrots of India will crack sugar
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal.

O Hafiz, be not heedless of the enthusiasm of the Court of Sultan Ghazyathud-Din,
For thy affair will be furthered by thy lamentation."

Having spoken of Hafiz's relations with contemporary princes, we pass now to the little that is known or conjectured as to his personal circumstances. For the statement that he fell in love with and ultimately married a girl called Shakhk-i-Nabat ("Branch of Sugar-cane") there is no weighty authority, nor are such domestic particulars to be expected from Persian biographers, in view of their reticence on all

¹ In Mawlawi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir's excellent *Bankyore Catalogue* (Persian Poets: Firdawsí to Hafiz: pp. 253–4) the King in question in this anecdote is the same as in the last, viz. Mahmud Sháh Bahmani, who reigned 780–799/1378–1396, and the anecdote assumes a different and fuller form.

² This is generally explained as meaning three draughts of wine taken in the morning after a debauch to "break the headache" caused by previous excess. The author of the *Catalogue* cited in the last note makes it refer to three of the Sultan's handmaidens called respectively Cypress, Rose, and Anemone, and named collectively, for reasons which he gives, "the three washerwomen."
matrimonial matters. That he married and had several
cchildren is probable. To the death of his wife he is supposed
to allude in a poem beginning 1 :

آن بار عزیر خانه، ما جاپ لدی بود،
سر تو قدمش جون بری از عید بری بود

"That sweet-heart through whom our home was Fairyland,
And who, from head to foot, was like a fairy, free from blemish,"
but there is nothing in the poem to show that his wife
is the person referred to. There is, however, a clearer
reference to the premature death of a son in the following
verses :

دلا دیدی که آن فرودانه فرودند،
چه دید اندر خیر این طاق رنگین;
بجاو لوح سیمین در خشترش;
فلک بر سر نبود لوح سگین;

"O heart, thou hast seen what that clever son
Has experienced within the dome of this many-coloured vault:
In place of a silver tablet 2 in his bosom
Fate hath placed a stone tablet 3 on his head."

The following fragment 4 , also believed to refer to the
death of this or another son, gives the date of this loss as
Friday, 6th of Rabi' 1, 764 (Dec. 24, 1362) :

زه فرحان جنان کس چو ندیده جمع تکرد;
لئاتِ سکیبا با خلاط ی فرانتی;

"It was the morning of Friday and the sixth of the first Rabi'
When the visage of that moon-faced one declined from my heart.
In the year seven hundred and sixty four of the Flight
This difficult story became clear to me like [limpid] water.
How can regret, grief or sorrow profit
Now that life has passed in vanity without result?" 

According to a biography of poets entitled Khizâna-i-
'Amiru, composed in India by Mir Ghulâm 'Ali Khân Asdd
in 1176/1762-3, a son of Ǧâfiz named Shāh Nu'mân came
to India, died at Burhân-pûr, and is buried in the Asf-r-Gār.

As regards Ǧâfiz's intellectual attainments, his bilingual
poems alone show that he had a good know-
ledge of Arabic, apart from the statements of
his editor, Muhammad Guland-Aml, as to his
more scientific work in the language. He himself says :

بیان مالتان سکیبا با خلاط ی ی فرانتی،
"No one of the Ǧâfiz's in the world hath combined as I have
The aphorisms of the Philosophers with the Scripture of the Qur'dn."

That he knew the Qur'dn by heart is proved by the
verse :

دیدم حضرت، و شیر تو حاکم، بفرانتی که اندر سیمین داری،
"I have never seen any poetry sweeter than thine, O Ǧâfiz,
[I swear] by that Qur'dn which thou keepest in thy bosom."

Mawlawi Shibli Nu'mân points out that the oft-made
assertion that Ǧâfiz was indifferent to the favour of kings
and princes is not borne out by his poems, in
which there occur incidentally praises of the
majority of contemporary rulers, including Shâh

2 I.e. a slate on which a child does sums and exercises.
3 I.e. a tombstone.
4 Ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, iii, p. 280.
Shujā', Shaykh Abū Ishāq, Sultan Mahmūd, Shāh Mansūr, and the rulers of Yazd and Hormuz:

"The King of Hormuz did not see me, yet showed me a hundred favours without a word [of praise on my part]; The King of Yazd saw me, and I praised him, but he gave me nothing.

Such is the conduct of Kings: be not thou vexed, O Hāfiz; May God, the Giver of daily bread, vouchsafe them His Grace and Aid!"

To the King of Yazd’s failure to reward him, he again alludes in a very famous and beautiful ode:

"Bring, Cup-bearer, all that is left of thy wine!
In the Garden of Paradise vainly thou’lt seek
The lip of the fountain of Ruknābād
And the bowers of Muṣallā where roses twine!"

And again:

"There is a difference between the Water of Khidr, which dwells in the Darkness, And our water, of which Allāhu Akbar is the source."

Although it is chiefly of the Spring, the Rose, the Nightingale, Wine, Youth and Beauty that Hāfiz sings, and at times of the Eternal Beauty of which all fair and desirable things are but the pale reflection, he sometimes

1 Miss G. L. Bell’s Poems from the Divan of Hāfiz, pp. 71-2.
2 Le. the Water of Life, said to be situated in the Land of Darkness.
3 It was sought in vain by Alexander the Great, but found by his saintly companion and guide Khidr (sometimes identified with Ilyās or Elias), who drank of it and became immortal.
4 The Tang-i-Allāhu Akbar is the narrow defile whence the traveller approaching from the North first sees Shirāz. See the plate on p. xxi of Herman Bicknell’s translation of Hāfiz.
makes incidental mention of various statesmen and scholars whose favour and patronage he has enjoyed. Amongst these are Hájí Qiwám, Qiwám’u’d-Dín Ḥasan², Khwája Jalálu’d-Dín, Sháh Yahyá Nuṣratu’d-Dín and others, besides the kings and princes already mentioned. And though he wrote mathnawís, "fragments" (maqáṣidát), qaṣidas and quatrains (rubá’iyát), it is in the ode or ghazal that he especially excels. To his incomparable skill in this branch of verse many of his successors have borne testimony, amongst them Si’ib, SalIm and ‘Urfi; but no one has better expressed it than Sir Gore Ouseley, who says⁴:

"His style is clear, unaffected and harmonious, displaying at the same time great learning, matured science, and intimate knowledge of the hidden as well as the apparent nature of things; but above all a certain fascination of expression unequalled by any other poet."

It is, however, to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell that we are indebted for the best estimate of Háfiz, at once critical, sympathetic, and full of insight. In particular she compares and contrasts him in the most illuminating manner with his elder contemporary Dante, after characterizing whose poetry she says⁵:

"To Háfiz, on the contrary, modern instances have no value; contemporary history is too small an episode to occupy his thoughts. During his life-time the city which he loved, perhaps as dearly as Dante loved Florence, was besieged and taken five or six times; it changed hands even more often. It was drenched with blood by one conqueror, filled with revelry by a second, and subjected to the hard rule of asceticism by a third. One after another Háfiz saw kings and princes rise into power and vanish 'like snow upon the desert’s dusty face.' Pitiful tragedies, great rejoicings, the fall of kingdoms and the clash of battle—all these he must have seen and heard. But what echo of them is there in his poems? Almost none. An occasional allusion which learned commentators refer to some political event; an exaggerated effusion in praise first of one king, then of another; the celebration of such and such a victory and of the prowess of such and such a royal general—just what any self-respecting court-poet would feel it incumbent upon himself to write; and no more.

"But some of us will feel that the apparent indifference of Háfiz lends to his philosophy a quality which that of Dante does not possess. The Italian is bound down within the limits of his philosophy, his theory of the universe is essentially of his own age, and what to him was so acutely real is to many of us merely a beautiful or a terrible image. The picture that Háfiz draws represents a wider landscape, though the immediate foreground may not be so distinct. It is as if his mental eye, endowed with wonderful acuteness of vision, had penetrated into those provinces of thought which we of a later age were destined to inhabit. We can forgive him for leaving to us so indistinct a representation of his own time, and of the life of the individual in it, when we find him formulating ideas as profound as the warning that there is no musician to whose music both the drunk and the sober can dance."

Shibli Nu’mání ascribes the perfecting of the ghazal and the extension of its scope to Háfiz, and in a lesser degree to his contemporaries Salmán and Khwájú. With the earlier masters, such as Sa’dí, Amīr Khusraw and Ḥasan of Dihlí, its almost invariable theme was love. Khwájú sang of other matters as well, such as the transitoriness of the world, while Salmán excelled in rhetorical artifices and novel comparisons and similes. Háfiz combined the merits of all, adding to them a charm all his own, and often it pleased him to take from their Diváns a couplet or hemistich and modify it so as to add to its beauty. In the case of Sa’dí I have given some instances of this in the second volume of my Literary History of Persia¹, and Shibli Nu’mání gives others as between Háfiz and Khwájú and Salmán respectively. Amongst these latter are the following:

Khwaja,

Unce the Venerable, teacher, scholar, philosopher,
A descendant of the Prophet in the line of ascetics;
In the garden of love, where the lute is played,
And the sweet singer of the soul is heard in ditty.

Herat, a city of learning, where the wise resided,
A land of poetry, where the lamp of knowledge burned;
Here the poet's word is measured by the rhythm of the soul,
And the voice of the heart is heard above the din of the world.

(1)

Hafiz,

From the garden of love, where the lute is played,
And the sweet singer of the soul is heard in ditty.

Herat, a city of learning, where the wise resided,
A land of poetry, where the lamp of knowledge burned;
Here the poet's word is measured by the rhythm of the soul,
And the voice of the heart is heard above the din of the world.

(2)

Hafiz and Khwaja

Khwaja,

The Garden of Love, where the lute is played,
And the sweet singer of the soul is heard in ditty.

Herat, a city of learning, where the wise resided,
A land of poetry, where the lamp of knowledge burned;
Here the poet's word is measured by the rhythm of the soul,
And the voice of the heart is heard above the din of the world.

(3)

Hafiz,

From the garden of love, where the lute is played,
And the sweet singer of the soul is heard in ditty.

Herat, a city of learning, where the wise resided,
A land of poetry, where the lamp of knowledge burned;
Here the poet's word is measured by the rhythm of the soul,
And the voice of the heart is heard above the din of the world.
Shibli Nu'man says that he could give many other parallels between Hafiz and Khwaju, but deems these few examples sufficient. In each case he discusses the relative merit of the parallel couplets, generally, but not always, giving the verdict in favour of Hafiz. He then passes to a similar comparison between Hafiz and Salmin.
his predecessor or contemporary. This, of course, is quite different from parody, such as that indulged in by ʿUbaydi-Zākānī and Bushāq, where the object is not to surpass but to deride.

The number of commentaries on the poems of Ḥāfiz, not only in Persian but also in Turkish, and possibly in Urdu also, is very considerable, but few of those which I have had occasion to examine are either very critical or very illuminating. The three best-known Turkish commentaries are those of Surūfī, Shemʿī and Südī, of which the last is the most accessible and the most useful, since the author very wisely confines himself to the elucidation of the literal meaning, and avoids all attempts at allegorical interpretation and the search for the “inner meaning.” That many of the odes are to be taken in a symbolic and mystical sense few will deny; that others mean what they say, and celebrate a beauty not celestial and a wine not allegorical can hardly be questioned; that the spiritual and the material should, as Shih Shuji complained, be thus mingled will not surprise any one who understands the character, psychology and Weltanschauung of the people of Persia, where it is common enough to meet with persons who in the course of a single day will alternately present themselves as pious Muslims, heedless libertines, confirmed sceptics and mystical pantheists, or even incarnations of the Deity. The student of Ḥāfiz who cannot decide for himself which verses are to be taken literally and which

1 His commentary on the first 80 odes is included in Brockhaus’s Leipzig edition of the Dīvān (1854–6), and the whole has been printed with the text and another Turkish commentary at Constantinople about 1870. The English reader who desires to acquaint himself with Südī’s methods may consult W. H. Lowe’s Twelve Odes of Ḥāfiz done literally into English together with the corresponding portion of the Turkish Commentary of Südī, for the first time translated (Cambridge, 1877, pp. 80). See also Lieut.-Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke’s English prose translation (2 vols, London, 1891).

2 I have endeavoured to depict this type of Persian in the chapter of my Year amongst the Persians entitled “Amongst the Qalandars.”
symbolically is hardly likely to gain much from a commentator who invariably repeats that Wine means Spiritual Ecstasy, the Tavern the Sufi Monastery, the Magian elder the Spiritual Guide, and so forth. To the English reader who desires to pursue this method of study, however, Lieut.-Colonel H. Wilberforce Clarke's complete prose translation of the *Dhulqan* of Hafiz "with copious notes and an exhaustive commentary" may be recommended. On the symbolic meaning of the erotic and Bacchanalian phraseology of the mystic or pseudo-mystic poets of Persia generally E. H. Whinfield's excellent edition and annotated translation of Mahmud Shabistari's *Gulshan-i-Razi* ("Rose-garden of Mystery") and the late Professor E. H. Palmer's little work on Oriental Mysticism may be consulted with advantage. On the origin, doctrines and general character of Sufism I must refer the reader to chapter xiii (pp. 416-444) of the first volume of my *Literary History of Persia*.

One little Persian treatise on Hafiz, to which my attention was first called by Mr Sidney Churchill, formerly Oriental Secretary of the British Legation at Tehran, deserves a brief mention, chiefly because it formulates and subsequently endeavours to refute certain adverse criticisms on his poetry made by some of his compatriots. This little book is entitled *Laftfa-i-Ghaybiyya* and was written by Muhammad b. Muhammad of Darab, concerning whose life and date I have been unable to learn anything. It comprises 127 pages of small size, was lithographed at Tehran in 1304/1886-7, and chiefly consists of explanations of different verses. The three hostile criticisms which it seeks to refute are stated as follows on p. 5:

1. That some of his verses are meaningless, or that, if they have any meaning, it is very far-fetched and enigmatical. The following instance is given:

Excerpt from *Laftfa-i-Ghaybiyya*:

"Cease your recriminations and return, for the pupil of my eye Hath pulled off the cloak over its head and burned it as a thank-offering."

"I confess my recriminations and return, for the pupil of my eye Hath pulled off the cloak over its head and burned it as a thank-offering."

2. That some of his verses are evidently secular and profane, and refer to the pleasures of the senses in a manner which cannot be explained as allegorical, as for instance:

Excerpt from *Laftfa-i-Ghaybiyya*:

"My heart, in love with Farrukh's face, is agitated like Farrukh's hair."

And again:

"A thousand blessings be on the red wine which hath removed the sallow complexion from my face!"

3. That many of his verses smack of the Ash'ari (Sunni) doctrines, which are repudiated and execrated by the Imami (Shi'a) doctors, e.g.:

Excerpt from *Laftfa-i-Ghaybiyya*:

"This borrowed life which the Friend hath entrusted to Hafiz—One day I shall see His Face and shall yield it up to Him."

For Siddi's explanation of this verse, see Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of *Hafiz*, vol. i, No. 26 in T, p. 769 in the notes. It is not very convincing, and I have never met with any other allusion to the custom there alleged.

It is worth noting that the extreme Fatalism commonly regarded in Europe as characteristic of Islam is repudiated by Muslims of the Shi'a sect.

The doctrine called *Rukyatul'dah* ("The Vision of God") belongs, I think, especially to the Hanafi sect, but is held in detestation by the Shi'a.
Although manuscripts of Ḥāfīz offer as many variants as is usually the case with Persian texts, there exists of this poet's works an established and generally accepted text which we owe, I think, to the Turkish commentator Südî, and which has been popularized in Europe by the editions of Brockhaus and Rosenzweig-Schwannau, so that it is usual to refer to the odes of Ḥāfīz by the numbers they bear in the latter edition. Turkish editions of Persian poetry, such as the Mathnawi of Jalālūd-Din Rūmī, the Divān of Ḥāfīz, etc., are generally more accurate and trustworthy than those produced in India, which commonly contain many spurious and interpolated lines composed by the editors, lines which a Persian would be ashamed and a Turk unable to produce; for the Persian editor has in most cases enough taste (dhawāq) to know that he cannot produce verses likely to be accepted as those of the master whom he is editing; while the Turkish editor is generally conscientious and laborious, but incapable of producing any Persian verses at all. The Indian editor, on the other hand, often has a certain facility of versifying without much critical taste.

This "authorized version" of the Divān of Ḥāfīz (which could probably be much improved by a fresh and careful collation of all the best and oldest manuscripts) contains in all 693 separate poems; to wit, 573 odes (ghazalīyāt); 42 fragments (muqattā'āt); 69 quatrains (rubūṭyāt); all the 42 muqattā'āt and 69 rubūṭyāt, and one "five-some" or mukhammas. Of all of these poems German verse-translations are given by Rosenzweig-Schwannau, and English prose translations by Wilberforce Clarke. There exist also many translations of individual odes or groups of odes in English, German, Latin, French, etc., either in verse or prose. Of English verse translations the largest and most sumptuous collection is that of Herman Bicknell, who was born in 1830, studied Medicine at St Bartholomew's Hospital and took the degree of M.R.C.S. in 1854, entered the Army Medical Service, went through the Indian Mutiny, travelled widely in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, made the pilgrimage to Mecca under the name of 'Abdu'l-Wahid in 1862, and spent some time at Shīrāz with the object of clearing up doubtful points [in the Divān], and of becoming personally acquainted with the localities mentioned by the Poet. He died in 1875, and his posthumous work was brought out with loving care by his brother, A. S. Bicknell, in the same year. It contains, besides the Preface, Introduction, Appendix and Indices, and nine illustrations, translations, complete or partial, of 189 ghanātīyāt, all the 42 muqattātāt and 69 rubūṭyāt, 2 out of the 6 mathnawīs, and the one mukhammas.

Of most of these translations of Ḥāfīz, from the Latin renderings of Meninski (1680), Thomas Hyde (1767) and Revisky (1771); the French (1799) and English (1792) versions of Sir William Jones; the numerous German versions from Wahl (1791) to Bodenstedt (1877); and the later English efforts of Payne, Justin McCarthy and Wilberforce Clarke, I do not propose to speak here; but I shall say something of three of the English verse-translations which seem to me the most worthy of attention. Of the oldest of these three, that of Herman Bicknell, published in 1875, I have already spoken above. The next in point of time is that of Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell (London, 1897), which contains, besides an admirable Introduction on the life, times and character of the poet, verse-translations of 43 of the odes. These, though rather free, are, in my opinion, by far the most artistic, and, so far as the spirit of Ḥāfīz is concerned, the most faithful renderings of his poetry. Lastly, in 1898 Mr Walter Leaf published 28 "Versions from Ḥāfīz," in which he endeavoured to reproduce the form as well as the sense of the original poems, with as much success, probably, as is attainable.
under these conditions. The existence of these three versions exonerates me from attempting, as I have done in the case of other less known Persian poets, to produce versions of my own. In their different ways they are all good: Herman Bicknell's are accurate as regards the sense, and often very ingenious, especially the chronograms; Walter Leaf's give an excellent idea of the form; while Miss Bell's are true poetry of a very high order, and, with perhaps the single exception of FitzGerald's paraphrase of the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám, are probably the finest and most truly poetical renderings of any Persian poet ever produced in the English language; for, though some of Sir William Jones's verse-translations are pretty enough, they can hardly be dignified by the name of poetry, and are, moreover, so free that they can scarcely be called translations.

For the sake of comparison I gave elsewhere¹ five different English verse-translations of one of the best-known of the odes of Hâfiz, that beginning:

\[ \text{بُغِبَالٍ هَنِدُودُ بَخَرُ سِرُفُدُ وَ بِخَارَأَرُ} \]

which has been rendered into English verse by Sir William Jones, Herman Bicknell, Miss Bell, Walter Leaf, and myself. I cannot find so many English verse-renderings of any other of the odes of Hâfiz, for, though many of those translated by Miss Bell are also to be found in Herman Bicknell's translation, only three or four of the former are included amongst the 28 published by Walter Leaf. The one fault to be found with Miss Bell's versions is that they are not arranged in any order, nor is any indication given of the opening words of the original, nor reference to its position in the text of Rosenzweig-Schwannau which she has followed;

¹ In a lecture on the Literature of Persia delivered to the Persia Society on April 26, 1912, and afterwards published for that Society by John Hogg, 13, Paternoster Row, London, E.C., price one shilling.

As already noted, only three or four of the odes have been rendered in English verse by Miss Bell, Herman Bicknell and Walter Leaf, and of one of them (Agar daw Turk-i-Shirdzāt...) the parallel renderings were published in my paper on Persian Literature, to which reference has been already made, together with others. Another ode rendered by the three writers above mentioned is that beginning:

شکفتگی هدالتُ هم او گشت بابل مسّت

1 See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's ed., vol. i, p. 110; Miss Bell, No. vii, pp. 75-6; Bicknell, No. xxxi, p. 60; and Walter Leaf, No. v, p. 29.

1 It is maintained by certain interpreters of the Koran that Adam and the whole of his future race appeared before their Creator on the first day of the world. God said to them: 'A-lash bi-Rabbi-Kum,' 'Am I not your Lord?' All responded 'Bald,' 'Yes.' But the word 'bald' has the additional signification of 'bale' or 'evil.' Hence the sentence of bale, or evil, was annexed to the pact of the 'Day of Alast,' and was constituted a condition of existence."

2 "How vain were the glories of Solomon! Asaf was his minister, the East-wind his courser, and the language of birds one of his accomplishments; but the blast of Time has swept them away."
Walter Leaf’s translation (No. v, p. 29).

1. "Aflame with bloom is the red rose, the bulbul drunk with Spring; What ho, adorers of Wine! Hear the call to mirth that they fling.
2. The corner-stone of repentance that seemed a rock firm-set Is rent and riven asunder by touch of glasses a-ringing.
3. Fill high the bowl with the red wine, for here is Liberty Hall, The sage is one with the toper, the ploughman e’en as the king.
4. From out this Hostel of Two Doors the signal calls us away, Alike if low be the roof-tree or lofty dome upspring.
5. We conquer only through anguish the resting-place of delight; To life, by bond of Ains-wov, the long ‘Alas’ must cling1.
6. With IS and IS NOT annoy not thy heart; be merry of soul, For IS NOT is but the last end of every perfect thing.
7. The fame of Asaph, the wind-steed, the speech with birds of the air As wind have passed; to their master no more avail shall they bring.
8. No pinion heavenward soaring desire; the arrow aloft Shall sink to dust in the end, howsoever it leap on the wing.
9. What thanks and praises, O Hāfīz, shall yield the tongue of thy pen, That all the songs of thy singing from mouth to mouth men sing?"

Miss Bell’s translation (No. viii, p. 75).

1. "The rose has flushed red, the bud has burst, And drunk with joy is the nightingale— Hail, Śūfīs, lovers of wine, all hail! For wine is proclaimed to a world athirst.
2. Like a rock your repentance seemed to you; Behold the marvel! Of what avail Was your rock, for a goblet has cleft it in two!
3. Bring wine for the King and the slave at the gate! Alike for all is the banquet spread, And drunk and sober are warmed and fed.
4. When the feast is done and the night grows late, And the second door of the tavern gapes wide, The low and the mighty must bow the head 'Neath the archway of Life, to meet what...outside?"

This one example of three parallel translations will suffice to show generally the style of work of the three translators. Miss Bell’s is the least literal, but by far the most poetical, and is a wonderful interpretation of the spirit of the original. Walter Leaf aims especially at exactly reproducing the form (both as regards rhyme and metre), as well as the sense, of the original. Herman Bicknell steers a middle course, making each verse of his translation correspond with its original, but not attempting to preserve the same rhyme throughout the poem.

In view of these and other excellent translations of Ḥāfīz into verse and prose in English and other European languages, I will content myself with quoting here the renderings by Miss Bell and Herman Bicknell of one more ode of Ḥāfīz, which has a certain special interest because it is engraved on his tombstone1, and which begins:

Moeder" Wosl to Ṣūrjan br khirum
Ṭa’ārū sūr qasem wa dar Ǧāban br khirum2

1 For a complete translation of the inscription on the tombstone, see the plate facing p. xvi of Herman Bicknell’s work above mentioned.
Bicknell's translation (p. 227, No. clxiii).

"Where doth Thy love's glad message echo for my rapt soul
To rise?
This sacred bird from the world's meshes yearns to its goal
To rise.
I swear, wilt Thou Thy servant name me, by all my love sublime
Higher than my desire of lordship o'er space and time
To rise.
Vouchsafe, Lord, from Thy cloud of guidance to pour on me Thy
rain,
Ere Thou command me as an atom from man's domain
To rise.
Bring minstrels and the wine-cup with thee, or at my tomb ne'er sit:
Permit me in thy perfume dancing from the grave's pit
To rise.
Though I am old, embrace me closely, be it a single night:
May I, made young by thy caresses, at morn have might
To rise!

Arouse thee! show thy lofty stature,
Idol of winning mien:
Enable me, as soul-reft Ḥafiz,
From Nature's scene
To rise!

Miss Bell's translation (No. xliii, pp. 118-119).

"Where are the tidings of union? that I may arise—
Forth from the dust I will rise up to welcome thee!
My soul, like a homing bird, yearning for Paradise,
Shall arise and soar, from the snares of the world set free.
When the voice of love shall call me to be thy slave,
I shall rise to a greater far than the mastery
Of life and the living, time and the mortal span;
Pour down, oh Lord! from the clouds of Thy guiding grace
The rain of a mercy that quickeneth on my grave,
Before, like dust that the wind bears from place to place,
I arise and flee beyond the knowledge of man.
When to my grave thou turnest thy blessed feet,
Wine and the lute shalt thou bring in thy hand to me,
Thy voice shall ring through the folds of my winding-sheet,
And I will arise and dance to thy minstrelsy.
Though I be old, clasp me one night to thy breast,
And I, when the dawn shall come to awaken me,
With the flash of youth on my cheek from thy bosom will rise.
Rise up! let mine eyes delight in thy stately grace!
Thou art the goal to which all men's endeavour has pressed,
And thou the idol of Háfiz's worship; thy face
From the world and life shall bid him come forth and arise!

The tomb of Háfiz is in a beautiful garden, called after him the "Háfiziyya," situated near Shiráz. It was much beautified by Abu'l-Qásim Bábūr, the great-grandson of Tímúr, when he conquered Shíráz in 856/1452, the work being entrusted by him to Mawláná Muḥammad Mu'ammd'i. At a later date (1226/1811) it was further embellished by Karím Khán-i-Zand, one of the best rulers that Persia has ever had, by whom the present tombstone, a slab of fine alabaster, was contributed. The Háfiziyya is much honoured and much frequented by the people of Shiráz and by visitors to that city, and the poet's grave is surrounded by the graves of many others who have sought proximity to those illustrious ashes, so that his own words have been fulfilled when he said:

"When thou passest by our tomb, seek a blessing, for it shall become a place of pilgrimage for the libertines of all the world."

Before passing on to the mention of other poets, something must be said as to the practice of taking an augury (tafšul) from the Díván of Háfiz which is so prevalent in Persia, where the only other book used for this purpose (and that much more rarely) is the Qur'án itself, just as the ancient Romans used to use Vergil (Sortes Vergilianae). It has been already mentioned that Háfiz is often entitled Lisnul-Ghayb

1 Not the great Bábūr who was the great-great-great-grandson of Tímúr, and who founded the so-called "Mogul Dynasty" in India.
The Tongue of the Unseen”) and Tarjumun‘l-‘Asrār (“The Interpreter of Mysteries”), and it is generally believed by his fellow-countrymen that, in case of doubt as to the course of action to be pursued, valuable indications may be obtained by opening the Dīwān at random, after the utterance of suitable invocations, and taking either the first verse on which the eye falls, or the last ode on the open page, with the first line of the succeeding ode. Tables, called Fāl-nāma, comprising a number of squares (always a multiple of some number such as 7 or 9) each containing one letter are also employed for the same purpose; and one of these, with instructions for its use, is often prefixed to Oriental editions of the Dīwān. These tables, however, in spite of their mysterious and impressive appearance, only give a very limited number of answers—seven when the squares are a multiple of seven, nine when they are a multiple of nine, and so on; and as Lane has well observed, in speaking of similar squares used by the Egyptians, in consequence of the view prevailing in the East generally that, if in doubt, it is better, as a rule, to refrain from action, a majority of the answers provided for are generally distinctly discouraging or of a negative character, and only a few encouraging.

The table referred to in the last footnote comprises 15 x 15 = 225 squares, each containing one letter. Nine hemistichs each containing 25 letters are chosen (9 x 25 also = 225). In the first square is placed the first letter of the first hemistich; in the second square the first letter of the second hemistich, and so on to the ninth square, in which is placed the first letter of the ninth hemistich. Next follow the second letters of each hemistich in the same order, the second letter of the first hemistich in the tenth square, the second letter of the second hemistich in the eleventh square, and so on.

A specimen of these tables will be found on p. 233 of the Bankipore Catalogue, in the volume consecrated to Persian Poetry from Firdawsi to Hafiz.
This would supply an answer to a traveller or exile who was wondering whether he would not do well to return home.


طالع آخر مدع تقدم دامت آور و بکف
"Should my lucky star aid me, I will lay hold on his skirt;
Should I pluck it, O the delight! And should he slay me, O the honour!"


روى بنو و وجود مخوده از پاد بر
"Show thy face and take away from my memory all thought of my own existence;
Bid the wind bear away all the harvest of those who are burned out!"


کفتری غیر تو دارم کننْتی غمت سر آید،
"I said, 'I have longing for thee!' She replied, 'Thy longing will come to an end.'
I said, 'Be thou my Moon!' She replied, 'If it comes off!''


پا یک آن تو کل خندان چه سبزی بنش
"O Lord, that fresh and smiling rose which Thou didst entrust to me I now entrust to Thee from the envious eye of the flower-bed."

8. No. 8 in J. R.-Schw., vol. ii, p. 64.

بر نیامد از تبیانه یک حامئ هنوز
"At dawn Orion displayed his belt before me,
As though to say, 'I am the King's slave, and this I swear.'"


خیز تا از در میخانه تمایی طالیب
"Arose, that we may seek an opening through the door of the tavern, That we may sit in the Friend's path and seek [the fulfilment of] a wish!"

As will be seen, the answers supplied by these vague oracles are often of a somewhat uncertain nature, besides being limited in number to nine.

The first refers to Sháh Isma'íl the Great, the founder of the Safawi dynasty, who made the Shi'a doctrine the official creed of Persia, and carried his energy so far in this endeavour that he ordered the tombs of persons of suspected orthodoxy or of known Sunní proclivities to be destroyed. One day, accompanied by a certain ignorant and fanatical priest known as Mullá Magas¹, he visited the tomb of Háfiz, and Mullá Magas urged him to have it destroyed, alleging (as had been alleged by the poet's contemporaries) that he was unorthodox in belief and dissolute in life. The King thereupon announced his intention of taking an augury from the Dīwān of Háfiz, which opened at the following verse:

جواز سحر نباد حمایل برابیر،
"At dawn Orion displayed his belt before me,
As though to say, 'I am the King's slave, and this I swear.'"
This, it is to be supposed, Sháh Isma'íl took as an expression of the deceased poet's loyalty to himself, and thereupon, well pleased, he again opened the book at random and was confronted by the following verse, which was even more evidently intended for his ecclesiastical companion:

"O fly (magas),! the presence of the Simurgh is no fit place for thy evolutions:
Thou dost but dishonour thyself and vex us!"

After this it may be assumed that Mullá Magas effaced himself!

The story referred to above, but not given in the Luttfa-i-Ghaybiyya, is that, when Háfíz died, some of his detractors objected to his being buried in the Muslim equivalent of consecrated ground, but that, on an augury being taken from his poems to decide the question, the following very appropriate verse resulted:

"Withhold not thy footsteps from the bier of Háfíz,
For, though he is immersed in sin, he will go to Paradise!"

The second instance given by the Luttfa-i-Ghaybiyya refers to another king of the same dynasty, Sháh Tahmásp, who one day, while playing with a ring which he valued very highly, dropped it, and, though he caused an exhaustive search for it to be made under the carpets and cushions, could not find it. An augury taken from Háfíz gave the following result:

"What cares a heart which mirrors the Unseen and possesses the Goblet of Jamshid for a ring which is mislaid for a moment?"

The king clapped his hands on his knees in admiration for the appositeness of this verse, and immediately felt the ring in a fold of his robe into which it had accidentally slipped.

The third anecdote refers to yet another Safawí King, Sháh 'Abbás the Second (A.D. 1524-1576), who obtained the following augury as to a campaign which he was meditating against the province of Adharbáyján, of which Tabríz is the capital:

"Thou hast captured 'Irã and Fárs by thy verse, O Háfíz:
Come, for it is now the turn of Baghádád and the time for Tabríz."

This decided the king in favour of the campaign, which turned out completely successful.

The fourth anecdote refers to the same king as the last. He had a servant named Siyáwush, whom his fellow-servants, through jealousy and malice, desired to destroy, so that they

1 The original reference is, of course, to Solomon, whose ring, engraved with "the Most Great Name" of God, whereby he exercised authority over birds, beasts, fishes, the winds, men, and the jinn, was stolen for a while by the Jinni Shákr. The Persians often seek to identify their legendary King Jamshid or Jam (the Yima of the Avesta) with Solomon, and attribute to the latter the "World-showing Goblet" (jdnz-i-jamshid-sa) of the former, which, like Alexander's Mirror (A'fna-i-Axshandar), revealed to its possessor all that was passing in the world.

2 This story is more often told of Nádir Sháh. See the Banktore Catalogue (Persian Poetry: Firdawsí to Háfíz), p. 235.
were constantly striving to convince the King that he was worthy of death. The result of an augury from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfīz was this verse:

"The King of the Turks hearkens to the speech of the accusers:
May he be ashamed of the wrong of [shedding] the blood of Siyāwush!"

The fifth instance is from the author's own experience. In 1052/1642–3 he reached Ahmad-ābād, then the capital of Gujerāt in India, and there made the acquaintance of a certain Kānān Beg, one of the notables of the place, who had a brother named Yūsuf Beg. The latter, who was in the army of Gujerāt, had a little time previously been reported missing in a battle fought near Ahmad-ābād against a hostile force. His brother, Kānān Beg, was greatly disquieted until the following augury from Ḥāfīz assuaged his anxiety, which was soon afterwards dispelled by his brother's safe return:

"Lost Joseph (Vyeuf) will return to Canaan (Kānān): grieve not!
The house of sorrows will one day become a rose-garden: grieve not!"

The sixth and last instance refers to a certain Fath-ʿAlī Sultan, the son of Imām-qul Khān, a youth remarkable for his beauty, who was the author's contemporary. One day, flushed with wine, and clad in a green coat (qaḥē) embroidered with gold, he visited the tomb of Ḥāfīz on the day specially set apart for this, which falls in the latter part of the month of Rajab, and while there took an augury from the *Dīwān*, which gave the following verse:

"Those three kisses which thou didst assign to me from thy two lips,
If thou dost not pay them, then thou art my debtor!"

Thereupon Fath-ʿAlī Sultan leapt from his seat and imprinted kiss after kiss upon the poet's tombstone.

Other instances of omens taken from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfīz by the Moghul Emperor Jahāngir, and recorded in his own handwriting in the margins of a manuscript formerly in his possession, are given in the *Bankipore Catalogue* (Persian Poetry: Firdawsi to Ḥāfīz), pp. 231-52.

1 *Pashmīna-pūsh* ("clad in wool") is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *Ṣūf*. See vol. i of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 417.
7. Kamal of Khujand

(Kamal'a'd-Din b. Mas'ilid).

Not much is known concerning this poet, who, however, since his verses won the admiration of Hafiz, cannot be passed over. Jami says that he was a great saint, and that if he deigned to write verse it was to conceal the fulness of his saintly nature and spiritual attainments, to prevent the complete suppression of his exoteric by his esoteric life, and to maintain the position of "servitude" to God against an overmastering tendency to be merged in the Deity; an assertion in support of which he quotes Kamal's verse:

"These efforts of mine in my poetry are my 'Speak to me O Humayr!'"

Kamal's spiritual guide was a certain Khwaja 'Ubaydullah who resided for some time at Shash, a place situated like Khujand in Transoxiana.

At an unknown but probably fairly early period of his life Kamal migrated to Tabriz, where he made his home, and for which he conceived a great affection. The Jalal'ud-Din Husayn, son of Uways (776-784/1374-1382) showed him much favour and built for him a monastery or rest-house. Jami says that when after Kamal's death they entered his private room in this rest-house, they found in it no furniture save a mat of coarse reeds on which he used to sit and sleep, and a stone which served him for a pillow. In Tabriz, where he obtained a great reputation for sanctity,

2 The Prophet Muhammad, when recovering from the state of exhaustion into which he used to fall after receiving a revelation, was wont to summon his wife 'Aisha to come to his side and talk to him, with the words Kalimini ya fhumayrda, "Speak to me O little red one!"
3 Or Chach, the modern Tashkand and ancient Banikat or Fanakat. Cf. pp. 100 and 110 supra.

In 787/1385 Taktamish, Khan of Qipchaq, raided Tabriz, and, after the fashion of Timur and other conquerors of those days, carried off Kamal amongst other learned and pious persons to his own capital, Saray. There he remained for four years, at the end of which period he returned to Tabriz where he died, according to most authorities, in 803/1400-1. Daulatshah places his death in 792/1390, a date which Rieu shows reason for regarding as much too early. A still later date (808/1405-6) is given by the Majdisul-Ushshaq. On the poet's tomb was inscribed the verse:

"Kamal al az khuyed rafti bari' zirgah hazrat akbair meradah rafti -
O Kamal! Thou hast gone from the Ka'ba to the door of the Friend: A thousand blessings on thee! Thou hast gone right manfully!"

During his second sojourn at Tabriz Kamal was patronized by Timur's son Miranshah, who was then governor of Adharbajjan, and who is said to have given the poet, in return for some fruit which he or his soldiers had eaten from his garden, a sum of a thousand dinars wherewith to discharge his debts.

The Divan of Kamal of Khujand has never, so far as I know, been published, and is not common in manuscript, though copies are to be found in most of the larger collections of Persian books. I possess an undated but well-written and fairly ancient manuscript, from which the following selections are taken.

(1)
KAMÁL OF KHUJAND

...
Moon of mine, the Festival is come:
may it bring thee happiness!
What wilt thou give as a festal-gift to thy lovers?
Thy cheek is at once our festal-gift and our Festival:
Without thy cheek may our Festival be no Festival!
Thou hast said: 'I will ask after thee next Festival':
Alas! for this promise is of long standing!
Deliver my soul from grief since the Festival hath come,
For at the Festival they set free captives.
The Festival is come: cease to threaten Kamál;
At the festal season they make glad the hearts of all!

Blessings on thy power of expression,
O Kamál! Thou hast, indeed, no choice as to approval.
The fruit which they bring from Khujand
Is not so sweet and so luscious!

My odes are for the most part seven verses,
Not forgotten like the utterance of Salmán.
When Háfiq recites them in 'Irāq
Fluent and aloud, [they are] like 'the seven hard ones';
All seven [are] like heaven in their foundation,
And of such sort 'Imād [of Kirmān] has not a single verse.  

The great Persian festival is the Nārūsīr, or New Year's Day, which corresponds with the vernal equinox (March 21). The two great festivals of Islam are the 'Īd-al-Fitr at the end of Ramadān, and the 'Īd-al-Adha on the 10th of Dhul-Hijja, the month of the Pilgrimage.
"The odes of Kamál are seven verses;
Of the grace thereof the 'Five Treasures' are but a tenth part. 
There exist also poems of seven verses by some of my friends, 
Each one of which is limpid and fluent and charming, 
But of every seven of them there should be erased 
Four verses from the beginning and three from the end."

"When the Diwán of Kamál falls into thine hand 
Copy of his poetry as much as thou wilt, 
If thou wishest to understand aright 
His rare ideas and expressions and words 
Do not pass swiftly over each word like the pen, 
But dive down into every letter like the ink."

1. This (Panj Ganj) is the title given to the Five Romantic Poems of Nizámí of Ganja.
Two or three “fragments” are addressed to a certain Hafiz, who, however, appears to be a minstrel or harper of that name, not the celebrated poet of Shiráz. The following, however, almost certainly alludes to the contemporary poet 'Assar of Tabriz:

(14) عاقبت عصا مسکین مرد و رفت، خون دیوانا گوهران برد و رفت.

“At length poor ‘Assar died and departed: he took upon his neck the blood of the courts and departed.”

The following fragment, to which Rieu refers, contains an allusion to an historical event, viz. the invasion of Tüz-tamish:

(15) گفت فرحاً ما بهر و لیل، چ hát زندیه، خنیب آباد;

"Our Fard said to Mr Walf, 'Let us restore the Rashidiyya quarter; let us give gold to the Tabrizis for bricks and stone for this building.' The poor fellow was busy with his hill-piercing when, more numerous than the ants of the mountain and the plain,

The result of his death is variously given as A.H. 779 and 784 (A.D. 1377-8 and 1382-3).

1 I do not understand these words, which suggest that ‘Assar was put to death.


3 This was the quarter of Tabriz originally built by the great minister and historian Rashidu'd-Din Fadlu'llah. See pp. 70-71 supra.
The following is a rather original and pretty conceit:

"Knowest thou what is the cause of chuckling of the wine-bottles?
They are laughing at the beard of the town constable."

The following fragment seems to show that Kamāl's odes were not collected into a Diwan until after his death:

"A certain man of discernment said to me, 'Why is it
that thou hast [composed] poetry, yet hast no Diwan?'
I replied, 'Because, like some others,
my verse is not copious and abundant.'
He said, 'Although thy verse is scanty in amount
it is not less in value than their utterances.'"

As is so often the case with Persian poets, Kamāl's fragments are much more intimate and personal, and contain more allusions to contemporary events and persons (though for lack of fuller knowledge these allusions must often remain obscure) than his odes; and for this reason I have here quoted them to a disproportionate extent.

8. Maghrībī
(Muhammad Shīrāzī Maghrībī of Tabrīz)

Of the life and circumstances of Maghrībī, one of the most thorough-going pantheistic poets of Persia, little is known, though notices of him are given by most of the biographers. He is generally stated to have died in 809/1406-7 at Tabrīz at the age of sixty years, so that he must have been born about 750/1349-50; but by a minority of the biographers his death is placed two years earlier. The learned modern historian Rīḍā-quli Khān states that he was born at Nā'in, near Isfahān, and buried at Isfahān at Fārs, but he is generally reckoned a native of Tabrīz. His poetical name Maghrībī is said to be due to the fact that he travelled in the Maghrib (N.W. Africa), where he was invested with the dervish cloak (khīrqa) by a Shaykh who traced his spiritual pedigree to the great Maghrībī mystic Shaykh Muḥiyyū'd-Dīn ibnū-'Arabī, whose thought even at the present day has a great influence in Persia, and whose Persian disciples, poets like Ṭrāqī, Awḥadu'd-Dīn, Maghrībī and even the later Jāmī, are conspicuous for their thorough-going pantheism. Of Maghrībī Rīḍā-quli Khān truly says in his Majma'u'l-Fuṣūḥā:"

"His doctrine is the Unity of Being (Pantheism), and his inspiration the rapture of Vision, nor can one find throughout all his verse aught save this one idea. His taw'-band and ghasāls are all filled with the verities of the true Unitarianism."

Maghrībī is said by Jāmī and other biographers to have been personally acquainted with the poet last discussed, Kamāl of Khujand, which is probable enough, since the

1 Jāmī's Nafṣātul-uns, p. 713; ʿAtash-kada and Haft ʿIqlīm, under Tabrīz; Ḥabībū'l-Siyar, vol. iii, pt. 3, p. 91; Majma'u'l-Fuṣūḥā, vol. ii, p. 30; Rīḍā-quli Khān, pp. 134-5. There is no mention of Maghrībī in Dawlatshāh's Memoirs of the Poets.
2 i.e. of beholding the infinite manifestations of the Divine Beauty in the beautiful things of the Phenomenal World.
3 Formal or esoteric Unitarianism is the declaration that there is only One God; esoteric Unitarianism is the conviction that there is only One Being who really exists.
two were contemporaries and spent at any rate a consider-
able part of their lives at Tabriz. On one occasion he is
said to have found fault with the following verse of Kamál's
on the ground that it evidently referred to material charms,
and was not susceptible of a mystical interpretation:

\begin{quote}
If eyes be such, and eyebrows such, and charm and coquetry such,
Farewell, abstinence and piety! Good-bye, reason and religion!
\end{quote}

Kamál, hearing this, sought an interview with Maghribí,
and said: "[The Persian] chashm is [equivalent to the
Arabic] 'ayn; so it may be that in the language of allusion
it is to be interpreted as the Eternal Essence ('Ayn-i-Qadím),
which is the Divine Personality. So also [the Persian] abrā
is [equivalent to the Arabic] ḥijāb, so it may be that it may
be taken as alluding to the Divine Attributes, which are
the veil of the Essence." Maghribí, on hearing this ex-
planation, apologized and withdrew his criticism. If it be
true, however, as stated by Rieu, that Kamál superseded
Maghribí in the favour of Timúr's son Miránsháh, the
Governor of Ádharbáýján, it is possible that the relations of the
two poets were not of the most cordial character.

As the above particulars practically exhaust the little
we know of Maghribí's life, we may now pass on to his
poetry, which is represented by a comparatively small
Diwán, comprising for the most part odes (ghazalíyyát)
with a few tarjí'í-bands and quatrains. It has been several
times lithographed in Persia, and I also possess a good and
well-written, but undated, manuscript. The lithographed

\begin{quote}
When the Sun of Thy Face appeared, the atoms of the Two Worlds
became manifest.

When the Sun of Thy Face cast a shadow, from that shadow Things
became apparent.

Every atom, through the Light of the Sun of Thy Countenance,
became manifest like the Sun.

The atom owes its existence to the Sun, while the Sun becomes
manifest through the atom.
\end{quote}
The Ocean of Being was tossed into waves; it hurled a wave towards the shore.

That wave sank and rose in some heart-delighting raiment and form. Like violets the Ideas sprung up like the pleasant down on some fair beauty's face.

The anemones of the [Eternal] Realities blossomed; a thousand tall cypresses appeared.

What were all these? The counterpart of that Wave; and what was that Wave? Identical [in substance] with the Ocean.

Every particle which exists is identical with the whole; then is the whole altogether the parts.

What are the parts? The manifestations of the All; what are things? The shadows of the Names.

What are the Names? The revelation of the Sun, the Sun of the Beauty of the Supreme Essence.

What is the Shore? The land of Contingent Being, which is the Book of God Most High.

O Maghribi, cease this discourse; do not make plain the Mystery of the Two Worlds!

“O Thou in whose life-giving Face all the Universe is manifest,
And O Thou whose Countenance is apparent in the Mirror of the Universe!
Since the Darling of Thy Beauty looked in the Mirror And saw the reflection of his face, he became wild and mad [with love].

Every instant Thy Countenance displays the beauty of its features To its own eyes, in a hundred fair vestments.
It looked forth from lovers' eyes
So that it beheld Its Beauty in the faces of Idols,1
Thy Face wrought a Mirror for Its self-display,
And called that Mirror ‘Adam and Eve’.2
He beheld the Beauty of His Face in every face through him, Therefore hath he2 become the Mirror of all the Names.
O Thou whose Beauty hath shone forth to Thine own eyes, And who hast plainly seen Thy Face in Thine own eyes, Since Thou art at once the Seer and the Seen, there is none other than Thee:
Wherefore, then, hath all this strife become apparent?
O Maghribi, the horizons are filled with clamour
When my King of Beauty pitches His tent in the Plain!3

1 f.e. beautiful persons. Both ʿanām ("idol") and ʿanadīr ("picture") are constantly used in this sense. The same idea is also expressed in the following well-known quatrain attributed to ʿUmar-i-Khayyām:—

پنت گفت بیترست خائی خاباب ما
دانتی زِجه روی گشته ساجد ماء
بر ما بجمال حورود تجلی کرَدست
آن شخص که زنُت ناظر ای شاهد ما

2 In both cases Adam is meant.
Thou art both the Treasure and the Talisman, both Body and Soul, Both Name and Named, both Essence and Attribute!
Thou art both Western (Maghribi) and West, both Eastern and East, Alike Throne, and Carpet, and Element, and Heavens, and Space!

O Centre and Pivot of Being, and Circumference of Bounty,
O Fixed as the Pole, and Fickle as the Sphere!
If I send greetings to Thee, Thou art the greeting,
And if I invoke blessings on Thee, Thou art the blessing!
How can any one give Thee to Thyself? Tell me now,
O Thou who art Thine own alms-giver and Thine own alms!

Thou art Both the Treasure and the Talisman, both Body and Soul,
Both Name and Named, both Essence and Attribute!
Thou art at once both the Bane and the Balm, both Sorrow and Joy,
Both Lock and Key, both Prison and Deliverance!
"O [Thou who art] hidden from both worlds, who is He who is apparent? And O [Thou who art] the Essence of the Apparent, who then is the Hidden One?

Who is that One who in a hundred thousand forms is apparent every moment? And who is that One who in a hundred thousand effulgences showeth forth His Beauty every moment? Thou sayest, 'I am hidden from the Two Worlds': Who then is He who appeareth in each and all? Thou didst say, 'I am always silent': Who then is He who speaketh in every tongue? Thou didst say, 'I stand outside body and soul': Who then is He who clothes himself in the garment of body and soul? Thou didst say, 'I am neither this one nor that one': Who then is He who is both this one and that one? O Thou who hast withdrawn apart, I conjure Thee by God tell me who is in the midst? Who is He whose effulgence shines forth from the beauty and comeliness of the charmers of hearts? And who is He who hath shown His beauty and who hath cast turmoil into the world? O thou who remainest in doubt, not knowing certainly who lurks in thy doubt, be hidden from the eyes of Maghrībī, and see who is apparent through his eyes!"

The opening lines of the following poem strike an almost Christian note:

"That One who was hidden from us came and became us, and He who was of us and you became us and you. The King of the topmost throne of Sovereignty condescended, and, notwithstanding that there is no King save Him, became a beggar. He who is exempted from poverty and wealth came in the garb of poverty in order to show forth [true] riches. Who hath ever heard aught stranger than this, that one and the same person became both his own house and his own householder? That pure substance and that peerless pearl when it germinated became earth and heaven. Into the raiment of 'how-ness' and 'why-ness' one cannot say how and why that 'how-less' and 'why-less' Charmer of hearts entered. His eyebrow revealed itself from the eyebrows of the beautiful, until it was pointed at by every finger, like the new moon. In the garden of the Universe, like the straight cypress and the anemone, he became both red-capped and green-robed. That Sun of the Eternal Sphere shone forth so that it became Western (Maghrībī) and Eastern, Sun and Light."
(8) "Ask not the road to the College or the customs of the Monastery; Pass by road and custom; ask not about way and road. Adopt the path of [religious] Poverty and Annihilation; and be happy; Look not behind thee; and ask not save of what lies before. When thou steppest forth from the narrow cell of the body Ask not of the Holy Precincts and of the King; Ask about the delights of Poverty and Annihilation from those who have tasted them; Ask not of him who is the slave of wealth and rank.

When the Royal Umbrella appears, acclamation arises: Ask no longer then about the King from the army and the host! When thou hast stepped forth in sincerity and staked thy head, Ask not of thy cap, if they steal it of thee. Since my state, O Friend, is not hidden from thee Do not again enquire of my state from witnesses. Wipe out the sin of his existence, since thou thyself art obliterated; Do not again ask of sin concerning the sin of his existence! O Friend, since Maghribī hath come to Thee to make his excuses Overlook in Thy Grace, and ask not concerning the sin of him who apologizes!"
"We have escaped from the Monastery, the Chapel and the College, And have settled in the quarter of the Magians with Wine and the Beloved.

We have cast aside the prayer-mat and the rosary,
We have girt ourselves with the pagan girdle in the service of the Christian child.

On the benches of the Wine-house we have torn up the dervish-cloak of hypocrisy;
We have escaped from counting the beads of the rosary;
We have sprung forth from the snares of virtue, piety and asceticism.

Having become annihilated from all existence, we have become all existence.
Hereafter seek not from us any knowledge or culture,
0 wise and sensible friend, for we are lovers and intoxicated!
Thanks be to God that from this worship of self We are wholly delivered, and are now worshippers of wine.
We are drunkards, wastrels, seekers of wine,
And we are most at ease with him who is, like ourselves, drunk and ruined.

Since Maghrhib has removed his baggage from our assembly
And has departed (for he was the barrier in our path), we are free!"

8

The Zunndr (Zonarium), regarded by the Muslim poets as the symbol of misbelief, represents the KusAtz, or "Kosti," of the Zoroastrians, the sacred thread of the Brahmins, and presumably the cord worn round the waist by Christian monks.
From His waves arose 'Iraq and Maghribi,
And from His ferment came San'di and 'Attar.

Yet though of the same category as these, he seldom reaches their level.

9. Abū Ishāq ("Busḥaq") called "Aṭīma"

Although there are several other poets of this period who are not undeserving of notice, such as 'Abdār of Tabriz, Jalāl-ī-Adudī, Jalāl-ī-Tabīb, etc., this chapter has already reached so considerable a length that I shall make mention of only one other, Abū Ishāq of Shirāz, the poet of foods, hence called Aṭīma, who offers the greatest possible contrast to Maghribī, the mystic and pantheist.

Of Abū Ishāq's life, as usual, very little is known, except that he appears to have spent the greater part of it at Shirāz, where he enjoyed the favour of the great, and especially of Timūr's grandson Iskandar ibn 'Umar Shaykh Mīrzā, who governed Fās and Isfahān from A.H. 812 to 817 (A.D. 1409-1415). Dawlatshāh consecrates a long article to him, which, however, chiefly consists of quotations from his poems and an account of the ambitious designs and tragic fate of his patron Iskandar, who was deprived of his sight by his uncle Shāh-rukh on the 2nd of Jumādā i, 817 (July 20, 1414), and died the following year.

Busḥaq parodied this as follows:

"We are the pearl of the shoreless Ocean; sometimes we are the Wave and sometimes the Sea;
We came into the world for this purpose, that we might show God to His creatures."

"We are the dough-strings of the bowl of Wisdom; sometimes we are the dough and sometimes the pie-crust;
We came into the kitchen for this purpose, that we might show the fried meat to the pastry."

When subsequently Sayyid Ni'matu'llāh met Abū Ishāq, he said, "Are you the 'dough-strings..."
of Wisdom?" To which the latter replied, "Since I am not in a position to talk about God (Allah), I talk about God's bounty (Ni'matu'llhah).

Manuscripts of Abū Ishāq's works are not common. The British Museum possesses a copy of one of them, the Kanzu'l-Istihkhād ("Treasure of Appetite"), and I once had the opportunity of examining an excellent and very complete manuscript from the collection of the late Dr Wolf of Bukhāra fame, to whom it was given by a certain Hājji 'Uthmān Nāru'd-Dīn, and by whom it was left to the Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews. This manuscript was copied in 970/1562-3, contains 162 ff. of 22.4 x 12.7 c. and 17 lines to the page, and is written in a small, neat ta'līq hand between blue and gold lines. It is remarkable for containing (on ff. 137-8 and 160-61) some half dozen poems in dialect, comprising in all 44 couplets. The book, however, would have remained hardly known but for the excellent edition printed by the late learned and indefatigable Mirzā Ḥāhbīb of Isfahān at Constantinople in 1303/1885-6. This volume, which comprises 184 pages, begins with an extract from Dawlatshāh's notice of the author, and ends with a vocabulary of the culinary terms occurring in the course of the work, many of which are now obsolete in Persia, often representing dishes no longer prepared, of which the exact nature must in many cases remain doubtful. The actual text of Abū Ishāq's works begins with the Kanzu'l-Istihkhād ("Treasure of Appetite"), to which is prefixed a short prose Preface. Then follow the poems, mostly parodies, in which almost every variety of verse (qasida, tajri'band, ghazal, qit'a, rubā'ī and mathnawi) is represented; and these are followed by several treatises in mixed prose and verse, to wit "The Adventure of the Rice and the Pie-crust" (bughrād), "Abū Ishāq's Dream," the "Conclusion" (Khātima), and a "Glossary" (Farhang).

1 See Rieu's Pers. Cat., p. 634.

by the author, not to be confounded with the vocabulary above mentioned, which was added by the Editor, who also supplements Dawlatshāh's account of the poet with a few observations of his own. In these he emphasizes the philological and lexicographical value of Abū Ishāq's works, and adds that though they have been printed or lithographed several times in Persia, these editions are so marred by errors that they are almost valueless. He adds that he discovered two MSS. at Constantinople, and that, though both were defective, he succeeded from the two in constructing what he hopes and believes to be a fairly complete and trustworthy edition.

The poems, filled as they are with the strange and obsolete culinary terminology of mediaeval Persia, and deriving such humour as they possess from being parodies of more serious poems familiar to the author's contemporaries, do not lend themselves to translation. In the Preface to the "Treasure of Appetite" (Kanzu'l-Istihkhād) he claims to have written it to stimulate the failing appetite of a friend, just as Azraqī in earlier times wrote his Aṣā'īya Shāfī'īya to quicken the sexual desires of his royal patron, Tughānshāh the Seljuq. Here is a translation of this Preface, omitting the doxology:

"But to proceed. Thus saith the weakest of the servants of God the All-Provider, Abū Ishāq, known as the Cotton-carder (qaṣīda), Bushāq. Preface may his comforts endure! At the time when the tree of youth was casting its shadow, and the branch of gladness of appetite was heavy with the fruit of hopes, a few verses, of an extemporized character and appropriate to every topic, were produced by me. I thought within myself, 'The wisest course is this, that I should in such wise guide the steed of poetry through the arena of eloquence, and so spread the banquet of verse on the table of diction, that those who partake at the board of pleasure should obtain the most abundant helping; and that the masters of eloquence should be filled with the author's appreciation."

1 See vol. ii of my Lit. Hist. of Persia, p. 323, and, besides the references there given, Jamā'ī's Bahāridān, Const. ed. of A.H. 1394, pp. 78-9 (near the beginning of chapter vi); and a note by Von Hammer in the Journal Asiatique for 1827, vol. x, p. 255.
with admiration therefor, so that this may conduce to my greater fame and popularity.' For I had heard this verse which says:

Whatever verse I may utter, others have uttered it all, And have penetrated all its domain and territory.'

For some days my thoughts ran in this channel: 'having regard to the epic narrative of Firdawsī, the salt of whose speech is the flavouring of the saucepan of every food; and the mathnawīs of Nīṣāmī, the sugar of whose verses is the dainty morsel of sweet-tongued parrots; and the pāyābāt of Sa'ādī, which, by general accord, are like luscious honey to the palate of the congenial; and the odes of Khwāja Jamā‘u’d-Dīn Salmān, which take the place of milk and honey in the mouths of philologists; and the products of the genius of Khwāja of Kirmān, the carroway-syrup of whose utterances is a cure for the melancholies of the fetters of verse; and the subtle sayings of ‘Imād-ī-Fuqṭī, whose sweet utterances are as fragrant spices and delicious potions; and the fluent phraseology and well-weighed thoughts of Ḥāfiz, which are a wine fraught with no headache and a beverage delightful to the taste; and other poets, each of whom was the celebrity of some city and the marvel of some age, what fancies can I concoct whereby men can be made glad?'

While I was thus meditating, on a favourable morning, when according to my wont and habit, the smoke of an unfeigned appetite rose up from the kitchen of the belly, there suddenly entered through the door my silver-bosomed sweetheart, my moon-faced darling, whose eyes are like almonds, whose lips are like sugar, whose chin is like an orange, whose breasts are like pomegranates, whose mouth is like a pistachio-nut, smooth-tongued, melodious of utterance, lithe as a fish, sweet-voiced, with a mole like musk; even as the poet says:

By reason of the sweet smiles of the salt-cellar of her mouth
Blood flows from the heart, as from a salted kabdb.'

'Said she, 'I have quite lost my appetite, and suffer from a feeling of satiety; what is the remedy?' I replied, 'Just as in the case of that person who went to a physician, complaining that he was impotent, and the physician thereupon composed for him the [book entitled] Aḥyā Shalīyya, which when he had perused he at once took to his embrace a virgin girl, so will I compose for thee a treatise on the table, such that when thou hast once read it, thy appetite will return.' So for her sake I girded up the loins of my soul, and cooked a meal garnished with verbal artifices and rhetorical devices, and baked in the oven of reflection with the dough of deliberation a loaf which rivalled the orb of the sun in its conquest of the world; so that I can proudly exclaim:

I have spread a table of verse from Qāf to Qāf:
Where is a fellow-trencherman who can rival me?'

'I have entitled this table 'the Treasure of Appetite' (Kanzu’l-Ishthilāh), because the day was the ‘Īdul-Fitr; and the cause of the revelation of this book is commemorated in the following fragment.'

A particular kind of charm or beauty is called mašīqāt (from mīlād, "salt"), which may be rendered as "piquancy" or "spiciness," and it is in reference to this that a saucy and provocative mouth is compared to a salt-cellar.

1 See note on p. 347 supra.
2 The Mountains of Qāf are supposed to form the boundaries of the Inhabitable globe.
3 The Festival of the breaking of the Fast, called by the Turks Sheker Bayrmd.
4 As this merely repeats the substance of the prose preface translated above, I give the text only without translation.
followed by the two prose treatises already mentioned, the "Conclusion" (Khatima), the "Glossary" (Farhang), a qasida in praise of Kajri ("Kedgeree"), and the Editor's Vocabulary of Culinary Terms which fills twelve pages.

For the reasons already given it is practically impossible to translate these poems so as to preserve any of their point, and it is sufficient for our purpose to note that Abû Ishâq, with his predecessor 'Ubayd-I-Zâkânî (already discussed earlier in this chapter) and his successor Niẓâmu-d-Dîn Maḥmûd Qârî of Yazd, represents a definite school of satire and parody.


Of the last-named poet, who took for his subject clothes, as Abû Ishâq had taken foods, we have an excellent edition by the same Mîrzâ Ḥabîb who edited the works of the two other poets of the group, all three volumes being uniform in size and style. In the short preface prefixed to the Dîwân-i-Álîbîsa, which contains the sartorial poems of Maḥmûd Qârî of Yazd, the learned editor says that he believes the manuscript on which his text is based to be unique, and that he had never met with another copy in any of the numerous libraries in Persia and at Constantinople which he had examined, nor had he found any mention of the author or his date in any biographical or historical work except in one Indian tâdkkâra (neither named nor cited by him), and a single verse of his cited in evidence in the well-known Persian dictionary entitled Burhân-I-Jâmî1.

The Dîwân-i-Álîbîsa was avowedly inspired by the Dîwân-I-Áfîmâ, which, in style and arrangement, it closely follows. There is a prose preface, which, unfortunately, throws no light on the author's date; a qasida-I-Iṣâq u

1 This excellent and concise dictionary ("the Comprehensive Proof") is essentially an abridgement of the better-known Burhân-I-Qâmî, or "Decisive Proof." The former has been well lithographed at Tabrîz in Shavâwl, 1260 (Oct.-Nov. 1844).
Anfus; a mock-heroic account of the war between cloth and cotton (jang-náma-i-Múlím u Kattán); a poem on the "Mysteries of Silk"; parodies of Awhádí, Khwái, Sa’dí, Sayyid Hasan of Tirmíd, Sa’dí, Kamál’t-Dín

Poets parodied by Isma’il of Isfahán, Záhir of Fáráyáb, ‘Imád-i-Fáqi of Kirmán, Háñí, ‘Alí Dur-duzd, Kamál of Khujand, Muḥammad-i-Firúzábádí, Náyír of Kirmán, Sayyid Ni’matulláh, Amír Khusráu, Jalál’t-Dín Rámi, Sálmán of Sáwa, Sayyid Jalál-i-‘Adúd, Sa’dú’d-Dín Náshír, Sádrú’d-Dín Jawhári, Amíni, Amír ʿHásan of Dihlí, Jámál’ú’d-Dín, Shaykhh Farú́d’ú-Dín ‘Aṭṭár, Kátíbí, Náṣír of Bukhárá, Sultán Abú Sa’íd, Humámi of Tabríz, Amír Khusráu of Dihlí, Darwish Ashrafi-i-Namad-ʿísh, ‘Ubayd-i-Zákání, and Jalál-i-Tabríz. Nearly all the chief varieties of verse are represented, including a certain number of poems in dialect (Fahlanoiyydt and Shásdziyydt), and the volume concludes with several prose treatises, to wit a Dispute between Food and Clothes, the Dream of Mahmúd of the Bath, Eulogies of the chief Persian poets in terms of clothes and stuffs, the story of the clothes-thief, Wool’s letter to Satín, and other similar letters and official documents, the Ārdyisdz-náma ("Book of Adornment"), the Book of Definitions entitled Dah Waṣíf, containing, as its name implies, ten sections, the treatise entitled Sad Waṣíf ("A Hundred Counsels"), a mock-heroic mathnawí in the style of the Sháh-náma on the battle between Wool and "Cincob" (Kamkhd) entitled Muhkhyayat-náma, and finally a Glossary (Farkhag) of articles of clothing. The only indication of the author’s date which I can find is supplied by the list of contemporary poets occurring at the end of the Eulogies of Poets (pp. 138–9 of the text), which includes Qásim[u’l-Anwár], who died 837/1433–4; ʿÍsmat [of Bukhárá], d. 829/1425–6; Kátíbí, d. 838/1434–5; Khaydí [of Bukhárá], d. c. 850/1446–7; Sháhi, d. 857/1453; and Ādharí, d. 866/1461–2. We must therefore conclude that Mahmúd Qári of Yazd wrote subsequently to the date last given, so that he really belongs to a later period than that which we are now considering, though it seemed convenient to mention him here on account of his close literary affinity with Abú Išáq, to whom his work evidently owed its chief inspiration. Sayyid Ni’matulláh, on the other hand, who is one of the poets parodied by Abú Išáq, should, strictly speaking, be included in this place, but since he survived until 834/1430–1, and this chapter has already grown to an inconvenient length, I shall defer his consideration, with that of ‘Ísmat, Kátíbí and others, to a later section of this book.

**ARABIC PROSE-WRITERS OF THIS PERIOD.**

Although it is not necessary to speak at nearly the same length about the prose-writers of this period as about the poets, some at least of them deserve at any rate a passing mention, including one or two who wrote chiefly or exclusively in Arabic. Timúr resembled another great Eastern conqueror of Turkish origin who lived four centuries before him, namely Sultán Muḥammad of Ghazna, in his passion for collecting and carrying off to his capital eminent scholars from the towns which he conquered, and thus endeavouring to increase the splendour of his Court and his own reputation as a patron of letters. Amongst those whom Timúr thus abducted the most celebrated were Sa’dú’d-Dín Taftázání and as-Sayyid ash-Shairí al-Jurjání.

1. **Sa’dú’d-Dín Mašúd ibn ʿUmar at-Taftázání.**

This eminent scholar, who was described by the contemporary ʿulamá of Transoxiana as “at the present time the chief man of learning in the world, and the exemplar of scholars amongst...”

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1 For an instance of this, see my translation of the Chahár Maqála, p. 119 of the tirage-d-part.

2 See the Ḥabíbí’s-Siyar (vol. iii, pt 3, pp. 87–90), which devotes a long notice to him.

B. P. 23
the sons of men,” and of whose works sixteen are enumerated by Brockelmann1, was born at Taftázán near Náṣá in Khu-rásán in 722/1322, and is said to have written his first book (a commentary on az-Zanjáni’s Arabic Grammar) at the early age of sixteen. Another of his works, the Muṣawwal, he is said to have dedicated to Malik Muʿizzu’d-Dín Ḥusayn-i-Kurt (who reigned at Herát from A.D. 1331 to 1370). He then settled at Khwárazm, at that time a great centre of learning, where he composed his Mubkárta, which he dedicated to Jání Beg Khán of the Golden Horde, a descendant of Bátú the Mongol, who reigned in Western Ḥipcháq from A.D. 1340 to 1357. When Timúr captured Khwárazm he allowed Malik Muhammad of Sarášt, the youngest son of the above-mentioned Malik Muʿizzu’d-Dín, to take Taftázán with him to Sarášt, where he was given a professorship; but later, learning how great was his reputation as a scholar, he summoned him to his own capital Samarqand, where he remained for some years, greatly honoured by all. He died in 791/1389 (in the same year as the poet Ḥaḍîq), or, according to others, in 797/1394-5, and was buried at Sarášt. He left a son named Mawláná Muhammad who died of the plague at Herát in 838/1434-5, and concerning whom an anecdote is related in the Ḥabibu’s-Síyár which reflects but little credit either on his filial piety or his sincerity.

Of Taftázání’s works it is unnecessary to speak in detail, for not only are they written in Arabic, but they do not even fall into the category of belles lettres, being for the most part on logic, Arabic grammar, philosophy, theology, exegesis and jurisprudence. I am not aware that he wrote anything in Persian, but, by virtue of a Turkish metrical translation of Sa’d’s Búštán which he composed, he is included by the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb in his History of Ottoman Poetry2.

2 According to the Mujmád of Faṣḥíl in 787/1385.

CH. V] AL-JURJÁNÍ—IBN ‘ARABSHÁH


As-Sayyíd ash-Sharíf, chiefly known to European scholars by his book of “Definitions” (ta’rífát) of technical and especially Súfí terms, was born, as his title al-Jurjáni indicates, in the Caspian province of Gurgán or Jurján, near Astarábád, in 740/1339. In 779/1377 he was presented by Sa’du’d-Dín Taftázání to the Muẓaffarí prince Sháh Shuja’á who was then residing at Qasr-i-Zárd, and who took him with himself to Shíráz, where he became a professor at the Ḍáru’s-Shúfát. In 789/1387 Timúr conquered Shíráz and transported him to Samarqand, where he again foregathered with Taftázání, with whom he had many scientific controversies. On the death of Timúr in 807/1405 he returned to Shíráz, where he died in 816/1413 at the age of 76. Brockelmann enumerates 31 of his works, all of which are in Arabic. Three Persian works, a well-known Arabic grammar commonly known as Sa’rít-i-Mír, a treatise on Logic (al-Kubrá’fi’G1Wanf), and another on the Degrees of Existence, written by or ascribed to him, are mentioned in Rieu’s Pérziszt Catalogue, but he seems to have composed but little in his mother-tongue.


A third but much younger writer of note who was carried off by Timúr from his native place, Damascus, in 803/1400, when he was only twelve years of age, together with his mother and brothers, was Abu’l-’Abbás Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu’lláh ibn ‘Arabsháh, chiefly famous for the bitterly hostile biography of Timúr which he composed under the title of ‘Ajá’du’l-Maḍár fi nawa’du’l ’íbí Timúr, and to which reference has been made in the last chapter. He studied at Samarqand with the above-
mentioned al-Jurjânî, mastered the Turkish and Persian languages, translated from the latter into Arabic the Marzubân-nâmâ of Sa'du'd-Dîn Warâwînî, travelled widely, visiting Khaat (Chinese Tartary), Khwárazm, Dasht, Astrachan and Adrianople (where he became for a time private secretary to the Ottoman Sultân Muhammad I). He returned to his native town, Damascus, in 825/1422, made the pilgrimage to Mecca seven years later, settled in Cairo in 840/1436, and died in 854/1450. The undisguised hatred of Tîmûr revealed in every page of his history forms a piquant contrast to the fulsome flattery of Sharâfu'd-Dîn 'Ali Yazdî and other Persian biographers. Of Ibn 'Arabschâh's other works the best known is the Fâkhîatul-Khulafâ.

4. 'Adudu'd-Dîn al-Ijî.

Of Arabic writers of this period who had no connection with Persia, such as al-Yâfî and as-Safadî, to both of whom we are indebted for valuable biographical and historical material, I do not propose to speak here, but two other Arabic-writing Persians deserve at least a brief mention.

The first of these, 'Adudu'd-Dîn 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn Ahmad al-Ijî, who died in 756/1355, wrote in Arabic a good many books on philosophical, religious and ethical subjects, of which the Mawdâqîf is the most celebrated; but it is chiefly on account of his connection with the Mu'azzâfî dynasty that he is mentioned here, for though his birthplace was in Fârs at Íj, a place between Dârâbhîrd and Nayrâz, he seems to have written little or nothing in his mother-tongue, though, as we have seen above, he is celebrated by Ḫâfîz as one of the chief intellectual ornaments of Shîráz. He was a Shâfi'i jurist, a judge (qâdî), and a mystic; but he was also employed at times in a diplomatic capacity, for we learn from the Fârs-nâmâ-i-Nâsîrî that he was sent by Shaykh Âbî ʿĪsâq, at that time ruler of Shîráz, in 753/1352-3, to the Amîr Mubârizu'd-Dîn Muḥammad the Mu'azzâfî, who was then in the neighbourhood of Kirmân, to endeavour to dissuade him from attacking Shîráz. In this mission he failed; but he was well received by Mubârizu'd-Dîn, whom he had to entertain for three days at his native town of Íj, and had the honour of reading and explaining the commentary on the Muṣâfâs (a well-known work on Arabic grammar by az-Zamakhshârî) to the Amîr's son Shâh Shujâ', afterwards ruler of Shîrâz and alternately patron and rival of the poet Ḫâfîz.

5. Al-Fîrûzâbâdî.

Another Persian man of learning who met and received favours from Tîmûr was the great Arabic scholar and lexicographer, best known by his monumental dictionary the Qâḥîl, or "Ocean," Abu-Tâhir Muḥammad ibn Ya'qûb ash-Shîrâzî Al-Fîrûzâbâdî. He was born in 729/1326 at Fîrûzâbâd in Fârs, and studied first at Shîráz, then at Wâṣît in Mesopotamia, then at Baghdâd (745/134/1350) at Damascus, where he attended the lectures of as-Subkî, whom he accompanied to Jerusalem. There he lectured for some ten years, after which he set out again on his travels, in the course of which he visited Asia Minor, Cairo, Mecca (770/1368), where he remained fifteen years, and India, where he spent five years in

2 Brockelmann (op. cit., ii, pp. 208-9) enumerates eleven.
3 See G. le Strange's Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 289.
4 See p. 276 supra, and n. 2 ad calc.
Dihlī. He then returned to Mecca, where he spent another ten years. In 794/1392 he visited the court of the Jalā'īr Sultan Ahmad ibn Uways at Baghdād; and he also visited Tīmūr at Shīrāz, probably in 795/1393, and was received with much honour. Thence he went by way of Hurmuz on the Persian Gulf to Yaman, where he arrived in the following year (796/1394), and remained at Ta'izz for fourteen months. He was then made Chief Judge (Qādi‘l-quddt) of Yaman, and received in marriage the daughter of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf. In 802/1430 he again visited Mecca, where he established a small college of Maliki jurisprudence: and, after visiting al-Madīnah, returned to Zabīd in Yaman, and died there in 817/1414.

Of the five Arabic writers mentioned above all save Ibn ‘Arabshāh (who is included on account of his connection with Tīmūr) were Persians; and, for reasons which I have elsewhere given1, I consider that no literary history of the Persians which, confining itself to what is written in Persian, ignores the immense amount of valuable work produced by Persians in Arabic, can be regarded as adequate in its scope, or just to this talented people.

**Persian Prose-Writers of this Period.**

The period which we are now considering is far less rich in notable prose-writers than in poets, and not more than four or five need detain us here.

1. **Shamsü’d-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd-i-Fakhri of Isfahān.**

The first writer who deserves mention is Shams-i-Fakhri, whose full name is given above. He compiled in 745/1344 a very excellent work on the Persian language entitled Mi‘yār-i-Jamālī, which he dedicated to the amiable and talented but unfortunate Shaykh Abū Ishāq Īnjū1. It is divided into four parts as follows:

2. See p. 164 supra.

2. **Mu‘ṭūnü’d-Dīn-i-Yazdī.**

Nearly all that is known of this writer is recorded by Rieu2 in his notice of one of the British Museum MSS. of the Mawrthib-i-Idkht, a historical monograph on the House of Muzaffar from its origin until the battle fought at Shīrāz in 767/1365–6.

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1 Published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. x (1907).
between Shāh Shujā' and his brother and rival Shāh Mahmūd. Mu'īnu'd-Dīn is described by his fellow-townsmen Mu'īsī and in the 'Jāmi'-i-Muṣīfī (composed in 1082-1090/1671-79) as the greatest of the 'ulāmd of his day. His lectures were crowded with students, and occasionally honoured by the presence of his patron Shāh Shujā' the Muzaffārī, at whose instigation and encouragement, seconded by that of his father Muḥārīzū'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Mu'īn began the composition of his history at Isfahān in 757/1356, though, as indicated above, he did not complete it until ten years later. Two years earlier, in 755/1354, according to the abstract of his history included in some manuscripts of the Ta'rikh-i-Gūzīzā, he was made professor at a college at Kirmān. He died in 789/1387.

The Mawdīh-i-Nāḥī, of which I possess two MSS. from the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's library, besides having access to a manuscript belonging to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, is a disappointing book, written, as Rieu justly remarks, like the History of Wāsāfī, mainly "with a view to rhetorical display." It is in fact intolerably florid and bombastic, a fault which we might more readily excuse but for the undoubted value of the information which it contains. Happily the simplified abstract of its contents mentioned at the end of the last paragraph dispenses us in large measure from the necessity of reading it in its unabridged form.

3. Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad of Shīrāz.

This author, a grandson of the famous Shaykh Zarkūb of Shīrāz, deserves mention on account of a monograph on his native town, entitled Shīrāz-nāma, which he composed in 744/1343-4, and which is described by Rieu. Manuscripts of this work,

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2 This abstract, by a certain Maḥmūd Kūshī(?), is included in the MS. published in fac-simile in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vol. xiv, pp. 613-755; and vol. xiv, 2, pp. 151-207).
3 See my list of these MSS. in the J. K. A. S. for Oct. 1917, pp. 670-1.
4 Rieu's Pers. Cat., pp. 204-5.
write in a simple and straightforward style which ordinary people could understand. In 806/1403-4 he preached a homily before Timur in his camp near Ardabil on the occasion of the 'Id or Festival at the end of the Ramadán fast (April 12, 1404). Soon afterwards Timur set out for his capital Samarqand, and allowed Nizám-i-Shãhí to return “home” (apparently to Tabrîz), furnishing him with letters of recommendation to his grandson Prince Úmar Bahâdur, son of Mirán-shâh, who had just been appointed Governor of Persia; a post which he held until 808/1405-6, when he was dispossessed by his brother Prince Abû Bakr.

It does not appear that the history was continued beyond the year 806/1404, when Timur, having enjoyed a brief period of repose after his last Georgian campaign, set out on his last return journey to his capital Samarqand, which he quitted on December 28, 1404, on his projected campaign against China. This campaign was rendered abortive by Timur’s death on March 19, 1405. Particulars of the last year of his life, therefore, are not included in his Zafar-nâmá. of which his later Zafar-nâmá is essentially a more florid and verbose enlargement, garnished with many more verses, and increased in bulk by about fifty per cent.

5. Sharafu’d-Dín ‘Alî of Yazd.

All that is known about this historian, either from his own statements or from such books as the Jâmi‘-i-Mufrîdî, Ma‘âla‘u’l-Sâ‘dey, Haft Iqilim, Târikh-i-Rashîdî, Habili‘-i-Sîyâr, La‘îf-nâmá, and Dawlatshâh’s “Memoirs of the

1 Vol. iii, pt 3, p. 148.

Poets,” is, as usual, admirably summarized by Rieu. It is as a poet writing under the nom de guerre of Sharaf, and with a special skill in versifying riddles and acrostics (mu‘ammâd) that he is mentioned by Dawlatshâh, who also speaks in terms of exaggerated praise of his history of Timur, the Zafar-nâmá, on which his fame chiefly rests, though its style is intolerably inflated and bombastic, and its facts—in spite of the author’s implication that he collected them from original documents and orally from old men who had taken part in the events described—appear to have been mostly borrowed with little or no acknowledgement from his predecessor Nizám-i-Shãhí, to whom he is even indebted for many of his citations from the Qur’ân and from the poets. His work, however, has entirely eclipsed that of his predecessor. It has been published at Calcutta in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in two volumes (1887-8), and translated into French by Petis de la Croix (1722) and from the French into English by J. Darby (1723). The author of the Haft Iqilim calls Sharafu’d-Dín “the noblest of the scholars of Persia in his time, and the subtiest of the doctors of that period; luminous in exposition, sharp-tongued, conspicuous in merit, the illuminator of every assembly, the adorer of every company”; and, in speaking of his Zafar-nâmá, says that “no book so elegant has ever been written in Persian on the science of history.” He adds that it was composed in 828/1424-5, a date expressed by the chronogram (It was composed in Shiráz”), and that the author also wrote a treatise on riddles and acrostics; a commentary on the celebrated Arabic poem in praise of the Prophet entitled al-Burda (“The Mantle”) by al-Bûşiri; a book on magical squares and lucky numbers, entitled Kunsh’l-Murâd dar Jim-i-Waqq-i-A‘dâd; and a number of odes, quatrains and mathnawî poems, of which he gives only one short specimen.

“Sharafu’d-Dín,” says Rieu, “attained a position of great eminence, no less by his learning and piety than by the rare elegance of his style, and was for a long time the favourite companion of Shāh-rukh and of his son Mirzá Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. It is related in the Tarikh-i-Rashidī that the former entrusted to his keeping and able tuition Yūnus Khān, the young Khān of the Moghuls, who had been captured in 832/1428-9 by Mirzá Ulugh Bey, and who stayed with Sharafu’d-Din till the latter’s death. In 846/1442-3 Mirzá Sulṭān Muḥammad, who had been appointed Governor of ‘Irāq and established his residence in Qum, invited Sharafu’d-Din, who was then teaching crowds of pupils in his native city, to his court, and kept him there as an honoured guest and trusted adviser. When some years later, in 850/1446-7, the Prince having raised the standard of rebellion, Shāh-rukh came with an army to Ḥamadān to enforce his submission, and ordered several of his ill-advised councillors for execution, Sharafu’d-Din, who was also accused of having incited the Prince to revolt, was rescued from danger by the timely interference of Mirzá Abd’l-Latīf, who, on the plea that his father, Mirzá Ulugh Bey, required the Mawlawī’s assistance for his astronomical observations, despatched him to Samarqand. After the death of Shāh-rukh, Sulṭān Muḥammad, then master of Khorāsān, gave him leave to go back to Yazd. Sharafu’d-Din returned to his birthplace in 853/1449-50, and settled in the neighbouring village of Taft. He died there in 858/1454, and was buried in the precincts of a college built by himself and called after him Sharafīyya.”

Some manuscripts of the Zafar nāma contain “an Introduction treating of the genealogy of the Turkish Khāns and of the history of Chingiz Khān and his descendants down to the time of Tīmūr.” This was compiled in 822/1419.

1 See Erakine’s History of India, vol. i, pp. 45 and 49; and the History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, by N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 74 (ch. xxxvi), and pp. 84-5 and 155.

the ʿHabibuʾ-Ṣiyār, which places the event described a year later. On the 23rd Rabiʿ ii, 829 (March 4, 1426), or on the same day of the month of the following year (Feb. 21, 1427), a certain ʿĀḥmad-i-Lur, described as "a disciple (muraḍ) of Mawlānā ʿAḍluʾllāh of Astarābād," on the usual pretence of presenting a petition to Shāh-rukh, Tīmūr's son and successor, stabbed him in the stomach as he was leaving the mosque at Herāt, without, however, inflicting a mortal wound. The would-be assassin was killed on the spot by one of the King’s servants named ʿAlī Sultān Qulchīn; a fortunate thing for him, as he was undoubtedly saved thereby from torture, but subsequently a matter of regret to Mīrzā Baysonqur and the nobles charged with the investigation of the matter, who were thus deprived of a valuable clue. However, they found in the dead man’s pocket the key of a certain house, the tenants of which being examined cast suspicion on a certain Mawlānā Muḥammad, a notable calligraphist, scholar and wit, who had formerly been in the service of Sultān ʿĀḥmad-i-Jalāʾir at Baghdad, and afterwards in that of Mīrzā Iskandar of Shīrāz, whence Shāh-rukh had brought him to Herāt. Here he had associated with many men of letters, dervishes and others, and apparently amongst them with ʿĀḥmad-i-Lur. Baysonqur Mīrzā, who had a private grudge against him, wished to put him to death, but, after he had been brought beneath the gallows several times, he was finally imprisoned in a dungeon of the Castle of Ikhtiyār-dīn. Others, more unfortunate, were put to death and their bodies burned. Amongst these was Khwāja ʿAḍudūd-dīn, the grandson of ʿAḍluʾllāh of Astarābād the ʿHuṟūfī. The poet Sayyid Qāsimuʾl-ʿAnwār, of whom we shall speak in another chapter, also incurred some suspicion, and was expelled from Herāt by Mīrzā Baysunqur.


CH. V] THE ʿHUŘĪ F HERESY

One of the few notices of ʿAḍluʾllāh "al-ʿHuṟūfī" which I have met with occurs in the Iḥbāt of Ibn Ḥājjār al-ʿAṣqālānī (died 852/1448–9)

I have published a full translation of the passage in the Mujmāl in the special number of the Muslon published by the Cambridge University Press in 1915, pp. 48–78. See also Price's Retrospect, vol. iii, pt 2, pp. 546–7.

This book is not accessible to me, but the passage in question is cited by Flügel at pp. vii–viii of the preface to vol. ii of his edition of Ḥājjī Khalīfa’s Kashfuʾz-Zunūn.

2 viii° Série, t. xiv, pp. 238–70.
recognize as the Jāwīdān-i-Kābīr, or as the chief text-book of the Ḥurufis, or as the work of Fāḍlullāh of Astarābād. In my Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge, published in 1896, I devoted a long notice (pp. 69–86) to our excellent copy of the Jāwīdān-i-Kābīr, which was “bought at Constantinople, Oct. 1681, price ten Lion dollars.” A feature of special interest in this manuscript is an appendix containing accounts, written in a dialect of Persian explained to some extent by interlinear glosses in red, of a series of dreams seen presumably by Fāḍlullāh himself. Many of these are dated, the earliest in 765/1363–4, “at a time before the explanation of visions and interpretation of dreams was vouchsafed”; the latest in 796/1393–4. They thus cover a period of thirty years, and contain references to a number of places and persons. Amongst the former are Astarābād, Baghbad, Bākū, Burūjird, Dāmghān, Egypt, Fīrūz-kūh, ʻIrāq, ʻIṣfahān (especially a building there called Imārat-i-Ṭūghjīr or Tūghjīr), Khwārāzm, Mesopotamia (Jastrā), Qazwin, Samarqand, Tabriz, and the two celebrated strongholds of the Assassins, Rūdbār (near Astarābād) and the Fortress of Gird-i-Kūh. Amongst the latter are Amīr Timūr (Tamerlane), “King” Uways,1 Tūqṭāmish Khān, Pīr Pāshā, Sayyid ʻIsmā’īl-Dīn (i.e. the Turkish Ḥurūfī poet ʻIsmā’īl2), Sayyid Shamsu’d-Dīn, Sayyid Tāju’d-Dīn, Khwāja Fakhr’-u’d-Dīn, Khwāja Ḥasan, Khwāja Rāyazīd, Mawdūnā Kamāl’-u’d-Dīn, Mawdūnā Maḥmūd, Mawdūnā Majd’-u’d-Dīn, Mawdūnā Qiwām’-u’d-Dīn, Mawdūnā Shadr’-u’d-Dīn, Shaykh Ḥasan, Shaykh Mansūr, Malik ʻIzzu’d-Dīn, Amīr Shams, Darwīsh Tawakkul, Darwīsh Musafīr, Darwīsh Kamāl’-u’d-Dīn, ‘Abdu’l-Rahīm, ‘Abdu’l-ʻQādir, Ḥusayn Kiyā, ʻUmar-u-Sultānīyya, and Yūsuf of Dāmghān.

1 Presumably Shaykh Uways the Jalūfī, who reigned 757–777/1356–1375.
2 See Gibb’s History of Ottoman Poetry, vol. i, pp. 343–68. He was flayed alive for heresy in 820/1417–18.

The accounts of these dreams, even with the aid of the interlinear glosses which explain most of the words in dialect, are very elliptical and difficult to understand, being apparently mere memoranda sufficient to recall the vision to the memory of the writer. They seem to form no part of the Jāwīdān-i-Kābīr, and do not, I think, occur in most copies of it.

On Oct. 23, 1896, soon after the publication of my Catalogue, my friend the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb called my attention in a letter to the fact that in several Turkish biographies of poets (such as those of Laṭifi and Ḥāshiq Ḍelebi) the Turkish poet ʻIsmā’īl mentioned in the last paragraph but one is described as “the Ḥurūfī,” and his connection with Fāḍlullāh is established by some of his own verses, e.g.:

علیم حکیمی بنواسک گل برو کل گل ای حکیم
سن نسبی منطقتندن، وکله فضل اللّهی گور

“[If thou wouldst gain knowledge of wisdom’s lore, come hither, O sage; Hearken to the speech of ʻIsmā’īl and behold the Grace of God]”

[Fāḍlullāh]3

Mr Gibb, following up this clue, devoted a chapter (the seventh, pp. 336–388) in the first volume of his History of Ottoman Poetry to the Ḥurufis, and especially to two of the Turkish Ḥurufî poets, ʻIsmā’īl4 and Refi’ī, of whom the latter was a disciple of the former. Mr Gibb was unable to trace the Ḥurufis beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, but gives (pp. 381 et seqq.) two interesting extracts from Turkish chronicles showing the fierce persecution of which the sect was on several occasions the object. The first extract (from the Memoirs of Turkish Divines entitled Shqayqu’n-Nuscūn’sūkhzhīya, which Gibb renders as “the Crimson Peony”)
relates how the Persian Mufti of Constantinople, Fakhru'd-Din-i-'Ajami, a pupil of as-Sayyid ash-Sharif al-Jurjani1, seized and caused to be burned to death as heretics certain Hurufis who had succeeded in gaining the confidence and favour of the reigning Sultan Muhammad II, the "Conqueror" of Constantinople, who, apparently, for all his power, was unable to protect them from the fury of the 'ulamā' and the fanaticism of the orthodox. It is even related that the Mufti was so carried away by his religious zeal that, in blowing the fire kindled for his victims, he singed the long beard for which he was conspicuous. The second extract (from Lafifi's Biographies of Turkish poets) denounces the heresies and "blasphemous nonsense" of a Hurufi poet named Tammānī, who with others of the sect was put to death by sword and fire in the reign of Sultan Bayazid, who, as we have seen above2, was defeated by Timur at the Battle of Angora in 804/1402 and died soon after. As it was in this same year that Fadlullāh the Hurufi was put to death, it is evident that his doctrines had become widely diffused (from Astarābād to Adrianople) even during his life-time, and that they aroused the fiercest execration of the orthodox. Mr Gibb says that as he had failed to discover any record of later movements on the part of the Hurufis, he was inclined to think that the activity of the sect did not extend much beyond the close of the fifteenth century; and that such organization as it may have possessed was probably destroyed in the persecutions to which it was subjected in the reign of Bayazid. But as a matter of fact their activity continues down to the present day, the Bektaşı dervishes being still the representatives and repositories of the Hurufi doctrines.

1 See p. 355 supra.
2 Pp. 197-9 supra. Gibb thinks that Bayazid II (reigned 886-918/1481-1512) is meant, since in his reign, in 897/1492, there was, according to the historian Sa'du'd-Din, a fierce persecution of "the Qalandars" in consequence of an attempt on the Sultan's life made by one of them.

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3 See p. 367 supra, but compare also p. 374.
secretly teaching the Isdawd tinder to the inmates of the monastery, with
the assurance that it represented the doctrine of Haji Bektash the
saint (wali). The inmates of the monastery, being ignorant and foolish,
accepted the Isdawd tinder, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was
the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the
flesh; named it 'the secret'; and enjoined the utmost reticence concerning
it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards
reveals 'the secret,' they consider his life as forfeit. By this their so-called
'secret' are meant certain blasphemous passages in the Isdawd tinder,
hinted at by detached letters like alif (٠), waw (١), jam (٢), and za'a (ز),
for the interpreting of which symbols they have compiled a treatise
entitled 'the Key of Life' (Miṣ̄baḥ-ı-Haydâ). This they name 'the
Secret,' and should one possess it he understands the Isdawd tinder, which
without this aid is unintelligible. They were thus careful to conceal
their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion (Īslâmi) should obtain
some inkling of its nature and should suppress it; and thus, since ٥٦٩٧-٥, they have succeeded in secretly seducing many.

The author then goes on to expose and denounce the
different tricks and stratagems by which they strive to win
men, both Muslims and non-Muslims, to their heresies, and adds:

"From all this it is plain that these people [the Bektâshis] are not
really Shi'ites, but are essentially a polytheistic sect [Istidawd tinder], who,
though unable to win over to themselves the Jews and Christians, however
much they affirm their doctrines, do attract some of those Muslims
who are partial to the Shi'ite doctrine. So when I questioned certain
Bektâshi neophytes, they declared themselves to be of the Ja'farî [i.e.
the Imâmî or Shi'a] sect, and knew nothing of the mysteries of the
Istidawd tinder, imagining themselves to be of the Shi'a. But when I enquired
of a learned Persian traveller named Mirzá Safar his opinion concerning
the Bektâshis, he replied, 'I have associated much with them, and have
carefully investigated their religion, and they deny [the necessity of]
actions prescribed by the Holy Law.' He thus decisively declared
their infidelity. We take refuge with God from their ignorance!"

During the Easter Vacation of 1897 I had the opportunity
of examining with some care two Hurûfî manuscripts belong-
ing to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which I
described in the J.R.A.S. for 1898 (pp. 61-94) in an article

1 They bear the class-marks Ancien Fonds Persan 24, and Suppl.
Persan 107.

entitled "Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of
the Hurûfî Sect." One of these MSS. dated ٩٠٧/١٥٦٢-٣,
contains the Istiwâd-ndma of Amir Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn, a matinâwî poem in Persian on Alexander
the Great's quest after the Water of Life, and
a glossary of the dialect words occurring in the Istiwād-ndma.
The other, dated ٨٩٥/١٤٨٩-٩٠, contains
the Mahabbat-ndma, of which there is reason
to believe that Fadlu'llâh himself was the
author.

Nine years later, in the J.R.A.S. for 1907, I published
another article on this subject entitled "Further Notes on
the Literature of the Hurûfîs and their connection with the
Bektâshi Order of Dervishes," in which I described 43 Hurûfî
MSS. recently acquired by the British Museum, the
Cambridge University Library, and myself. Concerning
the manner in which these MSS. were obtained I then wrote
as follows:

"The connection of the Hurûfîs with the Bektâshis first became
known to me in the following manner. About three years after
the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain
dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdâd, from
whom I had already purchased a number of MSS., invited me to furnish
him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same
to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list
the Istiwâd-ndma or any other Hurûfî books. Shortly afterwards (in
Feb.-March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in
which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum,
marked Or. 5957) besides some other books of the sort in question.
The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were
secured by the Cambridge University Library, while five or six more
were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks
Or. 5957-Or. 5961.

"The comparatively high prices realized by these MSS. seem to have
stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the
supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these
Hurûfî books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely
read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently
fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2
or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed.
was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektâshi dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it is amongst the members of this Order that the Hurûfî doctrines flourish at the present day."

Amongst the MSS. described in this article are two or three treatises dealing with the biography and teachings of Hâjjî Bektâsh, from whom the Order in question derives its name, and who died in 738/1337-8, two years before the birth of Faḍlu'llâh the Hurûfî. This latter date, with five others connected with the early history of the sect, is recorded on the fly-leaf of one of the British Museum MSS. (Or. 6381) as follows:

3. Martyrdom of Faḍlu'llâh, 796/1393-4, aged 56 lunar years.
5. Death of Timûr’s son Mîrânsâh (whom the Hurûfîs called “Antichrist,” Dojîl, and “the King of Snakes,” Murânsâh), who slew Faḍlu’llâh, 803/1400-1.

From a verse on the same page it would appear that Faḍlu’llâh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 775/1373-4. On a page of another of these MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6380, f. 24) is inscribed a curious document which appears to be Faḍlu’llâh’s last Will and Testament. From this, of which the text and translation are printed in full in the article in question, it would appear that he was put to death at Shirwân. The article concludes with a complete index of all the books and persons mentioned in it. The titles of most of the books, whether Persian or Turkish, end in nâma; e.g., Adam-nâma (“the Book of Adam”), Aḵârāt-nâma (“the Book of the Hereafter”), Arch-nâma (“the Book of the Throne”), Bashârat-nâma (“the Book of Good Tidings”), etc.

In 1909 there was published in the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series a volume (vol. ix) containing translations into French of several Hurûfî treatises, with explanatory notes, etc., by M. Clément Huart, followed by a study of the Hurûfî doctrines (also in French) by Dr Rûqâ Tevîq, commonly known in Turkey as "Feysüf Rûqâ" or "Rûqâ the Philosopher," a man remarkable for his attainments in the learning of both East and West, and an adept in all that appertains to the various Dervish Orders of Turkey, especially the Bektâshîs. This volume, by far the most important independent work on the subject, is a rich mine of information on the strange and fantastic doctrines of a sect which, though its very name seems to have been unknown in Europe twenty years ago, played a not unimportant part in the history of Western Asia. Its characteristic doctrines, equally ingenious and grotesque, are pretty fully discussed in the books and articles mentioned above, to which such as desire fuller knowledge of them may be referred.

1 The authority for this date is Muḥâlim Nâjî (Edml, p. 106). By a curious coincidence this date is yielded by the sum of the letters composing the word Bektâshiyya, the name of the order.

BOOK III.

FROM THE DEATH OF TĪMŪR TO THE
RISE OF THE ȘAFAWĪ DYNASTY
Turkméns, and lastly of the Uzbek, until these in their turn, together with the remnants of the House of Timur, were swept aside by the victorious Sháh Isma'íl the Šafawi. But though the House of Timur was driven out of Persia, it was still destined to play a splendid part in India, where Zahiru'd-Dín Muhammad Bábur, the great-great-great-grandson of Timur, driven out by the Uzbeks from his own principality of Farghána, founded the dynasty commonly known in Europe as the “Great Moguls,” which endured there for more than three centuries and finally disappeared in the great Mutiny of 1857. With the “Great Moguls” of India we are not directly concerned in this book, save in so far as they came into relations with the Persian Šafawis; but though the political importance of the later Timúrids in Persia continually decreased after the death of Sháh-rukh, the courts of their diminished realms continued to be a centre of literary activity, enriched by the presence of numerous celebrated poets and men of letters, while several princes of this House, notably Sultán Abúl-Ghází Husayn b. Mansúr b. Bayqárá, Ulugh Beg, Báysunqur and the great Bábur himself, made notable contributions to literature or science, and Mír ‘Alí Shír Nává’í, Minister of Sultán Abúl-Ghází Husayn, was at once a notable poet (especially in the Turki tongue) and a generous patron of men of letters, so that the literary splendour of Herát under the later Timúrids is comparable to that of Ghazáua under Sultán Maḥmúd.

From the political point of view the most important representatives of the dynasties mentioned above were Sháh-rukh of the House of Timur; Qára Yúsuf of the “Black Sheep” Turkméns; Úzún Ḥasan of the “White Sheep” Turkméns; Shaybání Khán of the Uzbeks; and, chief of all, Sháh Isma’íl the founder of the great Šafawi dynasty. Of Úzún (“Tall” or “Long”) Ḥasan we possess contemporary European accounts in the narratives of Caterino Zeno, Josafá Barbaro and Ambrosio Contarini, ambassadors from Venice to this great ruler (whom they variously call “Ussun Cassano” and “Assambei”), whose assistance against the increasingly formidable power of the Ottoman Turks they desired to gain. They successively visited Persia for this purpose between the years A.D. 1471 and 1478, and their narratives, full of interest and life-like touches seldom found in the pages of Persian historians of this period, have been published in English by the Hakluyt Society in a volume entitled Six Narratives of Travel in Persia by Italians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Before considering in greater detail these Turkmán dynasties of the “Black” and “White Sheep,” the history of the House of Timur, so far as its connection with Persia is concerned, must be briefly traced. Timur had four sons and a daughter. Of his sons the eldest, Jahángír, predeceased his father by thirty years; and the second, ‘Umar Shaykh Mirzá, by ten years. The third, Mírán-sháh, survived him by three years, but fell into disgrace and appears to have become affected in his reason. The fourth was Sháh-rukh, who practically succeeded his father, and had a long and prosperous reign of forty-three years (897–850/1404–1447). Timur’s intention was that Jahángír’s son Pír Muhammad should succeed him, but he was defeated by his cousin Khalíl Sultán, son of Mírán-sháh, who succeeded in taking possession of Samarqand and gaining the support of several powerful nobles, and was finally murdered two years after his grandfather’s death by his trusted minister ‘Alí Táz or Pír ‘Alí. Khalíl Sultán, though not without parts, was undone by his infatuation for the courtesan Sháh Malak, whose extravagant whims he was ever ready to gratify, to the disgust of his nobles and officers, who, headed by the two Khąd-dád and Bárí

1 The three other narratives are the Discourse of Giovan Battista Ramusio on the writings of Giovan Maria Angioletto...in which are narrated the life and deeds of Ussun Cassano; the Travels of a Merchant in Persia (in the time of Sháh Isma’íl); and the Narrative of Vincenzo d’Allesandrì, Venetian Ambassador to Sháh Ṭahmásp.
Reg. presently rose against him, deposed him, and banished him to Kāshgār. Thereupon his uncle Shāh-rukh marched in and took possession, but had sufficient kindness to reunite the unhappy Khalil to his beloved Shād Malak, who showed her appreciation of his devotion by stabbing herself with a poniard when he died. The two were buried together in the same tomb at Ray. Khalil Sultān was not only a generous patron of poets but himself wrote verse, of which several specimens are recorded by Dawlatshah.

Shāh-rukh, who now succeeded to the throne, was born in 779/1377, and was therefore 28 years of age at the time of his accession. He had been made governor of Khurāsān in his twentieth year (799/1396-7), and was already practically absolute in that province and struck coins in his own name. His dominions were successively enlarged by the addition of Māzandarān (809/1406-7), Transoxiana (811/1408-9), Fārs (817/1414-5), Kirmān (819/1416-7) and Ādharbāyjān (823/1420). The attempt on his life by Ahmad-i-Lur, alluded to in the last chapter, was made in 830/1427, and he finally died at Ray in 850/1447, after a reign of 43 years at the age of 72. He waged successful wars against the rulers of the “Black Sheep” dynasty, Qārā Yūsuf and his son Iskandar, but on the whole, as Sir John Malcolm says, “he desired not to extend, but to repair, the ravages committed by his father. He rebuilt the walls of the cities of Herāt and Merv, and restored almost every town and province in his dominions to prosperity. This Prince also encouraged men of science and learning, and his Court was very splendid. He cultivated the friendship of contemporary monarchs, and we read in the pages of his historian a very curious account of some

1 This is Sir John Malcolm’s version (Hist. of Persia, ed. 1815, vol. i, p. 486), for which his authority is De Guignes. Dawlatshah, however (p. 354), says that the rebellious nobles cut off Shād Malak’s ears and nose, and makes no mention of her reunion with Khalil Sultān.


3 See p. 366 supra.

I CH. VI

CHARACTER OF SHÁH-RUKH

embassies which passed between him and the Emperor of China."

With this estimate of Sháh-rukh's character the most recent native historian of Persia, Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Kháñ Zuḵá'ul-Mulk, poetically surnamed Fūrūghí, is in complete agreement. "After Timúr," he says, "his son Mírzá Sháh-rukh sat in the place of his father. He was a successor who was the exact opposite of his predecessor, a peaceful and placable man, never prone to war and contention, save with seditious rebels and such as sought means to create disturbances in the empire, whom he deemed it necessary to suppress. In brief, the Empire founded by Timúr was refined by the efforts of Mírzá Sháh-rukh, who during a long period busied himself in repairing the devastation wrought by his father, and in informing himself as to the condition of his subjects and compassing their happiness. It is an extraordinary fact that the son of one so hard-hearted should be so kindly, amiable, gracious and friendly to learning, showing favour and courtesy to all, especially to scholars and men of parts. Ogotáy Kháñ, the son of Chingiz Kháñ, had a somewhat similar disposition and practice, and in particular he has left on the page of history a great reputation for generosity, so that he has been entitled 'the Ḥátim of later days'; and we have met with many anecdotes concerning his liberality and tenderness of heart in the pages of former writers."

Dawlatsháh is equally flattering, and, with his usual exaggeration, goes so far as to say that "from the time of

1 He received an embassy of Khidr Kháñ from India in 824/1421, and sent one to the Turkish Sultán Murád (Amurath) II in 839/1435-6. (Munajjím-bíší's Ṣahíḫ-i-Ākhbár, vol. iii, pp. 56-7.) Further mention of the embassies to China and India will be made later on in this chapter.


3 Ḥátim of the tribe of Tayy was celebrated amongst the old Arabs for his generosity.

Adam until this our day no age, period, cycle or moment can be indicated in which the people enjoyed such peace and tranquillity as they did in his [Sháh-rukh’s] days.” He adds that such were the virtues of this Prince that he was credited with miraculous gifts and knowledge of the Unseen. Of the two instances of which Dawlatsháh gives, one rests on the authority of his father, who was one of his familiar attendants. Ultimately, however, according to this writer, Sháh-rukh incurred the Divine displeasure by putting to death three learned and pious men of Isfahán whom he suspected of having encouraged his grandson Sultán Muḥammad Bāysunqur in his revolt against him. These cursed him ere they died, and “the doors of Heaven being open, the prayers of those innocent and illustrious victims were answered; the seed of that highly-placed king was cut off, and the sovereignty returned to its original source.” Amongst the many artists, poets and men of learning contemporary with Sháh-rukh Dawlatsháh mentions four in particular as conferring special lustre on his court, namely ‘Abdu’l-Qádir of Marágá the musician (who is mentioned by dYu7z-yi-bn’sAfúl as one of the eminent victims of the plague which afflicted Herát in 838/1434–5), Yúsf of Andakán the minstrel, Qiwámu’d-Din the engineer and architect, and Mawlání Khalil the painter, who in skill was “second only to Mání” (Manes). The Turkish historian Munajjim-béshPs ì±a&dl-Akhbdv speaks not less favourably than the writers already cited of Sháh-rukh’s character. “He was,” says he, “a wise, just, prudent and benevolent king, prone to forgive and to do good, devout, temperate and pious, so that alike at home and on the march, nay, even in time of war and battle, he never neglected the morning, noon and evening prayers, while on ‘white days’ and on the first day of each month he used to fast, and on the eve of Fridays, Mondays and Thursdays he used to assemble those who knew the Qur’án by heart and cause them to recite the entire scripture in his presence. During the whole period of his life he never knowingly committed a major sin. He continually sought the society of learned and pious men, on whom he conferred the greatest benefits and favours. He never suffered defeat, but was always favoured by fortune and victorious. To whatever land he went, he first of all used to visit any shrine which might exist there.” His empire, in the words of the same writer, extended “from the confines of China to the frontiers of Rám (Turkey in Asia), and from the remotest parts of Turkistán to the limits of India.”

Of Sháh-rukh’s five sons only one, Ulugh Beg, survived to succeed him. Of the other four Bāysunqur, who died of drink (the curse of this family) in 837/1433 at the age of 37, was, perhaps, the most talented, and the greatest patron of art and learning, to whose court flocked poets, artists, scholars, calligraphists, miniature-painters, book-binders and illuminators from ‘IrAq, Fárs, ʿAhdharbáyján, and all parts of Persia. In connection with Persian literature he is chiefly associated with the preface prefixed to the Sháh-náma of Firdawsi in his name and composed for him in 829/1426. The following chronogram of his death is given in the Ḥablu’s-Siyyar:

1 P. 340 of my edition.
2 ʿAbdu’l-Qádir’s Akhbdv, vol. iii, p. 57 (Constantinople, A.H. 1285). This useful history was originally composed in Arabic by Abmad-Deéd Efendi ibn Lujfúlláh, and comes down to 1681/1672. The Turkish translation was made in 1132/1720 by Abmad b. Muḥammad Nadím for the Grand Wazir Dámád Ibráhím Pasha.
3 ì±. ì±. p. 58.
"In the morning that august prince 'Abdysunqur said to me,
'Tell tidings of me to the people of the world:
I am gone, and this is the date of my death—
May my father's life be long in the world!"

Shah-rukh died near Ray on March 13, 1447, and, as
stated above, was succeeded, though not peaceably, by his
son Ulugh Beg, who had during his father's
life-time been governor of Tûran or Turkistân.
It was during this period, in 824/1421, that he built at
Samargand his celebrated observatory, where, with the
collaboration of four eminent men of learning, Salâhu'd-Dîn
Mûsá, called Qâdi-Zâda-i-Rûmî ("the Turkish Judge's son");
Mullâ 'Alâ'u'd-Dîn 'Ali Qûshjî, the commentator of the
Tajrîd; Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn Jamshîd; and Mu'ânu'd-Dîn of
Kâshân, he compiled the notable astronomical tables known
as the Zîj-i-Ulugh Beg, or Zîj-i-jâdîd-i-Sultânî, which were
probably completed in 841/1437-8, and concerning which
full particulars are given by Rieu1.

Ulugh Beg, as already indicated, did not at once succeed
in establishing his supremacy, which was contested by
his son 'Abdu'l-Latif, the son of Ulugh Beg, into prison.
Nor did his authority, when established, endure
long, for he was killed at the instigation of his son, the
above-mentioned 'Abdu'l-Latif, on Ramadan 10, 853 (October
27, 1449) by a certain 'Abbas, the year of this tragic
event being given by the chronogram 'Abbas killed [him]
(عَمَّاس قَتلَت).[1]

'Abdu'l-Latif, not content with the murder of his father,
also murdered his brother 'Abdu'l-'Azîz, but did not long
profit by his crime, for he in turn was murdered in the ensuing year, 854/1450, by a certain Bâbâ

1. The sum of the letters composing this hemistich gives 837, the
date of Bâysunqur's death.
2. Persian Catalogue, pp. 455-7, where the European editions and
translations of this work are enumerated. See also Clements Markham's
History of Persia, p. 224 ad. calc.

1 Ulugh Beg and 'Abdu'l-Latif

The parricide is unworthy of sovereignty:
[Even] if he attains it, he will not survive more than six months."

"This 'Abdu'l-Latif," says the Turkish historian Munajjim
Bâshî, "was a talented and accomplished man, but very
impetuous, blood-thirsty and pitiless, so that men's hearts
were turned aside from him. With his death the succession
of Ulugh Beg came to an end in Transoxiana."

From this period onwards until its extinction in Persia
the House of Tîmûr rapidly declined in power, cohesion
and territorial possessions, and even the suc-
cession of rulers is somewhat uncertain, or, to
be more precise, it is uncertain which should be
accounted supreme and which subordinate. Thus Stanley
Lane-Poole regards 'Abdu'l-llâh, the son of Ibrahim Sultan,
the son of Shah-rukh, as the successor of 'Abdu'l-Latif;
while Mirkhwând substitutes Mirzá Abul-Qâsim Bâbur
(not the great Bâbur), the son of Bâysunqur, the son of
Shah-rukh. He died in 861/1456-7, having lost
'trâq, Fârs and Kirman four years previously
to Jahânshah, son of Qârâ' Vâsun of the "Black
Sheep" Turkmâns, and killed his brother Sultan Muham-
mad, the expelled ruler of Fârs, in battle.

Mirzâ 'Alâ'u'd-Dawla, another son of Bâysunqur, was
acting as governor of Herât at the time of his grandfather
Shah-rukh's death, but, after a certain show of
opposition, he made peace with Ulugh Beg and
Bâbur, and contented himself with the government of a district extending from Khabûshân in Khurasân

2 Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 268.
to Astarabad and Daghmán. In 842/1448–9 he was defeated by Ulugh Beg near Herat and driven into Badakhshan and the Plain of Qipchaq. After various vicissitudes, including sundry wars with his brothers and a period of allegiance to Jahán-sháh, the “Black Sheep” Turkmán and enemy of his House, he finally died in 875/1470–1. His son Ibráhím, having escaped from the custody of his uncle Abu'l-Qásim Bábur, fled to Murgháb and there collected a considerable army. He occupied Herat and defeated his cousin Mirzá Sháh Maḥmúd, whom he was preparing to crush at Astarábad when he was suddenly attacked by the redoubtable “Black Sheep” Turkmán Jahán-sháh. Abandoning Herát he fled before the invader, but returned on the withdrawal of the latter, only to suffer defeat at the hands of Sultán Ábú Sa'id. He died in 863/1458–9 on the march from Daghmán to Mashhad, and his cousin and rival, the above-mentioned Mirzá Sháh Maḥmúd, was killed in the same year.

Sultán Ábú Sa'id, the grandson of Mírán-sháh, is described by Mirkhwand in the Rawdatu's-Safa' as "supreme amongst the princes of the House of Timúr in high emprise, lofty rank and perfect discernment. He was a friend and patron of scholars, theologians and men of letters, and during the period of his rule the lands of Turkistán, Túrán, Khurásán, Zábulistán, Sistán and Mázarán attained the zenith of prosperity."

He had in early life been attached to the court of his accomplished kinsman Ulugh Beg, whose son 'Abdu'l-Latif, after murdering his father as already related, cast Ábú Sa'id into prison, whence, owing to the negligence of the sentries, he escaped to Bokhárá. When 'Abdu'l-Latif in turn was killed, he marched out from Bokhárá, and, after giving battle to his kinsman Ábú Bakr, made himself supreme in Turkistán and Túrán. In 861/1456–7 he captured Herát and put to death Gawhar Shád Khátún. In 862/1457–8 Jahán-sháh invaded Khurásán and occupied Herát, but afterwards relinquished it to Ábú Sa'id. Ten years later, in 872/1467–8, when Jahán-sháh was defeated and slain by Úzún Hasan, of the rival clan of the "White Sheep" Turkmáns, Ábú Sa'id, hoping to profit by this circumstance, and encouraged by representations from Iráq, Fürs, Kirmán, Adharbáýján and other lost provinces, marched westwards against his new rival Úzún Hasan, by whom he was finally defeated and taken prisoner near Mayána. After three days his captor, having decided on his destruction, handed him over to Yádigár Muhammad, who put him to death to avenge the blood of his grandmother Gawhar Shád Khátún. The philosopher Jalálu’d-Dín Dawání, author of the well-known ethical manual entitled Akhlaq-i-Jáláá, commemorated his death in the following chronogram:

By the Venetian travellers of this period, to whom we are indebted for much interesting information and independent chronological details, Ábú Sa'id is called "Busech" by the Venetians Cassano, "Assirien," or "Assambei" (i.e. Hasan Beg), and Jahán-sháh "Giouan." The towns of 'Urfa, Isfahán, Káshán, Qum, Yazd and Kharpást appear as "Orphi," "Spaham" or "Spaan," "Cassan," "Como," "Jex" and "Carparth." It should be noted also that, apart from such well-known general histories as the Rawdatu's-Safá and Habibu's-Siyar, the hitherto unpublished Ma'lahu's-Sádayn of Kamálu’d-Dín ‘Abdu’s-Razzáq, a monograph on the reigns of the two Fortunate Planets, i.e. the two Ábú Sa'ids (the Í-khán Mongol, reigned 716/1316—736/1335, and the Timúrid of whom we

Given in the Rawdatu's-Safá. The sum of the letters composing the last four words (40 + 100 + 400 + 30 + 60 + 30 + 9 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 2 + 6 + 60 + 70 + 10 + 4) gives the year of his death 873 (= A.D. 1468–9).
are now speaking), which was completed in 875/1470, only two years after the later Abü Sa'id's death, affords a great wealth of material for the history of this period.

Abü Sa'id was succeeded by two of his sons, Ahmad and Mahmúd, who are accounted by Stanley Lane-Poole the last (eighth and ninth) rulers of the House of Timúr in Persia and Central Asia. Of these the first ruled in Transoxiana with Samarqand for his capital, and the second in Badakhshán, Khatlán, Tirmíḍh, etc. Both died, the latter by violence at the hands of the Uzbek Shaybání Khán, in the last years of the fifteenth century (899/1493-4 and 905/1499-1500 respectively).

Much more important than the two princes last mentioned, from the literary if not from the political point of view, was Sultán Husayn b. Mašúr b. Bayqárâ, whose court at Herát was one of the most brilliant centres of letters, art and learning which ever existed in Persia. This prince, originally attached to and protected by Ulugh Beg, was, on the death of this ruler and his son 'Abdú'l-Laţíf, cast into prison by Abü Sa'id, but escaped, joined Abu'l-Qásim Bábur, and fled to Khwárazm or Khiva. In 862/1457-8 he captured Astarábd, the capital of the province of Gurgán or Jurján (the ancient Hyrcania) and was there crowned, but recognized Abü Sa'id as his suzerain and placed himself under his protection. A year later Abü Sa'id again compelled him to take refuge in Khwárazm and occupied Astarábd, which, however, he shortly afterwards recovered, together with the rest of the provinces of Gurgán and Mázandarán. On the death of Abü Sa'id, Sultán Husayn captured Herát, and was crowned there on Ramadán 10, 872 (April 3, 1468), which date is regarded by Mumajjim-hášht as the beginning of his 38 years' reign, terminated by his death at the age of seventy years on Monday, 11 Dhu'l-Hiijja, 911 (May 5, 1506). During the last 20 years of this period he was partly paralysed. His talented minister Mfr 'Alí Shír Nawá', who, like his master, was not only a great patron of men of learning and letters but himself a writer of distinction, both in prose and verse, especially in the Turki language, died on the 12th of Jumáda ii, 906 (January 3, 1501) at the age of 62. An excellent monograph on his life and literary activities was published by M. Belin in the Journal Asiatique for 1861, and reprinted in the form of a separate pamphlet.

Sultán Husayn, besides his literary tastes, had a great passion for pigeons, fighting-cocks and other birds, and, like so many of his House, was much addicted to wine.

It still remains to mention one of the most notable of all the descendants of Timúr, namely Zahrû'd-Dín Muhammád Bábur, who, though he never ruled in Persia, was the founder of a new and splendid Timúrid empire in India, the representatives of which, commonly known in Europe as the "Great Moguls," included such noble princes as Humárún, Akbar, Jahánr, Sháh-Jahán and Awrang-Záb 'Álamgír, and which, though gradually shorn alike of its glories and its virtues, continued to exist until the great Indian Mutiny in 1857.

Until the early part of the eighteenth century their magnificent court at Delhi continued to attract a great number of eminent Persian poets and men of letters during a period when fuller appreciation and more liberal patronage of talent was to be found at Dihl than at Isfahán.

Of the life of Bábur we possess singularly full and authentic details in the autobiographical memoir generally known as the Bábúr-náma, or "Book of Bábur" which he composed in the Turki or Chaghatáy language. Of the original Turki text of this remarkable work a printed edition was published by Ilmínskí at Kazan in 1857; while a fac-simile of the then newly-discovered Háyárdábd codex was edited by Mrs Beveridge

1 Notice biographique et littéraire sur M. Ali-Chir Nodii, suivie d'extraits tirés des œuvres du même auteur, par M. Belin. 2 It comprises 158 pages.

2 The text comprises 396 pages.
for the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund" in 1905. This Turkı text has been translated into French by M. Pavet de Courteille, and was published at Paris in 1871. There also exists a Persian translation of the original, known as the Wādī̈d (or Tāẑ̲u̱l)-i-Bābūr̲, made at the request of the great Emperor Akbar, Bābūr’s grandson, by his accomplished general Mīrza ‘Abdur-Rahim Khān-Khānān in 938/1530–33, on which Dr John Leyden and Mr William Erskine’s well-known English version, published in London in 1826, is based. Besides this notable and most authoritative work, we have the very valuable and illuminating Memoir of Bābūr’s cousin Mīrza Haydar Dughlāt, now accessible to the English reader in Sir E. Denison Ross’s translation, edited, with Preface, Introduction, Commentary, Notes and a Map, by the late Mr Ney Elias, formerly H.B.M. Consul-General for Khūrāsān and Sīstān, and published in London in 1898 with the title A History of the Mughuls of Central Asia, being the Ta’rikh-i-Rašīdī of Mīrza Muhammad Haydar Dughlāt. This book, which, as its title implies, has a much larger scope than the Bābūr-nāma, of which the author made use in its compilation, greatly supplements and illuminates the earlier work. Apart from these two works, which are worthy of special notice on account of the high position of their authors and their active participation in the making of the history which they narrate, the historical sources for this period are unusually full and trustworthy.

Of Bābūr’s life, which can be studied in detail in the above-mentioned and numerous other works, it is sufficient to say here that it falls broadly into three periods, of which the first was passed in the little principality of Farghānā, where he was born in A.D. 1482 and whence he was expelled by Shaybānī Khān and his Uzbeks about 1504. During the second period (A.D. 1504–1525) he ruled over Afghānīstān and Badakhshān. Finally he decided on the invasion of India, and the foundation of the “Great Mogul” Dynasty in that country dates from his brilliant victory at Pānīpāt over Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lōdī of Dihlī on April 20, 1526, and the occupation of Agra and Dihlī and northern India from the Indus to Bengal. This third and shortest period was brought to a close by his death on December 26, 1530, when he was succeeded by his son Humāyūn. The narrative of the Bābūr-nāma extends from Ramadan 899/June 1494 (the year of Bābūr’s accession at the early age of twelve to the throne of Farghānā) to 936/1529–30, the year preceding his death. There are, however, certain lacunae, to wit the years 915–924 (1509–1518) and 927–931 (1521–1525).

We have, however, overshot the limits of the period dealt with in this chapter; for, so far as Persia is concerned, the House of Tīmūr disappears from it before the year 1500. The great empire founded by Tīmūr, that ruthless man of blood, was maintained in Persia by his gentler and more enlightened son Shāh-rukh until his death in 850/1447. What follows is mainly a dismal record of fratricidal strife and invasions of Uzbeks and other barbarians, redeemed by brilliant galaxies of poets, artists and men of letters and science whom the lavish bounty and undeniable taste of these truculent and quarrelsome princes continued to attract to their various courts, in particular to Herāt. The details of these wars, set out at great length by Mīrkhwānd, Khwāndamīr and ‘Abdur-Raẓāq, and in English by Erskine1, are somewhat wearisome, being not so much

1 History of India under the first two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, etc. See the preceding foot-note. Vincent A. Smith’s Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542–1605 (Oxford, 1917) forms a worthy continuation.
between different peoples or principles, as between ambitious members of one family. Happily for our present purpose we need not go much beyond Sir John Malcolm's excellent summary of this period of Persian history. "After the death of Ulugh Beg," says he, "we discover a crowd of the descendants of Timur contending for the provinces of his empire; and so great was the respect which men entertained for the blood of the hero that everyone who could boast of it in his veins found adherents who enabled him either to obtain a throne or an honourable grave."

To the literary and artistic gifts and tastes of these princes, on the other hand, that great authority on Persian painting and miniatures, Dr F. R. Martin, bears the following eloquent testimony in his monumental work on The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey:

"The Timurids soon began to lead a life compatible with the wealth their fathers and forefathers had amassed during their wars, and tried to squander it as quickly as possible. History constantly repeats itself. The life of these rulers forms a true epic. They recall to mind the old Paladins in the Chansons de Gestes, passing in the space of a short time from the splendours of a throne to a position of the utmost decay. They were, however, the most artistic princes that ever reigned in Persia. If the conquering armies of Timur destroyed many a work of art, his successors brought into being works of art that would otherwise never have been created. Does not Samarkand redeem the loss of many a town destroyed by Timur? What he destroyed was already of itself destined to fall, and Timur simply gave the mortal thrust. He was not the destroyer we are accustomed to consider him, but the master who arranged matters with an iron hand. He formed a link in the chain of natural development, and from his realm arose the Persia of later times, his successors bringing Persian art to its most flourishing stage. These Timurids were no barbarians; indeed everything goes to show that they were highly civilized and refined men, real scholars, loving art for the sake of art alone, and without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their court poets. Sultan Huseyn Mîrzâ was no bad poet, and his odes, written in Turki, are far better than those of many celebrated poets. He also wrote in Arabic and competed with the celebrated Jâmi. The most refined style of life prevailed, in certain respects calling to mind that of the European princes of the same time, or that of France during the 18th century, although it was far more literary than either.

"Baysunqur, Shâh-rukh, Ulugh Beg and Sultan Huseyn Mîrzâ were bibliophiles not surpassed by the Dukes of Burgundy, or by King René of Anjou, their contemporaries, and were far more illustrious than the celebrated French and Italian book-lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only did they collect books, but they created them. Baysunqur and Huseyn Mîrzâ were to Persia what William Morris was to England four hundred years later. They created a new style of book, but theirs was infinitely more aristocratic, solid and artistic. The very finest European books and manuscripts cannot, except in a very few isolated instances, bear comparison with those of the Orientals as regards the fineness of their work.

"Baysunqur was the son of Shâh-rukh and grandson to Tamerlane; he died in 837/1433, when 37 years of age, at Astarabad, where he was governor. He was the founder of the most elegant style of book-production in Persia, and well deserves to be remembered as one of the greatest bibliophiles of the world. Under his auspices forty artists were employed in copying manuscripts under the guidance of Mawlâna Ja'far of Tabriz, himself a pupil of 'Abdu'llâh son of Mir 'Ali. By paying large salaries and making princely

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presents he retained in his service the cleverest masters of the period, who executed the finest work in the production of their splendid volumes. The paper was unsurpassed, the illuminations of extreme delicacy, and the covers are unequalled to the present day. Books from his vast library are now dispersed over the entire world, and wherever found should possess a place of honour.

"It was during the reigns of the Timurids and not during that of Sháh 'Abbás that the finest carpets were produced in Persia. The finest arms and armour, and ivory-work of a minuteness surpassing all examples produced by other countries, were made at their court. All specimens of Persian art that exhibit the most refined taste and workmanship emanate from their time or from the very beginning of the Šafawi dynasty.

"All art produced in the East is the direct result of an impulse given by the monarch. But for Bâyísunqur and Sultán Husayn Mírzá we should not have had that lovely miniature art their artists created, for it was to adorn and illustrate their own writings that they welcomed artists from all parts of their kingdom. But for Sháh 'Abbás we should not have had the splendid figured velvet, and but for Sulaymán the Magnificent there would be no magnificent Turkish faience from Iznik, and but for Sultán Ahmad we should not have had the wonderful manuscripts of the Qur'an, by which their aesthetic tastes are still perpetuated. All real art in the Orient is court art, or is dependent on a Maecenas. It was so in the 'Abbásid court at Baghádád in the ninth century; it was so in Egypt and Spain; it was so everywhere. This fact must be remembered, as it explains much that would otherwise be incomprehensible.

"That an art so brilliant should entirely disappear with the ruler was not to be expected. The princes died, but the artists survived and entered the service of another. The impulse derived from the Timurids was so powerful that it lasted through a great part of the sixteenth century. It was not only the new rulers of Persia, the Šafawís, but also princes whose names are almost unknown to history, who continued the fashion and had manuscripts executed that were more costly than anything of the kind produced in Europe."

It is necessary to remind the reader, who may be apt to think of far-reaching international relations as in large measure a product of modern times and an outcome of modern facilities of communication, how considerable was the intercourse in the time which we are considering between Asiatic (not merely Muslim) states far removed from one another. The interesting extracts from that valuable but hitherto unpublished history, the Mahtáwš Sa'ádatn of 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Samarqand, published in French by Quatremère in 1843¹, include the accounts of two embassies from the court of Herát, the one to China, the other to India, narrated in each case by one who had headed or accompanied the mission. The mission to China, described by Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Naqašá ("the Painter"), left Herát on December 4, 1419, reached Pekín (Khán-bátig or "Cambaluc") a year and ten days later, and returned to Herát on September 2, 1422². The mission to India, confided to and narrated by the above-mentioned 'Abdu'r-Razzáq himself, started on January 13, 1442, and landed once more on Persian soil at Hurmuz in the Persian gulf on April 20, 1444.³ The activity and cosmopolitan character of that port are well indicated by the ambassador in the following descriptive paragraph:

"This Hurmuz, which they also call Jarín, is a port on the open sea 'which has no equal on the face of the earth.' Thither betake themselves merchants from the seven climes; from Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Ádharbáýján, Arabian and Persian 'Irán, the

provinces of Fārs, Khūrāsān, Transoxiana, Turkistān, the Ḍīqābād Plain, the territories of the Calmucks and all the
realm of China and [its capital] Pekin (Khān-bālīgh).

Thither coast-dwellers from the confines of China, Java, Bengal, Ceylon and the cities of Zārbād, Tanāsūr, Shāhī- ḳān, the Islands of Diwā-Mahall, as far as Malabar, Abys-
sinia, and Zanzibar, the ports of Bījanagar, Guībargā, Gujarāt, and Kambāṣī (Cambay), the coasts of the Arabian peninsula
as far as Aden, Jeddah and Yānbi‘ bring rare and precious
things to which the sun and moon and fertilizing virtue of the clouds have given lustre and beauty, and which can be
brought by sea to that country. To that land come travellers
from all parts of the world, and whatever they bring they
find in that city, without over-much search, the equivalent
value thereof in whatever form they desire, whether by sale
or exchange. The officials levy a ten per cent. ad valorem
duty on everything except gold and silver. In that city
are many adherents of all manner of diverse religions,
including heathens; yet do they not deal otherwise than
fairly with any creature, for which reason men call the city
Dāru’l-Amān (’the Abode of Security’). The people of
that country combine the winning manner of the people of ’Īrāq with the profound cunning of the Indians.”

Allusion has already been made to the correspondence
between Shāh-rukh and his successors and the Ottoman
Sultans Muhammad I (1402–1421), Murād II
(1421–1451), Muhammad II (1451–1481) and
Bāyazīd II (1481–1512); but that this corres-
pondence was not confined to princes and
politics is shown by letters preserved by Firḵdām Bey1 ex-
changed between Bāyazīd II on the one hand and the
poet Jāmī, the philosopher Jalālū’d-Dīn Dawānī and the
theologian Ahmad Taftāzānī on the other. To the first of
these the Ottoman Sultan sent a gift of a thousand and to
the second five hundred florins, accompanied by all manner


of gracious and courtly compliments. It was at Constan-
tinople, moreover, that Sultan Husayn’s son, Badrulz-Zamān,
seeking from the murderous Uzbeks, found a final refuge and
a last resting-place.

Having described the waning of the House of Timūr,
we must, before tracing the growth of the Šafawi power,
consider briefly the intermediate Turkmān
dynasties of the “Black” and “White Sheep,” who were so much akin in race and character
that Josafa Barbaro is probably justified in
comparing them to the rival Italian factions of the Guelphs
and Ghibelines, or the “Bianchi” and “Neri”1. The
“Black Sheep” (Qārā-qoyūnlū, or “Caracoilū” as Barbaro
calls them) came first. In the time of Timūr they were
established in the Persian province of Ādharbājān, and a
certain chief amongst them, Bayrām Khwāja
of the Bahārī tribe, attached himself to the
service of Sultan Uways the Jalā’īrī, after whose death he
possessed himself of Mawṣil (Mosul), Sinjār and Arjish.
In 782/1380–1 he died and was succeeded by his son Qārā
Muhammad, who similarly attached himself to
the service of Sultan Ahmad, the son of the
above-mentioned Sultan Uways, and ultimately
fell in battle in Syria in 792/1390. He was succeeded by
his son Qārā Yūṣuf, who was the first of the
family to attain the position of an independent
sovereign with his capital at Tabrīz. After repeated
conflicts with Timūr, he took refuge with the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd
“the Thunderbolt,” and succeeded in capturing Baghdad, whence, however, he was shortly expelled by Timūr’s grand-
son Abū Bakr, and fled to Egypt with a thousand of his
followers. The Sultan of Egypt, fearing Timūr’s wrath,
imprisoned him; but on Timūr’s death he was released, and,

Concerning the enormous influence exercised by Jāmī and Mīr
‘Alī Shīr Nāwī on Ottoman literature, especially poetry, see the late

1 P. 85 of the Hakluyt volume above mentioned.
having been rejoined by his scattered followers, took Diváy Bakr, and soon afterwards, in 809/1406-7, defeated Abú Bakr at Nahjuwán, reoccupied Tabrîz, and took possession of the province of Ádharbájyán. Four years later he defeated and put to death near Tabrîz his old master and fellow-captive in Egypt, Sultán Ahmad Jalâ’îrî. In 822/1419 he captured the three important Persian cities of Sáwa, Qazwín and Sultániyyâ, and died in the following year at the age of 65, after a reign of 14 years, leaving five sons, of whom two, Iskandar and Jahânshâh, succeeded him on the throne.

Mention has been already made in a previous chapter of the important collection of State Papers connected with the diplomacy of the Ottoman Empire which are contained in the Munshâ’dt of Firídún Bey1.

A good many of these refer to the period we are now considering. Thus we have a letter to Sultán Bâyazîd “the Thunderbolt” from Sultán Ahmad Jalâ’îrî, written in 798/1396, describing his flight before Timûr’s advancing hordes, and the answer to it; numerous letters which passed between Sultán Muḥammad I (805-824/1402-1421) and Shâh-rukh, Qâra Yûsuf, Iskandar and Sultán Khalîl of Shîrwan; letters between Sultán Murâd II (824-855/1421-1451) and Shâh-rukh; letters between Sultán Muḥammad II “Fâtb” (855-886/1451-1481) and Jahânshâh, Ulugh Beg, Bâysunqur, Bahman Shâh of India, Üzûn Hasan, and Ḥusayn b. Manṣûr b. Bayqarâ; and later a voluminous correspondence with the Šafawî kings Shâh Isma‘îl and Shâh Ṭâhmâsp. These letters are interesting not only for the light they throw on the historical events to which they refer, but as indicating the relations which prevailed between these rulers respectively. Thus, for example, in a letter from Shâh-rukh to the Ottoman Sultán Muḥammad I in 818/1416 the arrogance of tone is very noticeable, both in respect to the comparative poverty of titles accorded and the reproaches addressed to the Sultán for having put to death his rebellious brothers Sulaymân,

1 Printed at Constantinople in 1274/1858, pp. 626.
years later, in 838/1434–5, Sháh-rukh again advanced against Iskandar as far as Ray, where he was joined by Iskandar's brother Jahánsín and his nephew Sháh ‘All. Iskandar fled, and Sháh-rukh bestowed his territories on his brother Jahánsín as a reward for his submission. Iskandar took refuge in a fortress, but while preparing to resist a siege he was murdered by his son Qubdá, at the instigation of his concubine Laylá.

Jahánsín, with the support and approval of Sháh-rukh, now succeeded to the throne vacated by his brother's death in 839/1435–6, and considerably enlarged the realm which he had inherited. In 856/1452 he overran 'Iráq-i-'Ajám, made a massacre of the people of Isfahán, and invaded Fárs and Kirmán. In 862/1457–8 he conquered Khurásán, and in the month of Sha'bán in that year (June–July, 1458), was enthroned at Herátt, and remained there for six months, when Sultán Abú Sa'id, the great-grandson of Timúr, prepared to attack him. At the same time news reached him that his son Hasan, who was imprisoned in Ádharbáyján, had escaped and was in rebellion against him, so he was compelled to make peace with Abú Sa'id and hasten westwards at the average rate of twelve parasangs (some forty-five miles) a day, losing in this forced march 20,000 camels and 10,000 horses. Having subdued and expelled his son Hasan, he dismissed his other son Pir Budáq from the government of Fárs and transferred him to Baghdád, where he also shortly revolted. Jahánsín thereupon besieged Baghdád for a whole year, and finally succeeded in killing Pir Budáq and replacing him by another son, Muhammad Mirzá, after which he returned to Ádharbáyján. His realms now extended from the Turkish frontier on the west to the two 'Iráqs, Kirmán and the shores of the Persian Gulf, thus including nearly the whole of Persia except Khurásán and the Caspian provinces.

In 871/1466–7 he attacked Hasan Báyandári, better known as Üzín Hasan, intending to conquer his realm of Diyár Bakr, but was surprised and slain by the latter while tarrying behind his army on a hunting expedition. His two sons were taken prisoners and most of his principal nobles slain. This disaster is commemorated in the following verses:

اردوئی جهانه بیادر تریته، با آن هم اسپاکیزیو و پشت،

تثنی عشرماه ربعه اثنی، یبران کد و تاریخی حسن بکرست.

"The army of Jahánsín Baháúr Núyán, notwithstanding all the materials of mastery and strength,
on the twelfth of the month of the second Rabí' perish'd, and the date [of the year was] 'Hasan Beg slew [him]'".

Of the character of Jahánsín the Turkish historian Muna'llím-báshi, from whom the above sketch of the Qárá-qoyúnlu dynasty is taken, gives a most unfavourable account. According to this writer, he was "a dissolute, immoral, blood-thirsty tyrant, a malignant inclined to heresy and atheism, who paid no heed to the Sacred Law, passed his nights until dawn in revelry and vice, and slept like a dog during the day; for which reason he was called 'the Bat'." He died at the age of 70 after a reign of 32 years, was buried at Tabráz, and was succeeded by Hasan 'Ali, the son whom he had cast off, and who had at one time been protected by Üzín Hasan. This son, whose mind is said to have been disordered by his captivity, reigned but a short while in Tabráz ere he was driven thence by Üzín Hasan to Hamadán, whither he was pursued and put to death by Üzín Hasan's son Oghúrlú Muhammad in 873/1468–9. With him the Dynasty of the ""Black Sheep," or Qárá-qoyúnlu, came to an end, and was replaced by that of the ""White Sheep," or Aq-qoyúnlu.

1 The words Ḥasan Beg bi-kusht ("Hasan Beg slew") yield in the abjad notation the number 872, and the 12th of Rabí' ii in that year corresponds with November 10, 1467.

Diyar Bakr was the original centre of activity of the “White Sheep” or Bayandari Turkmans, of whose amirs Bahauddin Qara ‘Osman, known as Qara Ilkhan, The “White Sheep” Dynasty, (“the Black Leech”) from his greedy and blood-thirsty character, was the first to achieve fame. Having defeated Qara Yusuf of the rival “Black Sheep” Turkmans, he was driven by the envy of his less capable brothers Ahmad and Pir ‘Ali to seek service with Qaidu Burhanuddin at Siwâs. In 800/1397–8 Qara ‘Osman killed his host and seized his territory, but retired, on learning that an Ottoman army under Prince Sulayman was advancing on Siwâs, to Erzinjan. He joined Timur in his campaign against Asia Minor and Syria, and received as a reward for his services the town of Liyak Uakk. Shortly afterwards Qara Yusuf, the “Black Sheep” Turkmans, escaped from Egypt and made war on Qara ‘Osman, but died, as already mentioned, in Dhu'l-Hijja 823 (December 1420), and was succeeded by his son Iskandar, who suffered defeat at the hands of Shahrukh in the following year. Qara ‘Osman died in 838/1434–5, and was succeeded by his son ‘Ali Beg, who was compelled by a revolt of his brother Hamza to take refuge for a time with the Ottoman Sultan Murad II. ‘Ali Beg was succeeded by his son Jahangir, who was soon displaced (857/1453) by his more resolute and capable brother Uzun Hasan (the “Ussun Cassano” or “Assambci” of Josafa Barbaro), who was by far the most powerful and celebrated of the “White Sheep” Dynasty. He was the grandson of “the Black Leech,” and succeeded to the throne at Amid (Diyar Bakr) in the year mentioned above, which was the year in which the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople. To the fear inspired in Europe, and especially in Italy, by this fresh evidence of Ottoman power and prowess were due the efforts made by successive Venetian ambassadors to Persia to win the support of Uzun Hasan against the Turks, whom it was hoped he might harass on their Eastern frontier and so distract their attention from further conquests in the West. Thus once again since the Mongol Court at Qara-qorum had attracted emissaries from Rome with a similar object, the “Eastern Question” assumed a new importance, and the good will of Persia began to be assiduously sought after by European Powers. These Venetian ambassadors have left descriptions of their voyages and adventures which shed a welcome sidelight on the condition of Persia and the character of Uzun Hasan, of whom Ramusio, in his Preface to Caterino Zeno’s Travels, speaks in the highest terms, even declaring that “amongst all the kings of the East, who existed since the government was taken away from the Persians and transferred to the Greeks, there have been none who equalled the glory of Darius Hystaspes and Ussun Cassano.” “It is to be regretted,” he adds, “that some Eastern kings, great in power and intellect, have not had historians to celebrate their deeds, since among the Sultans of Egypt and among the Kings of Persia there have been men most excellent in war, and worthy not only of being compared with ancient barbarian kings famous in arms but even with the great Greek and Roman commanders in all those things which constitute able generals of armies.” He further speaks with admiration of “the manner in which this Ussun Cassano, a poor nobleman and the weakest in condition of many brothers...not possessing more than thirty soldiers, besides a small castle, afterwards raised himself to such grandeur that he had the courage to dispute the empire of all Asia with the Ottoman House, which under Muhammad II (A.D. 1451–1481) was a terror to the
Contarini's description of "a man who always drank wine with his meals," and "supposed to be a good liver, and took pleasure in inviting us to partake of the dishes which were before him." "There were constantly present," he continues, "a number of players and singers, to whom he commanded whatever he wished to be played or sung, and His Majesty appeared to be of a very merry disposition. He was tall and thin, and had a slightly Tartar expression of countenance, with a constant colour on his face. His hand trembled as he drank. He appeared to be seventy years of age. He was fond of amusing himself in a homely manner; but when too far gone was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, however, he was a pleasant gentleman."

No such vivid portrait of this remarkable man is to be found in the pages of any Oriental historian with whom I am acquainted, but the following estimate of his character by Muzaffar Bashi is worth quoting:

"He was a wise, just, brave, pious, religious and devout King, a friend of learned and godly men, charitable and a public benefactor. He built many buildings for pious uses. As has been mentioned, with a small army he overcame two mighty kings as Jahangir and Abū Sa'id; took tribute from Georgia; and ruled over Adarbājān, the two 'Irāqs, Kirmān, Fārs, Diyār Bakr, Kurdistan and Armenia."

Concerning his patronage of men the same historian remarks on the preceding page: "He adopted Tabriz as his capital, and there assembled from the surrounding lands and provinces many learned men and doctors, who received favours and honours beyond anything which could be expected."

One of the most celebrated of those men of learning who received honour and rewards at his hands was Ali Qushja, who passed through his territories on his way home from the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Uzun Hasan, while still a young man and only Prince of Diyār Bakr, married a Christian wife, to wit the beautiful Despina Khátûn ("Lady Despina"), daughter of Kalo Joannes, the last Christian Emperor of Trebizond, of the noble family of the Comneni. She bore him a son and three daughters, one of whom, named Marta, was given in marriage to Shaykh Haydar, the father of Sháh Isma'il the founder of the Safawi dynasty.

The fullest account of Uzun Hasan's reign to which I have had access is that contained in the Şahā'ifū'l-Ākhbār of Muzaffar Bashi, while another Turkish source from which much information is to be gleaned is the collection of State Papers (Munshā'īr) of Firdūs Bey, though the paucity of dates in the dozen despatches interchanged between Uzun Hasan and Sultan Muhammad Fatih ("the Conqueror") is a matter for regret. The narratives of the Italian ambassadors and travellers already referred to are also of great value. The accounts of the Qārā-qoyūnlū and Aq-qoyūnlū dynasties given by Mirkhwand and other Persian historians are for the most part very meagre and inadequate.

The first three or four years of Uzun Hasan's reign (A.D. 1453-1456-7) were chiefly filled by repeated revolts of his brothers, especially Jahangir, against his authority. The scene of these struggles, which were repeatedly composed by Saray Khátûn, the mother of the contending brothers, lay for the most part outside Persia, round about

1 Contarini's Travels to Tana and Persia in the Hakluyt Society's translation of 1873, pp. 122-3.
2 He must have looked older than his actual age, which is given by Muzaffar Bashi as only 54 at his death, two years later (A.D. 1477-8).
3 Şahā'ifū'l-Ākhbār, vol. iii, p. 165.
4 See the Travels of a Merchant in Persia in the already cited volume of the Hakluyt Society, pp. 178-9. He describes "Despinacator" as "very beautiful, being considered the most beautiful woman of that time, and throughout Persia was spread the fame of her loveliness and grace."
Diyar Bakr, Mosul and especially Mardin, which suffered terrible devastation. Jahangir did not hesitate to invoke the help of the rival House of the “Black Sheep” Turkmen, represented by Jahanshah. Once during this period Uzun Hasan set out on an expedition against Khurasan, but was obliged to turn back to deal with a revolt organized by his brother Jahangir aided by Jahanshah, who sent one of his generals, Rustam Beg, to his support. The rebels suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Uzun Hasan near the Euphrates, in which many of the fugitives were drowned, while five hundred prisoners, including Rustam Beg, were beheaded by Uzun Hasan, who, however, at the intercession of his mother, again pardoned his brothers Jahangir and Uways, but took Ali Khan, the son of the former, as a hostage to Erzincan.

After this victory (851/1456-7) Uzun Hasan’s power and prestige were greatly increased, and many amirs of Asia Minor and Syria submitted to him. About 864/1459-60 he wrested from the Ayubids dynasty the fortress of Hisn Kayf, where he installed his son Khulqullah Mirza as governor. In the same year Jahanshah’s son Hasan ‘Ali rebelled against his father and took refuge with Uzun Hasan, who, however, after a while drove him away on account of certain heretical opinions ascribed to him. In or before A.D. 1461 Uzun Hasan sent his nephew Murad Bey on an embassy to the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad II in Trebizond, where, according to Giovan Maria Angioletto, “he was treated honourably enough, but died before a year was over, in 1462.”

The chronology of the wars waged by Uzun Hasan against the Ottoman Turks is somewhat confused. Munajjim-bashi speaks of a short contest immediately preceding Uzun Hasan’s first invasion of Georgia in 871/1466-7, and of an embassy headed by Khurshid Beg which he sent to Sultan Muhammad II “the Conqueror” requesting him not to attack Trebizond, which, as we have seen, had already fallen to the Ottomans in A.D. 1461. On the first of Rabii’ ii, 872 (Oct. 30, 1467), however, he defeated the “Black Sheep” Turkmen near Khuy in Adharbayjan, and, taking their king Jahanshah off his guard while he was away from his army on a hunting expedition, cut off his head and sent it to the Timurid Sultan Abu Sa’id, while suffering his body to be buried in the grave of his father Qara Yusuf. He then occupied Irak and Adharbayjan and besieged Baghdad. The first despatch from Uzun Hasan to Sultan Muhammad II recorded by Firdun Bey refers to this victory. It is couched in very respectful terms (unlike some later despatches), but seems to have received no acknowledgement.

The second despatch from Uzun Hasan to “the Conqueror” (which, unfortunately, is undated) refers to the next important event in his career, namely the defeat of Jahanshah’s son Hasan ‘Ali at Marand. This prince, who, as already mentioned, had taken refuge with him some seven years previously, now attacked him to avenge the death of his father Jahanshah. Uzun Hasan invoked the help of the Timurid Abu Sa’id, urging the constant loyalty of his own House of the “White Sheep” to the House of Timur, and the disloyalty of the rival “Black Sheep.” He also

The “Giansa” of the Venetian travellers.

In ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Bey Shere’s History, entitled Tarikh-i-Devlet-i-Allya (p. 161), Uzun Hasan is said to have sent his mother Sira Khattun, who is evidently the same as the “Sardy Khattun” mentioned at the bottom of the preceding page (p. 407).
offered, in return for help, to cede 'Irāq to Abū Sa'id, provided he might keep Aḥdarbayjān. Abū Sa'id, so far from accepting this proposal, immediately marched against Üzūn Hasan to avenge Jahānshāh's death, but was defeated and captured, together with his sons Muhammad and Shāh-rukh, and handed over to Yādīgār Muḥammad, who killed him to avenge the death of his grandmother Gawhar Shād Khātūn. When the Venetian Contarini was received by Üzūn Hasan in his palace at “Spuan” (Iṣfahān) on Nov. 6, 1474, he noticed “a painting, representing the decapitation of Soltān Busek (i.e. Abū Sa'id), and showing how he was brought by a rope to execution by Curalmaneth (i.e. Üzūn Hasan’s son Oghārūl Muhammad), who had caused the chamber to be made.” Abū Sa'id’s body was sent in the charge of his mother (who had also been captured) to Ičur-Alān with all honour and respect. In the same despatch in which Üzūn Hasan announces to Sultān Muhammad “the Conqueror” the defeat and death of Hasan ‘Alī and “some 3000 of his men,” he announces his capture of Aḥdarbayjān, ‘Irāq, Fārs and Kirmān, and his intention henceforth to fix his capital at Tabrīz. This despatch appears to have been sent by the hands of an ambassador, Sayyid Aḥmad Toghrān-oğlu.

The third despatch from Üzūn Hasan is still less respectful in its form of address than the preceding one, and is also undated. It mentions the arrival of an Ottoman envoy named Amīr Bey, and then proceeds to narrate his negotiations and conflict with, and victory over the Timurid Sultān Ḥusayn [b. Maṃṣūr b.] Bayqārāj, and the manner in which he had divided up and assigned his domains. He also announces his conquest of Khurram-ābād in Luristān.

In a fourth despatch, also undated, in which the great Ottoman conqueror is insultingly addressed as the “most puissant Amīr...Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Bey,” while Shīrāz, which he had recently conquered, is described as

1 P. 131 of the Hakluyt volume already cited.

having become “the Seat of the Throne of Sovereignty and the Station of the Caliphate,” he further announces the subjugation of Khūzistān. This at last calls forth a reply which reveals a high degree of exasperation: the Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad, son of Murād, son of Muḥammad, son of Bāyazīd” addresses his arrogant correspondent as “thou,” warns him not to be puffed up by temporary good fortune, and threatens to march against him in the ensuing month of Shawwāl. About the same time he despatched a letter to his son, Prince Muṣṭafā, governor of Qaramān, ordering him to attack Üzūn Hasan, whom he describes as “deserving of the gibbet and the rope” (“mustaḥqq-i-dār u rasan olān Üzūn Ḥasan”); and to this letter we have Prince Muṣṭafā’s reply, describing how, aided by his tutor Gedik Aḥmad Pasha, he defeated Üzūn Hasan’s army near Qonya on Saturday, 14th of Rabi‘ i, 877 (August 19, 1472), and killed his sons Yūsuf, Zaynal and ‘Umar. The two last of this series of documents given by Firidūn Bey1 contain Shaykh ṬĀ Shamsu-d-Dīn’s interpretation of two dreams about Üzūn Hasan, and are written in Arabic.

The accounts of Üzūn Hasan’s conflict with the Ottomans given by Caterino Zeno2, Giovan Maria Angioletto3, and the author of the Travels of a Merchant in Persia4, in conjunction with those of Munajīm-bāshī and ‘Abdūr-Rahmān Sheref Bey, though not rich in chronological details, make the causes and course of the struggle pretty clear. Apart from the growing arrogance of Üzūn Hasan, as revealed in the despatches to which reference is made above, the Ottoman Sultan had against his neighbour four principal causes of complaint, to wit: (1) his negotiations with Venice for a conjoined attack on Turkey from both East and West;

1 Munshhīd, vol. i, pp. 280–2. The date here given (877/1472) does not accord with that (A.D. 1474) given on the next page (line 26), which seems to be the more correct.


3 Ibid., pp. 74–96.

(2) his attacks on Jahánsla the “Black Sheep” Turkmán, whom he not only conquered but put to death, and on Sultán Husayn Bayqará the Timúrid, both of whom were in friendly relations with Sultán Muḥammad Fatīkh; (3) his promise to support the Christian Emperor of Trebizond against Ottoman aggression; and (4) his protection of Pir Ahmad (the “Pirameto” of Zeno) and other princes of the Qaramán dynasty, who were the ancient and bitter foes of the House of ‘Osmán.

The ensuing war, which began in 877/1472-3 and ended in 878/1473-4, presented two phases, in the first of which the victory was to the Persians and in the second to the Turks. The first battle, which took place on the Euphrates near Malatya, was lost chiefly through the rashness of Murzid Pasha, the young Beyler-bey of Rumelia (the “Asmusrat” of Angioletto). Many Turks were drowned in the “whirlpools” of the river, besides those who were killed, and twelve thousand men, “among whom were several persons of note,” were missing when the muster was called in the evening.

“Having suffered this defeat,” says Angioletto (who was with the Turkish army), “the Turk became very apprehensive, and determined to lead his army back to his country by the shortest route.” They therefore retired towards Trebizond, in a valley near which a second great battle was fought towards the end of August, 1474, in which 'Uzûn Hasan was decisively defeated and his son Zaynah killed, while much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. Prince Mustafá distinguished himself greatly in this battle. “If Ussun Cassano had remained content with his first victory,” says Angioletto, “the Turk would have gone away ignominiously, and would not have lost the territories he did.” “This battle,” says ‘Abdūr-Raḥmán Sheref Bey, “upset the cup of 'Uzûn Hasan's fortune, and for twenty or thirty years assured the safety of the Sultán’s eastern frontier.”

'Uzûn Hasan now retired to Tabrīz, “where he caused games and rejoicings to be held, not caring much for his reverse, as he had lost none of his dominions.” His ease was, however, soon troubled by the rebellion of his son Oghūrlú Muḥammadī, who seized Shīráz, and, on hearing that his father was advancing against him with a great army, fled to Constantinople, where he was received with much honour by the Ottoman Sultan, who promised “to make him king of Persia in the room of his father, who was his enemy.” 'Uzûn Hasan, meeting filial ingratitude with cunning, first feigned illness and then caused a rumour of his death to be circulated.

“While thus dissembling,” says Angioletto, “a report was spread abroad to Constantinople that Ussun Cassano had fallen dangerously ill from melancholy, on account of the rebellion of his son, and, a rumour of his having got worse having been whispered about, some of his most faithful adherents, as had been arranged, announced his death, while messengers were sent to Ugurlimehemet with letters and tokens, as is customary, giving information of the death of his father, and begging him to return and take possession of the throne before either of his brothers Halul or Jacob could do so. And in order to give greater semblance to the affair, funeral rites were paid, and his death was really believed in throughout the country. Ugurlimehemet having received three different messengers with secret messages, such as are used in affairs of state, thought it safe to go to Tauris. He arrived there in a few days with a small escort, and, on going to the palace to make himself sovereign, was

2 - Ta'rīkh-i-Devlet-i-'Alīya, p. 173.
taken to where his father was in perfect health, who ordered him to be confined, and afterwards put to death, without showing any consideration for his being his son."

For his defeat by the Ottomans Úzún Hasan was in some degree compensated by a victory over the Egyptians, who had taken and ravaged Urfa, and a successful campaign in Georgia, from which he obtained a tribute of 10,000 ducats and the surrender of the city of Tiflis. He finally died in 882/1477-8, and was succeeded by his son Khalîl, who, however, had only reigned six months when he was attacked and killed by his brother Ya'qûb near Khây. This prince reigned for about thirteen years, in the course of which period he killed Shaykh Haydar son of Shaykh Junâyd the Safawi (whose growing power and influence caused him alarm) and interned his children (including Ismâ'îl, the future founder of the Safawî dynasty) at the old Sâsânian capital of İstâkh. Munajjîm-bâşhi says that he built the beautiful summer palace of the Hâkšt Bihisht, or "Eight Paradises" (the "Aštībisti" of the Venetians) outside Tabriz, but the Italian merchant-traveller ascribes its construction to Úzún Hasan. Finally, according to the same authority (for the fact is not mentioned by Mîrkhwân or Munajjîm-bâşhi), he was poisoned by his wife under the following circumstances.

"He took as his wife a high-born lady, daughter of a Persian noble, but a most licentious woman: having fallen in love with a great lord of the Court, this wicked woman sought means to kill Jacob Sultan her husband, designing to marry her paramour and

1 According to Munajjîm-bâşhi (Şaţâ'îfû'l-'Akhbâr, vol. iii, p. 165) Khalîl put to death his brother Maqsûd, and thereby alienated and alarmed his other brothers.


3 Ibid., pp. 183-4.

make him king, as, being closely related to Jacob, he would become so by right in default of children. Having arranged matters with him, she prepared an insidious poison for her husband, who, having gone into a perfumed bath, as was his custom, with his young son, aged eight or nine years, remained there from the twenty-second hour until sunset. On coming out he went into the harem, which was close to the bath, where he was met by his wicked wife with a cup and a gold vase containing the poison, which she had got ready while he was in the bath, knowing that it was his custom to have something to drink on coming out of the bath. She caressed him more than usual to effect her wicked purpose; but not having sufficient command over her countenance, became very pale, which excited the suspicion of Jacob, who had already began to distrust her from some of her proceedings. He then commanded her to taste it first, which, although she knew it was certain death, she could not escape and drank some; she then handed the gold cup to her husband Jacob, who, with his son, drank the rest. The poison was so powerful that by midnight they were all dead. The next morning the news was circulated of the sudden death of Jacob Sultan, his son and wife. The great lords, hearing of their king's decease, had quarrels among themselves, so that for five or six years all Persia was in a state of civil war, first one and then another of the nobles becoming Sultan. At last a youth named Alumut, aged fourteen years, was raised to the throne, which he held till the succession of Sheikh Ismail Sultan."

Munajjîm-bâşhi describes Ya'qûb as "disposed to drink and a merry life, and very fond of poetry." "Many poets," he adds, "gathered at his court from all quarters, and composed resonant qašîdar in his praise." He was succeeded by his son Baysunqur, who reigned a year and eight months, when he was replaced by his cousin Rustam, the son of Maqsûd.

1 Munajjîm-bâşhi merely says (vol. iii, p. 166) that Ya'qûb died in Muḥarram, 896 (Nov.-Dec. 1490).
He marched against Badf'u'z-Zan the Timurid, but ere a battle had taken place in Khurdsân was compelled to turn his attention to Isfahán, the governor of which city had revolted against his authority. On his approach the governor fled to Qum, but was pursued and killed, and his severed head brought to Rustam. In the same year, 898/1491-2, he sent an expedition against Shirwán, which celebrated its success in the Timurian fashion by building pyramids of skulls. From these same Shirwáníis, however, Baysunqur raised an army for the invasion of Ádharbáýján, whereupon Rustam released Sultán 'Ali and the other Safawi prisoners at Istakhr and sent them to avenge the death of their father, Shaykh Haydar, who had been slain by Baysunqur's father Ya'qub. Sultán 'Ali and his followers were hospitably received at Tabriz by Rustam, and proceeded thence to Ahar, where they defeated and killed Baysunqur. Rustam, relieved of this anxiety, now grew jealous of Sultán 'Ali's increasing power and influence, and determined to destroy him. He sent one of his generals with 4000 horsemen after him, and a fierce battle ensued, wherein the Safawis, though only 700 in number, fought valiantly—"like lions," says Angioletto
1—but were eventually defeated and Sultán 'Ali slain, after nominating his young brother Isma'il as his successor. He and his brother Ibrâhim fled to Gilân and Mázdandarán, and remained in hiding for some time at Lâhiján and Lishtanishá, whence Ibrâhim presently made his way in disguise to his mother at Ardabil. Isma'il remained in Gilân, protected by its governor Kâr Kiyâ Mirzá 'Ali, and an active and successful Shi'ite propaganda was carried on amongst the inhabitants, amongst whom the number of "Súfis of Lâhiján" or "Red-heads"
2 continued steadily to increase.

In 905/1499-1500 Isma'il, then only thirteen years of age, marched forth on his career of conquest with the nine tribes which owed him allegiance, to wit the Ustâjil, Shâmlú, Takalú, Râmlú, Wârsâq, Dhu'l-Qadar, Afshâr, Qâjâr, and the Súfis of Qará-bâgh; and, after formally visiting the tombs of his illustrious ancestors at Ardabil, and seeking the blessing of his aged mother, advanced by way of Qará-bâgh, Gúkcha Dehiz and Erzinján on Shirwán. By this time news had spread abroad that the "Shaykh's son" was about to claim his rights, and his disciples flocked to his standard from Syria, Diyâr Bakr and Stwâs, so that he now found himself at the head of 7000 men. Crossing the river Kur he attacked Farrukh Yasâr, the king of Shirwán and slayer of his father, near Gulistán in the neighbourhood of Shamâkhâ, killed him, completely routed his army, and occupied Shirwán, where he possessed himself of the royal treasure. He passed the winter at Mahmúd-âbâd near that place, and appointed the Amîr Shamsu'd-Dîn Zakariyâh, his first Wazir, the theologian Shamsu'd-Dîn Gâfâni his Chancellor (Sâd), and Husayn Beg Shâmlú and Abdâl Beg his counsellors.

At this juncture, in 907/1501-2, when he had taken Bâkú and was besieging the fortress of Gulistán, news reached him that Alwand Beg, son of Yâsuf Beg of the "White Sheep" Turkmân dynasty, had advanced against him to Nakhuwân, whither he at once turned his victorious banners. A great battle took place at Shirur, near Nakhuwân, between the "White Sheep" Turkmân, commanded by Amîr 'Osmân ('Uthmân) of Mawsîl (Mosul), and the Safawi army, commanded by Pîrî Beg

1 See p. 101 of the Hakluyt volume already so often cited. Caterino Zeno (Ibid., p. 46) says that the Safawi troops, though few, performed prodigies of valour, and there was not one who was not dead or mortally wounded. The Venetians throughout confuse Sultán 'Ali with his father Shaykh Haydar ("Sechaidare," "Sechайдar").

2 According to Munajjim-bâshâ he was born in Rajab 892 (June-July, 1487).

B. P.
Qajjar. The Turkmans were utterly defeated and their general captured and put to death. Alwand Beg fled to Diyar Bakr, and Isma'il occupied Tabriz, where he was crowned King. In the following year, 908/1502–3, he invaded 'Irak and routed Murad Beg, the last ruler of the “White Sheep” dynasty, who fled to Shahriz, which, together with Kazarun, Kirman and Yazd, submitted to the victorious Shah Isma'il Safawi in the course of the next year or two. He spent the winter of A.D. 1504–5 at Isfahan, destined to become the glorious capital of the dynasty of which he had by now so truly and firmly laid the foundations, and here he received an ambassador from the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II. The fuller history of the origin, development and decline of this great and truly national dynasty will form the subject of the next volume.

The relations between the Timurids and the Safawis, first between Babur and Shah Isma'il and later between Humayun and Shah Tahmasp, will also be more fully considered in the next volume. On the whole these relations were singularly friendly, in spite of the difference of doctrine which contributed so much to isolate Persia from her Sunni neighbours after the rise of the Safawi power and the definite adoption of the Shi'a creed as the national faith. Babur and Shah Isma'il were united by a common fear and hatred of Shaybanikhan and his terrible Uzbeks, at whose hands the House of Timur suffered so much during its last days in Khurasan and Transoxiana. The years 1501–7 were marked by a series of triumphs on the part of Shaybanikhan, who successively seized Samarkand, Farghana, Tashkand, Khwarazm, and finally Khurasan. Sultan Husayn, of whose brilliant court at Herat we have already spoken, died in 1506, and the weakness and lack of unity of his sons and younger kinsmen made them an easy prey to Shaybanikhan, who, in the course of 1507, succeeded in defeating and killing all of them with the exception of Sultan Husayn's son Badi'u'l-Zaman, who fled for protection first to Shah...
whole Ṣafawī period, and even beyond it, we shall, in a subsequent volume, meet with a whole series of Persian poets, including some of the most eminent of later days, who emigrated from their own country to India to seek their fortune at the splendid court of the so-called Mogul Emperors, where, until the final extinction of the dynasty in the Indian Mutiny, Persian continued to hold the position not only of the language of diplomacy but of polite intercourse.

CHAPTER VII.

PROSE WRITERS OF THE LATER TĪMŪRID PERIOD.

The literary and artistic wealth of the period now under review has been already summarily indicated in the preceding chapter, and it will be our business in this chapter to discuss in greater detail the work of some of its most eminent representatives in the world of letters. To attempt to treat, even in the briefest manner, of all its notable poets and men of learning would be impossible in any moderate compass. Thus the Habībū's-Sīyar, a history specially valuable on account of the biographies of notable writers and poets added as an appendix to each reign or historical period, enumerates no less than 211 persons of this class who flourished during the Tīmūrid period, of whom all save 23, who belong to the reign of Tīmūr himself, represent the period now engaging our attention. The city of Herāt during the reign of Sultān Abū'l-Ghāzāl Ḫusayn (A.H. 878-912 = A.D. 1473-1506) may be regarded as the culminating point of this brilliant period, and it derives an additional importance from the great influence which it exercised on the development of Ottoman Turkish literature, a fact duly

1 These biographical notices all occur in vol. iii, part 3, on the following pages of the Bombay lithographed edition of 1857: pp. 85-92 (reign of Tīmūr); pp. 142-150 (reign of Shāh-rukh); pp. 151-161 (reign of Ulugh Beg); pp. 171-174 (reign of Abūl-Qāsim Bābur); pp. 196-201 (reign of Abū Sa'id); pp. 334-350 (reign of Sultān Abū'l-Ghāzāl Ḫusayn b. Bayqard). To these must be added some of those persons who flourished contemporaneously under the patronage of the Turkmāns of the "White Sheep" (Ağ-gøyünlu) and early Ṣafawīs (vol. iii, part 4, pp. 110-118), who raise the total number of separate biographical notices to 274.
“In this school,” he says (pp. 7–8), speaking of what he denotes as “the Second Period,” “which cultivated chiefly lyric and romantic poetry, and which was distinguished by its love of artifice, reached its meridian in the latter half of the fifteenth century at the brilliant court of the scholar and accomplished Sultân Hüsâyn [ibn] Bayqarâ of Herât. Here its spirit and substance were gathered up and summarized in their manifold works by the two greatest men of letters of the day, the poet Jámi and the statesman Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’l. As these two illustrious writers were the guiding stars of the Ottoman poets during the whole of the Second Period (AD. 1450–1600), it will be well to look for a moment at their work.”

After a brief account of these two eminent men, and an admirable characterization of the school which they represent, Mr Gibb (pp. 12–13) summarizes its chief features as “subjectivity, artificialness, and conventionality, combined with an ever-increasing deftness of craftsmanship and brilliancy of artistry.” “This all-absorbing passion for rhetoric,” he adds, “was the most fatal pitfall on the path of these old poets; and many an otherwise sublime passage is degraded by the obscuran of some infantile conceit, and many a verse, beautiful in all else, disfigured by the presence of some extravagant simile or grotesque metaphor.”

The high esteem in which the poet Jámi was held in Turkey and at the Ottoman Court is proved by two Persian letters addressed to him by Sultân Bâyazid II (A.D. 1481–1512) and printed in the Münshâ’ât of Firddun Bey1. The first, which is in a highly complimentary strain, was, as we learn from Jámi’s answer, written “for no special reason and without the intervention of any demand, out of pure grace and favour, and sincere virtue and gratitude.” In his second letter Sultân Bâyazid expresses his gratification at receiving the poet’s letter and informs him that he is sending a gift of one thousand florins1, which gift is gratefully acknowledged by the poet in a second letter sent by the hand of a certain darvish named Muḥammad Badakhshî, who, with some others, was setting out on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Unfortunately none of these four letters are dated. Two other Persian scholars, the philosopher Jalâlu’d-Dîn Davânî and the theologian Farîdu’d-Dîn Aḥmad-i-Taftazânî, were similarly honoured by the same Sultân, but in the last case Taftazânî took the initiative (October 25, 1505), while the Sultân’s answer was not written until July 13, 1507. The great influence exerted on Ottoman poetry by Jámi’s illustrious patron, the Minister Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’l, who was equally distinguished in prose and poetry, both in Eastern Turkish and Persian, is emphasized by Mr E. J. W. Gibb2; who also describes how the eminent Ottoman jurisconsult Mu‘ayyad-zâda ‘Abdu’r-Rahmân Chelebî (afterwards in the reign of Sultân Bâyazid II famous as a generous patron of letters and collector of books) being compelled in A.D. 1476–7 to flee from his country, spent seven years at Shiraz studying with the above-mentioned philosopher Jalâlu’d-Dîn Davânî. It was, in short, during this period which we are now considering that Persia began to exercise over Ottoman Turkish literature the profound influence which in the next period she extended to India.

From these general considerations we must now pass to a more particular examination of the most eminent prose

1 “The Ottoman florin was a gold coin of the approximate value of 9 shillings.” Gibb’s Ottoman Poetry, vol. i, p. 26; vol. ii, pp. 8–11, p. 48 and note, ad calc.


writers of this period, deferring the consideration of the poets to another chapter.

HISTORIANS AND BIOGRAPHERS.

In this, as in the preceding period, history and biography are well represented, and at least nine or ten writers on these subjects deserve at any rate a brief mention. Speaking generally they are distinctly inferior in quality to their predecessors in the Mongol period, for, while their style is often almost as florid as, though less ingenious than, that of Waṣṣaf-i-Ḥadrat, they fall far short of him in wealth of detail, breadth of treatment, and citation of documents of historic value, while they compare even more unfavourably with the great historical writers 'Ala‘u‘d-Dīn ‘Alī-i-Juwayni and Rashdū‘d-Dīn Fadlullāh. We shall now consider them briefly in chronological order.

(1) Ḥāfīz Abrū.

Almost all that is known about this historian, whose name is more familiar than his works, which remain unpublished and are very rare even in manuscript, is contained in Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*. His proper name (though otherwise given elsewhere, as we shall presently see) is generally assumed to have been Khwāja Nūru‘d-Dīn Lutfullāh. He was born in Herāt, but in what year is not recorded, and educated in Ḥamadān. After the death of Tīmūr, who showed him marked favour, he attached himself to the court of his son and successor Shāh-rukh, and of his grandson Prince Bāysunqur, for whom he wrote his great history. This history, generally known as Zuḥdatul-Tawārīkh ("the Cream of Histories") but called by Faṣḥī of Khwāf Majma‘ul-Tawārīkh as-Sulṭānī ("the Royal Compendium of Histories"), was concluded in A.H. 829 or 830 (A.D. 1426 or 1427), only three or four years before the author's death. It comprised four volumes, of which, unfortunately, the third and fourth, dealing with the post-Muhammadan Persian dynasties down to the date of composition, appear to be lost. Manuscripts of the first and second volumes exist at St Petersburg and are fully described by Baron V. Rosen; a copy of vol. i, formerly in the collection of the Comte de Gobineau, is now in the British Museum and is numbered Or. 2774; and I myself possess a very fine copy of vol. ii (containing the history of Muhammad and the Caliphate down to its extinction) dated Friday, 15 Shab‘ān, 829 (June 22, 1426), and copied in Herāt in the very year of the work's completion.

Besides this history, Ḥāfīz Abrū also compiled a great geographical work, of which the first volume is represented by a manuscript (Or. 1577) in the British Museum (fully described by Rieu), and another in St Petersburg. From this work, composed in 820-823/1417-1420 for Shāh-rukh, Rieu has succeeded in gleaning many particulars of the author's life, and especially of his very extensive travels. He accompanied Tīmūr in several of his campaigns, and was with him at the taking of Aleppo and Damascus in 803/1400-1401. When Shāh-rukh succeeded to the throne he settled down in Herāt to a life of letters not later than 818/1415-1416, but died at Zanjān while returning with the royal cavalcade from Ādharbāyjān, and is buried there.

The following short obituary notice of him occurs in the rare *Mujmal* ("Compendium") of Faṣḥī of Khwāf under the year 833/1430, in which (contrary to most authorities, who give the following year) his death is placed by this writer:

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1 See pp. 421-424 for his geography, and pp. 16-18 of the *Supplement* for his history. A long and careful account of three MSS. of the latter is also given by Baron Victor Rosen in his *Collections Scientifiques* (*Manuscripts persans*), vol. iii, pp. 52-111.

2 Or Khwāf, according to Faṣḥī. See Rieu's Pers. Cat., p. 426 infra.

3 See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, p. 423, and the chronogram there cited.
Schindler. It is much more modern than the Raverty ms., but is accurate and well-written, and has a lacuna of only ten years (A.H. 834-844 = A.D. 1430-1440) instead of the hundred and twenty-two (A.H. 718-840 = A.D. 1318-1437) which are wanting in the other.

In 1915 the expatriated Belgian professors of oriental languages temporarily resident in Cambridge brought out at the University Press there a number of the manuscripts, to which, at their kind invitation, I contributed an article of thirty pages on this interesting work, with numerous extracts, based on the two English manuscripts, both of which were then in my keeping. The *Mujmal,* as I there pointed out, consists of an Introduction, two Discourses, and a Conclusion. The Introduction epitomizes the history of the world from its creation to the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The first Discourse continues the history down to the *hijra,* or flight of the Prophet from Mecca to al-Madina. The second Discourse, which is by far the largest and most important part of the book, contains the history of the years A.H. 1-845 (A.D. 622-1442). The Conclusion, which is unfortunately missing in all known manuscripts, contains an account of the city of Herât, the author's birth-place and home, and its history in pre-Muhammadan times.

All that we know of the author, Faşîhî of Khwâf, is derived from this book, and I have found no mention of him elsewhere. Rosen says that he was born in 777/1375-6, but I have not been able to verify this statement from the *Mujmal.* In 807/1404-5 he was employed with three other persons whom he names on business connected with the Treasury. In 818/1415-6 he accompanied Shâh-rukh to Shirâz to subdue the rebellious activities of the latter's nephew Prince Bayqar. In 825/1422 he was sent to Kirmân on business connected with the Treasury. In 827/1424-5 he returned thence to Bâdghis. In 828/1424-5 he obtained favourable notice and State employment from Prince Bâysunqur.

(2) Faşîhî of Khwâf.

This notable historian and biographer is known to us only by one book, the *Mujmal,* or "Compendium" of History and Biography, of which, so far as I know, only three manuscripts exist. Of these three MSS. one, belonging to the *Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de St Pétersbourg* is described by Baron V. Rosen, whose description is supplementary to the fuller and earlier one of Dorn. One of the two others belonged to the late Colonel Raverty, the Pushtú scholar, from whose widow it was purchased in 1907 by the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial." The third was given to me by my excellent friend Mr Guy le Strange, who bought it from the late Sir Albert Houtum.

1 The discrepancy between the name and birthplace as given here and elsewhere has been already noticed on p. 424 supra.
2 See Jâmî's *Nafâḥatul-Unûd,* ed. Nassau Lees, p. 166, where he is called Akhî Faraj-i-Zanjânî, and is said to have died in 457/1065.
3 *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut... Manuscrits persans,* pp. 111-113.
Under the year 841/1437-8 he cites some verses by Shihabuddin 'Azizul'Azh of Khwáf commemorating the birth of a son on the 24th of Dhu'l-Hijja (June 18, 1438). In 842/1438-9 he mentions the birth of his grandson Mughithuddin Abul Nasr Muhammad ibn Mahmud on the 10th of Dhu'l-Qa'da (April 24, 1439). In 843/1439-40 he had the misfortune to offend and to be imprisoned by Gauhar Shidq Aqá, and he was again imprisoned in 845/1441-2, with which year the chronicle ends (though the date 849/1445 is mentioned in a verse with which one of the MSS. concludes), and it was apparently in that year, on the 15th of Dhu'l-Hijja (April 26, 1442), that he presented his book to Sháh-rukh.

The detailed account of Fáshi's Majnun which I published in the Cambridge number of the Muslum to which Charactéristiques reference has been already made absolves me from the necessity of enlarging on its contents in this place. Its two chief features are a great simplicity of style and a special attention to matters of literary interest. It is arranged in the form of a chronicle the events of each year, including the deaths of eminent persons of all sorts, being grouped together under that year, and in the necrological part it is remarkable how large is the proportion of poets and men of letters, more especially, of course, of such as belonged to Khurdsbn and Transoxiana. Moreover it is evident that Fáshi drew his information to a large extent from sources other than those employed by later and better known biographers and historians, which fact gives a special value to his work.

(3) Kamaluddin Abü'r-Razzaq of Samarkand.

Though born at Herát in 816/1413, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq is called "of Samarkand," which was the native place of his father Mawliána Jalalluddin Isháq, a judge and chaplain in Sháh-rukh's army. At the age of 25, in 841/1437-8, after his father's death, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq attracted the notice of that monarch by a grammatical treatise which he had composed and dedicated to him. Four years later, in 845/1441-2, he was sent to India on a special mission to the king of Bijanagar, which lasted three years, and of which he gives a detailed narrative in his history. In 850/1445-6 he was again on a mission to Gilán; and, on the death of Sháh-rukh in this same year, he was successively attached to the service of MirzA 'Abdul-Latif, 'Abdulláh, Abul-Qásim Bábur, and lastly of Abdul Sa'id. He afterwards retired into private life, became Shaykh of the monastery or Khánqáh of Sháh-rukh in Herát in 867/1463, and died there in 887/1482. All these particulars are taken from Rieu's Persian Catalogue, and are for the most part derived either from the historian's own statements or from the notice of him contained in the Habibus-Siyar. The fullest account of his life and work is that given by Quatremère in the Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, and other references will be found in Rieu's Catalogue.

So far as is known, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq produced only one great work, to wit the history entitled Matla'u's-Sa'dayn ("the Dawn of the two Auspicious Planets"), which comprises two volumes and covers a period of 170 years extending from the birth of the last Mongol ruler of Persia, Abu Sa'id, in 704/1304-5 to the death of his namesake the great-grandson of Timur, these two Abu Sa'ids being, presumably, the "two Auspicious Planets." The first volume ends with the death of Timur in 807/1405. Reference has been already

1 See pp. 57-8 of my article in the Muslum.
2 The Habibus-Siyar gives the date of his birth as the 12th of Sha'bán in this year (Nov. 7, 1413).
made to the curious coincidence, noticed by the author of the Matla'ut-Sa'dayn, that the date of the death of the last great Mongol ruler of Persia, Abú Sa'íd, corresponds almost exactly with the birth of Timür, the founder of the next great Tartar Empire in Central Asia.

Manuscripts of the Matla'ut-Sa'dayn, though not very common, are to be found in most large collections, and, so far as I have seen, are generally above the average in point of excellence and accuracy. The work, though based to a considerable extent on the Zubdatu't-Tawārikh of Hádí Abrā, is of great importance, and a critical edition of it is much needed, for it deals in a very detailed manner with a very important period of Persian history, and is the work of one who wrote at first hand and took an active part in many of the events which he describes.

(4) Mu'ānu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Isfizār.

Mu'ānu'd-Dīn-i-Isfizār is chiefly notable on account of his monograph on the history of Herāt entitled Rawdatatul-Jannāt fi Ta'rikh Mādina't Herāt, written for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Ābul-Ghāzī, and carried down to the year 875/1470; but he was also skilled in the epistolary style (tarassul) of the Court and of Diplomacy, on which he compiled a manual, and was besides something of a poet. Three MSS. of the History of Herāt are preserved in the British Museum; another, belonging to Mr A. G. Ellis, copied in 1073/1663, has been generously placed at my disposal by the owner; and yet another, belonging to the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler, came into my possession in January.

1 See p. 153 supra.
2 There is a MS. of the work in 2 vols. (Or. 267 and 268) in the Cambridge University Library, and a much better one (Dd. 3:5), dated 989/1582, in the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge.
4 See Rieu's Pers. Cat., pp. 206-7, and his Supplem., p. 64.
kings of olden time would prefer to seek his information from earlier and more trustworthy sources, the translation itself is both inaccurate and singularly uncouth, nor is it to be desired that English readers should form their ideas even of the verbose and florid style of Mirkhwánd from a rendering which is needlessly grotesque. The esteem in which this history is still held in Persia, however, is sufficiently shown by the fact that one of the greatest Persian writers of modern times, Ridá-ñul Khán Lálad-báshi, poetically surnamed Hidáyat, thought it worth while to add a Supplement bringing the narrative down to his own time, a few years after the middle of the nineteenth century. This Supplement is a valuable source of information for the history of modern Persia, including the rise of the Bábí religion and the civil wars and persecutions connected therewith, but its consideration naturally belongs to a later period.

Of Mirkhwánd's life not much is recorded, even by his admiring grandson Khwándamír, the author of the Hahbhu’-Síyar. His father Sayyid Búrhnú’d-Dín, a native of Búkhárá, migrated to Bálkh, where he died. Mirkhwánd spent most of his life at Herát under the protection and patronage of that Maecenas of the age Mír ‘Alí Shír Náw‘í, and died there, after a long illness, on the 2nd of Dhu’l-Qa’da, 903 (June 22, 1498) at the age of sixty-six. Of the seven books into which the historical part of the Rawdátu’-Ṣáfa is divided, the first contains the history of the patriarchs, prophets, and pre-Muhammadan kings of Persia; the second, that of the Prophet Muhammad and the Four Orthodox Caliphs; the third, that of the Twelve Imáms and the Umayyad and ‘Abbásid Caliphs; the fourth, that of the post-Muhammadan dynasties of Persia down to the irruption of Tímúr; the fifth, that of the Mongols and Tartars down to Tímúr: the sixth, that of Tímúr and his successors to 873/1468–9; while the seventh, which has been continued by another hand (probably the author’s grandson Khwándamír) to a period several years later than Mirkhwánd’s death, is wholly devoted to the life and reign of his patron Ábu’l-Ghází Sultán Husayn, who died in 912/1506-7. The two last books (vi and vii), which deal with the author’s own time, are naturally of much greater worth and authority than the earlier portions, and it is a pity that the attention of students of this history has not been more concentrated on them. The style employed by Mirkhwánd is much more florid and bombastic than that of the preceding historians mentioned in this chapter, and in this respect is typical of much that was written about this time. This style, imported into India by Bábur, continued to flourish at the court of the “Great Moguls” and gave rise to the prevalent idea that this floridity and bombast are essentially Persian, which is far from the truth, for both in earlier and later times many notable works were written with a simplicity and sobriety which leave little to be desired. It was under Tartar, Turkish, Indian, and other non-Iránian patronage that this inflated rhetoric especially flourished, and the Ottoman Turks in particular developed it to a very high degree. Sir Charles Eliot in his Turkey in Europe (new edition, 1908, p. 106) has described it in words so admirable that I cannot refrain from quoting them here:

“The combination of dignity and fatuity which this style affords is unrivalled. There is something contagious in its ineffable complacency, untroubled by the most palpable facts. Everything is sublime, everybody magnanimous and prosperous. We move among the cardinal virtues and their appropriate rewards (may God increase them!), and, secure in the shadow of the ever-victorious Caliph, are only dimly conscious of the existence of tributary European powers and ungrateful Christian subjects. Can any Western poet transport his readers into a more enchanted land?”

1 See Ḥablu’-Síyar, part 3, vol. iii, p. 339; Rieu’s Pers. Cat., pp. 87-8; S. de Sacy’s Notice sur Mirkhón in his Mémoire sur les Antiquités de la Perse, and other references given by Rieu.
(6) Khwândamîr.

One is much tempted to include amongst the historians of this epoch Mirkhwând's grandson Khwândamîr, on the threefold ground that he also was one of the many writers and artists who owed his success in large measure to the enlightened patronage of Mir 'Alî Shir Nawâ'î; that he belonged not merely to the same circle as Mirkhwând, but was his disciple as well as his grandson; and lastly, that his first work, the Khulâsatu'l-Akhbâr, or "Quintessence of Histories," was not only in essence an abridgement of the Rawdatu's-Safa', but was actually written in 905/1499-1500, two years before the end of the period with which this chapter deals. His greater work, however, the Habibu's-Siyar, so often cited in this and the preceding chapter, was not written until 929/1523, and he lived until 941/1534-5, so that he really belongs more properly to the next period, and may be more appropriately considered in connection with the founder of the Şafawî dynasty, Shâh Isma'îl, with a long account of whose reign the Habibu's-Siyar concludes.

BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

After the historians come the biographers, of whose works five or six deserve notice, to wit Dawlatshâh's "Memoirs of the Poets" (Tadhkhiratu'sh-Shawârid); Mîr 'Alî Shir Nawâ'î's Majdîsû'n-Nafîsîs (which, however, is in the Turki, not the Persian language); Jâmi's "Lives of the Saints" (Nafahâtul-Uns); Abûl-Ghâzi Sultan Hûsayn's "Assemblies of Lovers" (Majdiisû'l-Ushshad); Hûsayn Wâ'iz-i-Kâshîfî's "Mausoleum of Martyrs" (Rawdatu'sh-Shuhadda) and the Rashâhid of his son 'Alî. Each of these works will be briefly considered here; but as Nawâ'î, Jâmi, and Hûsayn Wâ'iz-i-Kâshîfî are more celebrated in other capacities than as biographers, their lives will be more appropriately sketched when we come to speak of writers belonging to other categories.

CH. VII] Jâmi's NAFAHÂTUL-UNS 435

(1) Jâmi's Nafahâtul-UNS and Bahâristân.

Mullâ Nûru'd-Dîn 'Abdu'r-Râhmân Jâmi, who derives his last and best-known name, which he uses in his poems as his takhallus or nom-de-guerre, from the town of Jâm in Khurásân where he was born on November 7, 1414, was equally remarkable for the quality and the quantity of his literary work. He is often described (wrongly, in my opinion, for reasons which will be given later) as "the last great classical poet of Persia," and it is as a mystical poet of remarkable grace and fertility of imagination that he is chiefly known. Like his great predecessor of the thirteenth century, Shaykh Farîdu'd-Dîn 'Attâr, who even excelled him in fecundity, though he fell short of him in grace, he composed, besides his numerous poems, a great Biography of Mystic Saints entitled Nafahâtul-UNS, or "Breaths of Fellowship." This book, of which a good edition was printed at Calcutta in 1859, with an excellent notice of the author by W. Nassau Lees, comprises 740 pages, contains the lives of 611 Şûffî saints, male and female, and is one of the most useful and easily available sources of information on this subject. It was written in 881/1476, and contains, besides the biographical notices, which are arranged more or less in chronological order, and conclude with the poets Hâfiz, Kamâl of Khujand, Maghribî, and others who flourished at the end of Timûr's and beginning of Shâh-rukh's reign, an Introduction of 34 pages dealing, in nine sections, with various matters connected with the doctrine, practice and history of the Şûffîs or Muhammadan mystics.

The book is written in the simple and direct style suitable to such a work; and indeed Jâmi's taste was too good and his sincerity too great to allow him to fall into the verbosity and bombast which mar so many books of this period.

1 Sha'bân 23, A.H. 817.

28—2
Another of Jâmil's prose works, the Bahâristân, or "Spring-land," of which the form seems to have been suggested by Sa'di's Gulistân or "Rose-garden," contains some biographical matter in chapter i, dealing with the sayings of the saints, and chapter vii, on poetry and poets. This work, however, is designed rather to yield amusement and instruction than accurate biographical information. In style it is distinctly more ornate than the Nafisât-ul-Uns. An English translation was published by the so-called "Kâma-Shastra Society."

(2) Dawlatshâh's Tadhkira'ush-Shu'â'rd.

Amîr Dawlatshâh, son of 'Alî'ud-Dawla Bakhtshâb Ghâzî of Samarqand, is the author of the best known "Memoirs of the Poets" existing in Persian, and is chiefly responsible, through his interpreter to the West, Von Hammer, for the perspective in which the Persian poets stand in European eyes. His "Memoirs" are divided into seven Tabâqât or Generations, each containing accounts of some twenty more or less contemporary poets and the princes under whose patronage they flourished. There is also an Introduction on the art of Poetry, and a Conclusion dealing with seven poets contemporary with the author and the virtues and accomplishments of his royal patron Abu'l-Ghâzî Sultan Husayn. This is an entertaining but inaccurate work, containing a good selection of verses and a quantity of historical errors which have in some cases misled even such good and careful scholars as Rieu. Of the living contemporary poets whom he mentions Jâmil is by far the most eminent, and I believe that the notion prevalent amongst Persian students in Europe that he is "the last great classical poet of Persia" arises ultimately from the fact that, directly or indirectly, they derive their ideas from Dawlatshâh.

(3) Mir 'Alî Shîr Nâwâl's Majâlisu'n-Nafâ'î's.

Of Mir 'Alî Shîr Nâwâl', the patron of a whole circle of poets, writers and artists, and himself a poet of no mean order, something has been said already, and more remains to be said. For the moment we are only concerned with his biographical work, the Majâlisu'n-Nafâ'î's, written in the Eastern Turki or

1 Geschichte der schönen Rede-Künste Persiens, mit einem Blüthenlese aus zweihundert persischen Dichtern (Vienna, 1818).
Chaghatay dialect of Turkish which he did so much to popularize and refine. This work, of which I possess a fine manuscript, transcribed in 937/1530–1 at Samarqand, was composed in 896/1490–1, and comprises an Introduction and eight books.

Book i treats of poets who died while the author was still young and whom he never had the good fortune to meet, of whom the first and most important is Qâsimu’l-Anwâr, who actually died in 835/1431–2, nine years before ‘Alî Shir was born. Other celebrated poets mentioned in this chapter are Âdharî of Isfarâ’in, Kâtibi, Khayâlî, Bişâtî, Sîbak, Qudsi, Tûsî, Bâbâ-Sawdâ’, Badakhshî, Tâlib of Jâjarm, ‘Arîfî, Masîhî, Shâhî of Sabzawâr, etc.

Book ii treats of poets whom the author had known personally, but who were dead at the time his book was written. Of these the first and most celebrated is Sharafu’l-Dîn ‘Alî of Yazd, the author of the well-known history of Timûr known as the Zafar-nâma.

Book iii treats of poets who were flourishing when the author wrote and with whom he was personally acquainted, such as Amîr Shaykhum Suhayli, Sayfî, Âsafî, Bannâ’î and Ahlî of Turshiz.

Book iv treats of eminent and pious men who, though not primarily poets, wrote occasional verses, such as Husayn Wâiz-i-Kâshifî, the historian Mirkhwând, etc.

Book v treats of Princes and members of the Royal Family in Khurâsân and elsewhere who wrote occasional verses.

Book vi treats of scholars, poets and wits, not natives of Khurâsân, who shewed poetical talent.

Book vii treats of Kings and Princes who have either composed verses, or cited the verses of others so appropriately as to entitle them to rank with poets. Amongst the rulers mentioned in this chapter are Timûr himself, Shâh-rukh, Khâlîl Sultân, Ulugh Beg, Bâysunqur Mirzâ, ‘Abdul-Latîf Mirzâ, and other Princes of the reigning house of Timûr.

Book viii treats of the virtues and talents of the reigning King Âbu’l-Âzîz Sulṭân Husayn ibn Bayqara, to the political events of whose reign, as M. Belin observes in the monograph on Mir ‘Alî Shir which will be mentioned immediately, Mirkhwând devotes the seventh book of his Rawdât-î-Safâ’d.

The monograph mentioned in the last sentence, which contains the best account of Mir ‘Alî Shir and his works with which I am acquainted, was published in the Journal Asiatique for 1861 and also as a tirage-d-part comprising 158 pages. It is entitled Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chir Névâdî, suivie d’extraits tirés des œuvres du même auteur, par M. Belin, Secrétaire-Interprète de l’Ambassade de France à Constantinople. The extracts from the Majâlisu’n-Nâfâ’d (or “Galerie des Poètes” as Belin translates it) include the text and translations of the Introduction and Book vii. These suffice to give an adequate idea of the style and scope of the work, which, as we have already seen, Nawâfî exercised a great influence over the development of Ottoman Turkish poetry, the Ottoman poets seem to have been entirely unknown to, or at least ignored by, him.

(4) Abu’l-Âzîz Sulṭân Husayn’s Majâlisu’l-Ushâhîq.

But for the principle embodied in the well-known Arabic saying, “the Words of Kings are the Kings of Words,” and the fact that another royal biographer, Sâm Mirzâ the Şafawi, has described it as supplying adequate proof of its author’s literary gifts, this book, “the Conferences of Lovers,” compiled by Sulṭân Husayn in 908–9/1502–3, hardly deserves to be mentioned

as a serious biographical work. Beginning with a flowery Preface, filled with citations from the mystical poets, on "real" (i.e. ideal) and "metaphorical" (i.e. material) love, and the latter considered as a bridge to the former, the author proceeds to give 76 (or in some MSS. 77) articles, each entitled Majlis ("Conference" or " Séance"), and each containing a more or less romantic account of some saintly or royal personage, and, in most cases, of some Platonic love-affair in which he was concerned. As Rieu has pointed out, the first 55 articles follow a chronological order, beginning with the Imám Ja'far aš-Šādiq (d. 151/768), and ending with the author's contemporary the eminent poet Jāmī (d. 898/1492-3). The last notice in the book is devoted to the author himself "Sultán Husayn ibn Sultán Mansūr ibn Bāyqara ibn Ṣalāḥ ibn Timūr Kūrkān." The title of the book, Majlis-ul-Uskhdā, is given in the following verse:

\[
\text{بود جهنم ز حرف عشق اوراق: نام حکرذ ممالک العنان.}
\]

The only copy of this book which I have been able to consult is a modern but clearly written manuscript bearing the class-mark Or. 761 recently acquired by the Cambridge University Library, but I am informed that a lithographed edition has been published at Lucknow.

It should be added, however, that the great Bābur disputes the authorship of this book (Bābur-nāma, ed. Ilmīnskī, p. 221), which he criticizes very harshly, and which he declares was really written by Kamāl-ud-Dīn Husayn Gāzargāhī, one of the pseudo-Ṣūfis who frequented the society and enjoyed the patronage of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī. To this point I shall recur in discussing the work in question.

1 According to the well-known saying of the Ṣūfī mystics: "Al-Majālis ganfārat-ul-Haqīqat" ("the phenomenal is the Bridge to the Real").
a Turkish translation was printed at Constantinople in 1236/1820-1.

RELIGION, MYSTICISM AND PHILOSOPHY.

Less numerous and important in this period than the histories and biographies above enumerated are the works belonging to the above categories, but there are one or two of each class which deserve at least a brief notice.

(1) Husayn-i-Kâshîfî's Mawâhib-î-'Alîyya.

Husayn-i-Kâshîfî, who has been already mentioned as the author of the Rawdatu'îsh-Shuhâdd, also compiled for Mir 'Ali Shir a Persian Commentary on the Qur'an, which, in allusion to his patron's name, he entitled Mawâhib-î-'Alîyya. His original plan had been to write in four volumes a much larger and more detailed Commentary, entitled Jaw'dhur-i-Tafsîr li-Tuhfat-i'Amîr ('Gems of Exegesis for a Gift to the Amir'), but after finishing the first volume he resolved to moderate his ambitions and write a much smaller, simpler and more concise work on the same subject, to wit the Mawâhib, or "Gifts," which he completed in 899/1493-4, eleven years before his death. Manuscripts of this book are not rare, but it is not often heard of, much less studied, at the present day in Persia. In India, however, I am informed that it is still widely read, and that it has been published there, though I have never seen a printed or lithographed edition.

(2) Akhlaq-i-Jâdîfî and (3) Akhlaq-i-Mubîn.

Of the older manuals of Ethics in Persian, the two best known and most popular after the Akhlaq-i-Nâsîrî (written about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era by the celebrated astronomer Nasrû'î-Dîn-i-Tûsî) are the Akhlaq-i-Jâdîfî (properly entitled Lawdmi'îl-

1 See Rieu's Persian Cat., pp. 9-11.


CH. VII] WORKS ON ETHICS

Ishâriq fi Muhârîmi'îl-Akhlaqî) composed by the philosopher Jalâ'ud-Dîn Dawâni between A.D. 1467 and 1477, and dedicated to Üzûn Hasan of the Aq-qoyûnlî or "White Sheep" dynasty; and the Akhlaq-i-Mubînî compiled by the already mentioned Husayn-i-Kâshîfî, "the Preacher," in 900/1494-5, and dedicated to Abu'l-Ghazâlî Sulîn Husayn ibn Bayqârâ. All three books are available in printed or lithographed editions, which are enumerated by Rieu, and of that last mentioned both the text (A.D. 1823 and 1850) and the translation (A.D. 1851) have been printed at Hertford, for this book was, like its author's other work the Astwâr-i-Suwyâl, formerly popular (especially as a textbook for examinations) amongst Anglo-Indian officials.

It is to Metaphysics and Mysticism rather than to Ethics that the Persian genius turns, and none of these three books can be regarded as having any great value, except incidentally, as throwing light on Persian customs, institutions and ways of thought. The Akhlaq-i-Jâdîfî is much the most florid in style, and used formerly to be regularly prescribed in the second or advanced part of Persian in the Oriental (formerly Indian) Languages Tripos at Cambridge, on account of its supposed difficulty, which, however, lies rather in the form than the substance. Aristotle, as interpreted by Avicenna (Abu 'Ali ibn Sînâ), has in the main determined the form and arrangement of Muhammadan Philosophy, which is primarily divided into "Practical Philosophy" (Hikmat-i-'Amîli) and "Theoretical Philosophy" (Hikmat-i-Nâsâri). Of these two main divisions each is subdivided into three branches: the Theoretical into Mathematics (Riaydîyydt), Physical Science (Tabîîyydt), and Metaphysics (Mâ fawqât-Tabî'at or Mâ ba'da't-Tabî'at); and the Practical into Ethics (Tabîhi'-Akhlaqî), Economics (Tabîhi'-Manzîl), and Politics (Siyâsatîl-Mudun). It is with the three branches of the second division that the works now under consideration deal. The two which belong to this period have both been translated into English and
printed, the *Akhlq-i-Jalqlat* by W. F. Thompson (London, 1839) under the title of "Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People"; and the *Akhlq-i-Muhsinah* (Hertford, 1851) by H. G. Keene. The English reader who desires to acquaint himself with their contents can, therefore, easily do so, and no further description of them is required in this place.

As regards their authors, Jalālullāh-ī-Din-i-Dawānī was born in 830/1426-7 at the village of Dawān (from which he derives his nīshāa) in the province of Fārs near Kāzarūn, where his father was Qādī or judge. He himself held the same office in the province and was also a professor at the *DīnWallāh* or Orphans' College at Shirāz, where he passed most of his life. He died and was buried at his native place in 908/1502-3. His fame even during his lifetime spread far beyond the confines of his native land, and, as we have seen, received recognition even at the distant Ottoman Court. In spite of his fame, he seems to have left but little behind him besides his work on Ethics, except some Quatrains, written and commented by himself, and an explanation of one of the odes of Ḥāfīz.

To Husayn-i-Kashīfī we shall recur later.

(4) The *Jawahlīr-Wallsī* wa Zawhirlīr-Anwrār (*"Gems of Mysteries and Manifestations of Lights"*) is a commentary on the great *Mystical Mathnawi* of Mawlānā Jalālullāh-ī-Din Rūmī by Kamālullāh-ī-Dīn Husayn b. Ḥasan of Khwārazm, the author or translator of several other works, who was killed by the Uzbeks some time between 835 and 840 (A.D. 1432-37). He was the pupil of a somewhat celebrated Šūfī Shaykh, Khwāja Abūl-Wafā', had assiduously studied the Mathnawi from his youth upwards, and had already written a briefer commentary on it entitled *Kunżiz-ī-Ḥaqqīyāt* ("Treasures of Truths"). The *Jawahlīr-Wallsī* wa Zawhirlīr-Anwrār, the later and fuller commentary, has been lithographed in India. There is a manuscript of the first half in the British Museum, and one of the second Book (or Daftar) in the Cambridge University Library, besides a lithographed Indian edition. The most important part of the work is the Introduction, which deals with the history, terminology and doctrines of the Šūfīs.

The two other works mentioned above are from the fertile pen of the great poet and mystic Mullā Nūrullāh-ī-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī.

The *Ashī‘atul-Lamā‘at*, or "Rays of the 'Flashes,'" is a running commentary on the *Lamā‘at* of 'Irāqī, which has been already discussed in a previous chapter. Apart from manuscripts, which are not very common, the text has been published in Persia in an undated volume containing this and several other mystical treatises. Of the genesis of the work Jāmī speaks thus in his Preface:

"It is represented that at the time when the learned, practising, gnostic lover, the author of excellent prose and admirable verse, that cup-bearer of the bowl of generosity to men of high aspirations, Fakhru’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Hamadān, commonly known as 'Irāqī, attained to the society of that Exemplar of learned seekers after Truth and that Model of Unitarian Gnostics Abūl-Ma’sīf Sadrullāh Wa’l-Millat wa’d-Dīn Muḥammad of Qoniyā".

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1 See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, pp. 144-6.
3 Marked Or. 238.
4 See pp. 132-9 supra.
5 Or Qonya, the old Iconium.
those two great Shaykhs Muhyi'd-Din Muhammad ibn'l-'Arabi and his disciple and pupil 'Umar Khayyám and their followers (may God most High sanctify their secrets!). So, in consequence of these promptings, the mind decided on undertaking this difficult task, which it brought to a conclusion, by the assistance of God's Grace, in the shortest time. And since most of the statements which are included in this commentary are of the kind which have shone forth upon the heart from the consideration of the luminous words of the text, it is proper that it should be named 'Rays of the “Flashes,”' and should be represented to the eyes of students by this description. It is hoped of such as regard justly, though not of scoffers characterized by obstinacy, that when they take this manual into their consideration, and devote their thoughts to its perusal, wherever they see aught of goodness and perfection they will account it the gift of God (Glory be to Him and exalted is He!), whilst wherever they find any fault or defect they will attribute it to the impotence and shortcomings of humanity; and that they will not specially make the humble author a target for the arrows of reproach, nor cast themselves into the vortex of evil-seeking and evil-saying. "We ask aid from God, to whom be glory!"

This Introduction is followed by a long dissertation on various points in the philosophy of the Mystics, together with questions and answers designed to elucidate special difficulties, after which the running commentary on the text follows. The book ends with the following Perso-Arabic chronogram, in which the word tammamtu (تامتمت, "I completed it") gives the date of completion as 885 (A.D. 1480-81):

The Lawá'íh—a word which also, like Larnádat, means "Flashes" or "Effulgences" of Light—is a mystical treatise in prose mixed with quatrains comprising thirty sections called "Flashes." It has been published in fac-simile with a Preface, translation and appendices,
by Mr E. H. Whinfield, who has made such valuable contributions to our knowledge of Persian mysticism, aided by that great scholar Mirzá Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu’ll-Wahhāb of Qazwīn. This little volume, the sixteenth in the New Series of the Oriental Translation Fund, was published in 1906 under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, and, since it is easily accessible to English readers, any lengthy account of it would be superfluous. One of the most beautiful things in it, in my opinion, is the prayer which follows the Exordium and precedes the Preface, and which runs as follows:

"My God, my God! Save us from preoccupation with trifles, and show us the realities of things as they are! Withdraw from the eyes of our understanding the veil of heedlessness, and show us everything as it truly is! Display not to us Not-Being in the guise of Being, and place not a veil of Not-Being over the Beauty of Being. Make these phenomenal forms a Mirror of the Effulgences of Thy Beauty, not a cause of veiling and remoteness, and cause these phantasmal pictures to become the means of our knowledge and vision, not a cause of ignorance and blindness. All our deprivation and banishment is from ourselves: leave us not with ourselves, but grant us deliverance from ourselves, and vouchsafe us knowledge of Thyself!"

In the account of the Ḥūrūfī heresy given in the last chapter (pp. 365–375 supra) incidental mention has been made of the principal books emanating from or connected with that strange sect. From the purely literary point of view most of these (with the exception of a few poems like the Iskandar-nāma published and translated by M. Cl. Huart in vol. ix of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series) are of little merit, though to the student of religion and the psychologist they are deeply interesting. To the uninitiated reader Fadlu’llāh’s fāwidān-nāma, whatever esoteric mysteries it may contain, is a series of disconnected and almost unintelligible ravings, and the only one of his extant writings which strikes anything approaching a human note is a letter addressed to one of his disciples on the eve of his execution. From this letter it appears that Fadlu’llāh was put to death at Shīrwan, which, in allusion to the scene of the Imām Ḥusayn’s martyrdom, he speaks of as “my Karbālā!”

In Persia, as already observed, the sect does not seem to have played an important rôle, or to have long survived the death of its founder and his immediate successor. In Turkey, whither it soon spread, it was far otherwise. There, in spite of several severe persecutions recorded by the Turkish historians, it counted many adherents, amongst the most famous of whom was the poet Nasīmī (Nesimī), who was skinned alive for his heterodoxy in 820/1417–8, in the city of Aleppo. An admirable account of him and the Ḥūrūfī sect is given by the late Mr E. J. W. Gibb, and also of his chief disciple, the Turkish poet Rafī’, author of the...
Be it known that of all those sects which devote themselves to the misleading of the Muslims, the Bektashis are the chief offenders, and that although it is evident both from their deeds and words that they are not truly Muslims, yet in the year 1288/1871-2 they made this fact perfectly plain. The books called by these people Jdwdn (‘Eternal Book’), the Baslidat-náma, Faqq-náma, Fáy-ndmá, Ghizi-náma, Hidbyat-adma, Istiwá-náma, Kursi-náma, Ma‘habbat-náma, etc., and in Turkish, besides the above-mentioned Bashadrat-náma (“Book of Good Tidings”), the Akhrat-náma, Faqíp-náma, Fayd-ndmá, Gani-náma, Hadiqat-ndmá, ‘Ishq-náma, and many others, of which the titles will be found in the Index appended to my second article on the Húrufí Literature in the J.R.A.S. for July, 1907, where short descriptions of 45 Húrufí MSS. are given. The list of works in that Index is undoubtedly far from complete, yet even these have for the most part received only the most cursory examination, so that there is plenty of scope for further research in this field. Ordinary curiosity about the sect and its history and literature will, however, be amply satisfied by what has been already published about it in English and French: to wit, my account of the jadwidn-I-Kabir1 and my two papers in the J. R. A. S. (for 1898 and 1907); the chapter in Mr E. J. W. Gibb’s History of Ottoman Poetry; and vol. ix of the Gibb Memorial Series, published in 1909, entitled Textes Persans relatifs à la secte des Húrufí, publiés, traduits et annotés par M. Clément Huart, suivis d’une Étude sur la Religion des Húrufí, par le Docteur Rizá Tevfíc, connu sous le nom de Feysunuf Rizada.

Isháq Efendi’s refutation of the Húrufí, written in Turkish in 1288/1871-2, and published in 1291/1874, under the title of the Reveal of Mysteries and Repeller of Miscreants2, though very violent in tone, is fairly accurate in substance, and is the result of careful though prejudiced investigations. After a very brief doxology it begins as follows:

1 See my Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library, pp. 69-86.
2 Káshiful-Asrár wa Dáf’ul-Asfárr.

After a brief account of the Carmathians and other early heretics, and of Fadlulláh of Astarábád, the founder of the Húrufí sect, the author describes how “the son of Timúr” (Mírán-sháh) caused him to be put to death, “after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and bázdrát, and removed his foul existence from this nether world.” Thereupon his nine Khalíf or “Vicars” dispersed through the lands of Islám, and he who was entitled al-‘Aliyyu’ll-‘Alá ("the High, the Supreme")3 came to the monastery of Hájí Bektásh in Anatolia, and, having won the confidence of its inmates, began secretly to teach the doctrines of the jadwidn, pretending that they represented the esoteric doctrine of Hájí Bektásh, and naming them “the Secret,” to divulge which was death. For the understanding of certain obscure symbols and passages in

1 He died in 822/1419.
the *Jawīdān*, a key entitled “the Key of Life” (*Miṣāḥih-i Ḥayāfī*) was compiled. “Should one possess this,” adds the author, “he will understand the *Jawīdān*, which, without this aid, is incomprehensible.”

In spite of all their precautions, however, several severe persecutions of the Ḥurūfis and Bektāshis took place in Turkey, one of the latest of which was in the year 1240/1824-5, in the reign of Sultān Mahmūd, who killed many of them, destroyed their monasteries, and made over their property to the Naqshbandī order of dervishes. Many of their surviving Shaykhs and ordinary members took refuge amongst the Naqshbandī, Qādirī, Rufāʿī and Saʿdī orders of dervishes, and cautiously carried on their propaganda in these new environments. The order, however, speedily revived, and is still widely spread in Turkey, to which country rather than to Persia the later history of the Ḥurūf sect belongs. Of the continued existence of the sect in Persia there appears to be no evidence, though doubtless many of their doctrines and ideas are still current amongst the dervish “gnostics” (*ʿurafā‘*) of that unforgetting land, while some of their peculiar views and terminology have been assimilated by such later heretical sects as the Bābīs, who will be discussed in the concluding volume of this work.

The Turkī literature of this period, especially the *Bābūr-nāma*.

The principle has been repeatedly laid down in this book that the literary history of a people in the wider sense should not be confined to what they wrote in their own language, and for this reason Arabic books written by Persians have been included in our survey. The case for saying something about the considerable Turkī literature produced at the Timūrid courts, especially at Herāt during the reign of Sultān Abūl-Ghāzāl Ḥusayn (A.H. 878-912 = A.D. 1473-1506), is not quite so strong, because those who produced it were for the most part, if not wholly, of Turkish race; though since in Transoxiana and Turkistān the two languages flourished (and, indeed, still flourish) side by side, the number of bilinguals must always have been considerable. The Persian, as being the more polished idiom, was more generally used, even by princes of the House of Timūr like Ulugh Beg, Bāybarsqur, Mīr Zā Ḥaydar Dughlāt and Sultān Ḥusayn himself, for literary purposes; but the great Mīr Ṭāhir Nawāʾī, who did more than any other man to raise the Chaghatāy Turkī to the dignity of a literary language, actually maintained its superiority to Persian in a treatise entitled *Muḥkamāt-i Luqṭatm* (“the Arbitration between the two languages”). Of some of Mīr Ṭāhir’s numerous works something has been already said, and those who desire fuller information can find it in M. Belin’s monograph in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1861, already mentioned, and in another monograph of his on the *Muhābāt-Qulbī* (“Hearts’ Darling”) published in the same periodical in 1866 under the title of *Caractères, Maximes et Pensées de Mīr Ṭāhir Nawāʾī*. Daulatshāh also in the Conclusion (Khāṭima) of his Memoirs of the Poets mentions several other eminent Turkī poets amongst his contemporaries, while numerous other works in this tongue, both in prose and verse, will be found mentioned in Rieu’s *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Yet, save to the student of Turkish in its wider sense, it is doubtful if the interest of this literature would be commensurate with the trouble of learning this particular dialect of Turkī, were it not for the sake of reading in its original form that unique work, the *Bābūr-nāma*, or Memoirs of the Emperor Bābūr, of which at any rate the French or the English

1 Three Mss. of this “Key” are described in my second paper on the *Literature of the Hurūfis*, *viz.* Or. 5957 of the British Museum; Or. 488 of the Cambridge University Library; and a MS. of my own, B. 15.

1 The text of this has been printed (I think at Constantinople) in 189/1872-3.
translation should be read by every student of Persian or Indian history. Enthusiastic as are the praises lavished on this most remarkable book, "singular in its own nature, and perfectly so if we consider the circumstances of the writer," by Erskine, Pavet de Courteille, and all others who have worked at it, no one who has perused its pages will deem them exaggerated. It is impossible to better the description of it given by Elphinstone, who describes it as containing "a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour. The style is plain and manly, as well as lively and picturesque; it presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits and actions as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia; for the ordinary writers, though they give pompous accounts of the deeds and ceremonies of the great, are apt to omit the lives and manners even of that class; while everything beneath their level is left entirely out of sight. In Bābur the figures, dress, tastes and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."

The book is, indeed, extraordinarily frank and intimate,
Courteille’s translation (pp. 364-415), it will be sufficient here to summarize a few of the more interesting passages.

Having spoken of Sultán Husayn's birth, death, family and personal appearance, Bábur mentions the predilection for the Shi'ite doctrine which he showed at the beginning of his reign, but which was checked by Mír ‘Alí Shír. Chronic rheumatism prevented him from saying his prayers, but is no explanation of his neglect to keep the fast. After he had reigned six or seven years he took to drink, “and during the forty years for which he reigned over Khurásán, there was not a day whereon he did not drink after the morning prayer though he never drank in the early morning.” His sons, soldiers and subjects imitated his example, and were for the most part dissolute and self-indulgent. He was, however, of proved valour, a very skilful swordsman, and wrote moderately good poetry in the Türk language under the nom de guerre of Hasan. His kingdom of Khurásán extended eastwards to Balkh, westwards to Bistám and Dámghán, northwards to Khwárazm (Khíva), and southwards to Qandahá and Sístán. “His was a wonderful age,” says Bábur a little further on; “Khurásán, and especially Herát, were filled with men of talent and incomparable artists. Whoever undertook any task, his aim and ambition was to perform it to perfection.”

Mír ‘Alí Shír Nawá’l is next discussed, and a high tribute is paid to his poetical talent, alike in romantic and lyric verse and in the quatrains, but his epistolary style is rated lower. Though he wrote chiefly in Türkí, he has also a Persian Diván, in which he uses the pen-name of Fáni. He was a great patron of art as well as of letters, and the fame attained by the painters Bihžíd and Sháh Mužaffár was largely due to his encouragement. He was devout, orthodox, and attentive to his religious duties, and was an enthusiastic chess-player. In this last respect he was excelled by Mír Murtádí the philosopher, who, when he found two good players, would play a game with one while he held on to the skirt of the other to prevent him from going away until he had played a game with him also. He was a bachelor, without domestic ties, and very free and easy with his intimates. Thus on one occasion while engaged in playing chess he stretched out his foot and accidentally kicked the poet Banná’il, whereupon he jestingly exclaimed, “A plague on Herát! If you stretch out your feet, you kick the backside of a poet.” “And so do you if you draw in your feet,” retorted Banná’il.

Shaykhum Beg, who assumed the pen-name of Suháyíl, was another of Sultán Husayn’s amírs who had some poetical talent, but was criticized for an undue partiality for terrifying words and ideas. Thus on one occasion he recited the following verse in the presence of Jámi:

“In the night of grief the whirl-wind of my sighs displaced the world; The dragon of my tear-torrent engulfed the habitable quarter [of the globe].”

“Do you want to write poetry or to frighten your fellow-creatures?” Jámi enquired.

“Kamál-ul-Dín Husayn Gázargáhí,” says Bábur a little further on, “although he was not a Súfí, posed as such. Pretended Súfís of this type were wont to gather round ‘Alí Shír Beg and indulge in their ecstasies and religious music. This man’s principles were better than most of them, and to this fact he probably owed the consideration which he enjoyed, for otherwise he had no special talent worth mentioning. He wrote a book entitled Majdálisul-Ushkáq (“Lovers’ Meetings”) of which he ascribed the authorship to Husayn 1 i.e. “sit on your heels” in the Persian fashion.

1 Ed. Ilminsky, p. 221.
It is a miserable production, mostly lies, and insipid and impertinent lies to boot, some of which raise a suspicion of heresy. Thus he attributes carnal loves to many prophets and saints, inventing for each one of them a paramour. Another astonishing piece of folly is that while describing the book in the preface as the work of Sultán Husayn Mirzá himself, over every one of his own verses and sonnets occurring in the course of the book he puts "by the author."

Of Jámi, by far the greatest poet of the time, Bábur refrains from uttering any criticism, because, he says, "he stands too high to need any praise," wherefore he only mentions his name "for luck and for a blessing." He praises the Arabic scholarship and theological attainments of the Shaykhul-Islám Sayfu'd-Dín Aḥmad, son of the celebrated Sa'du'd-Dín Taftázání, who is said to have regularly attended public prayer for nearly seventy years, and who was finally put to death by Sháh Isma'il when he took Herát for refusing to conform to the Shi'ite doctrines and observances so fanatically insisted on by that monarch. A longer notice is devoted to Jámi's pupil and disciple Mullá 'Abdu'l-Ghafír of Láhr, who commentated his master's Nafa'fí's-Ensí, and whose partiality for the society of dervishes was such that when he heard of one who had newly arrived he could not rest until he had seen and talked with him. Mention is next made of Mir 'Atá'lláh of Mashhad, a good Arabic scholar, who also composed in Persian a treatise on rhyme, of which Bábur considers the chief defect to be that the author's illustrations are all drawn from his own poems, as well as another treatise on rhetorical figures entitled Radíyí's-Sandyí.

Amongst the poets, besides those already noticed, of whom he makes mention are Āsáfí, Banná'í, Sayfí of Bukhárá

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Other poets mentioned by Bábur

Calligraphists and artists

The materials for a literary history of this period, especially of its poets, are therefore singularly copious and authoritative, for besides Bábur's incidental notices of which we have just spoken, we have the voluminous Memoirs of the Poets compiled by Dawlatsháh in 892/1487, and Mir 'Alí Shír's Turkí Majdíís'í-Nafí'ís, completed about four years later, of the contents of which some account has been given above. As a pendant to these is the later work of another royal author, Sám Mirzá, son of Sháh Isma'il the Safawi, who was born in 923/1517 and put to death in 984/1576-7, and

1 Published with English translation and explanations by Blochmann at Calcutta.
2 Ed. Ilmínsky, pp. 228-229.
3 Ibid., p. 262.
who in 957/1550 wrote his *Tuhfa-i-Sâmt*, a somewhat rare book which will be considered in the subsequent volume. In addition to these are the copious biographical notices contained in Khwândamir’s *Habîbî’s-Siyar*. Of all these, however, Bâbur is the most amusing and the most instructive, because he possesses both humour and a critical faculty lacking in the other biographers, who, by indiscriminate eulogies, deprive their appreciations of all real value.

1 See Rieu’s *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 367–368, and the references there given. There is also a ms. (Or. 648) in the Cambridge University Library.

CHAPTER VIII

POETS OF THE LATER TÎMURID PERIOD

As already indicated in more than one place, the characteristic of the art which prevailed under the Timurids, whether literary or pictorial, was an extreme elaboration and preciosity little in accordance with modern European taste, though very similar on its literary side to that evolved by John Lyly and the Euphuists in England nearly a century after Jâmi’s reputation had reached its zenith in Persia. In England this florid, artificial style enjoyed but a brief popularity; in Persia it has flourished intermittently for a long period, especially under Tartar and Turkish patronage, but not continuously nor in all parts of the country, so that it is easy to point out fine specimens of simple, strong, natural Persian prose and verse both before and after the period now under consideration. During this period, however, the prevailing literary style in Persia was very ornate and artificial, and as it unfortunately happened that at no time was Persian literary influence greater in the adjoining lands of Turkey, India and Transoxiana, this style became stereotyped throughout Western and Central Asia, and has come to be regarded by many persons, especially those who have pursued their linguistic studies in India, as typically Persian. Still it is a fact that not only the Persians, Turks and Indians, but even the Arabs, whose natural tendency is to a chaster and more simple style, and who seldom quite forget their adage that “the best speech is that which is brief and to the point,” tend to regard form as more important than ideas.

1 Lyly was born in 1533–4 and wrote his *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* in 1578. Jâmi composed his *Nafahâtul-Uns* in 1478, and compiled his first *Divan* in the following year.
in literary composition, to care less what a writer says than how he says it, and to prefer conventionality to originality. Most instructive are the remarks of that great and original historian Ibn Khaldfûn, who was not only contemporary with Timûr but came into personal relations with him when Damascus surrendered to him at the end of A.D. 1400. These remarks, with other observations germane to this subject, I have given in a previous volume to which the reader is referred. In particular the student of Persian poetry, especially of the later more ornate writers, may be recommended to read that curious work, "the Lovers' Companion" (Anisz'Z-'Us'háq), composed in 526/1423 by Sharafu'd-Din Râmi at Marágha in Ádharbáyján, of which a French translation by M. C1. Huárt was published in Paris in 1875, and of which I have given a brief account in a previous volume.

It must not be supposed, however, that all the poets who will be mentioned in this chapter, or even all who flourished at the court of Sultan Husayn at Herât, employ this inflated and ornate style, which, indeed, is more noticeable in prose-writers, including even historians, who ought to know better than to fill ten pages with what could very well be set forth in one. The earlier poets of whom we shall immediately speak, like Shâh Ni'matu'llâh and Qâsimu'l-Anwâr, are free from this blemish, for so we must regard it; and so also, as a rule, is Jâmi, who is universally and justly regarded not only as the chief ornament of the court of Herât, but as one of the greatest Persian poets of all time. It is the ornate prose-writers and minor poets and versifiers of the later part of this period who are the chief offenders in this respect. The passion for the riddle and acrostic (mu'âmmâm) which prevailed amongst the latter is very characteristic,

1. Sayyid Ni'matu'llâh of Kirmán.

Though Jâmi is unquestionably the greatest poet of the period which we are now considering, it seems better to adhere to chronological sequence and to begin with the earliest, Sayyid (or Shâh) Ni'matu'llâh of Kirmán, who died at an advanced age in the spring of 1431 (Rajab 22, 834), and was buried at the charming village of Mâhán near Kirmán, of which some malicious wit has said:

Epigram on Mâhán

"Mâhán an Earthly Paradise would be, I wot right well, If you could clear its people out and shake them into hell."

The site of his grave is marked by a fine monastery inhabited by dervishes of the Shâh Ni'matu'llâhí order which he founded; for he was a great saint and mystic as well as a poet, and his verses abound in dark apocalyptic sayings concerning the "Mischief of the Last Days" (Fitnâ-i-Ákhiru'z-Zamân), the Advent of the Mahdi, and other similar matters. I visited this shrine in September, 1888, shortly before I left Kirmán, and was very hospitably entertained by its acolytes.
As usual, the best account of Ni'matu'llah is that given by Rieu in his Persian Catalogue, where the substance of the information given by the ordinary biographical works is supplemented by details drawn from a rare contemporary monograph existing in the British Museum and from the history of Yazd and its most notable men known as the Jami'-Maftuli. His full name was Amr Nuru'd-Din Ni'matu'llah, his father's name was Mī 'Abdu 'llāh, and he claimed descent from the fifth Imam of the Shi'a, Muhammad Bāqir, the great-grandson of 'Ali ibn Abī Talib. He was born at Aleppo in 730 (1329–30) or in the following year, but spent most of his youth in 'Iraq. At the age of 24 he visited Mecca, where he resided for seven years, and became one of the chief disciples of Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh al-Yāfī, a well-known mystical and historical writer, who died in 768/1366–7. His later life was passed in Samarqand, Herāt, Yazd and finally, as already mentioned, at Māhān near Kirmān, where he spent the last twenty-five years of his life, and where he died on Rajab 22, 834 (April 5, 1431) aged more than a hundred years. The historian 'Abdu'r-Razzāq of Samarqand visited his grave in 845/1441–2.

Ni'matu'llah was the king of dervishes (the title "Shāh" is always prefixed to his name) and the friend of kings. He and his descendants enjoyed Royal favour. He enjoyed the special favour of Shāh-rukh, while Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, King of the Deccan, deemed himself fortunate in persuading to come to his court one of his grandsons. Two other grandsons with their father followed him thither, while several of Shāh Ni'matu'llah's descendants who remained in Persia intermarried with the Royal Safawi House. According to Rieu, Ni'matu'llah left more than 500 Sūfī tracts besides his Devān of verse, but the latter is his chief work, and it alone need be considered here. The only complete copy at my disposal is the lithographed edition published at Tihrān in 1276/1860, but numerous selections from it are contained in the various biographies and anthologies in which he is mentioned. His fame, however, is that of a saint and mystic rather than a poet, and his verse strikes one on the whole as monotonous and mediocre, similar in style and subject-matter to that of Maghribī, and altogether lacking the consuming ardour and brilliant illustration of Shams-i-Tabriz. His most characteristic poems, though few in number, are those couched in the prophetic strain, and these still exercise a certain influence, and are appealed to by other Persians than those who belong to the order of dervishes which he founded. The Bābīs, for example, used to tell me in Kirmān that the date of the Bāb's "Manifestation" (1260/1844) was foretold in the following poem. When I visited the saint's shrine I took the trouble to obtain from one of the dervishes a copy of the poem in question from the oldest and most trustworthy manuscript in their possession, and I found that the date was given as 274 instead of 1260 (1260 = 1000 + 200 + 60), while in Riḍá-qi' Khán's Majma'ul-Fuṣūṣ, where the same poem is quoted, the date becomes 1204 (1204 = 1000 + 200 + 4). In the last-named work the poem is thus entitled:

"Declaration of sundry mysteries and revelations by way of allegories."

(1)
The text here given is that copied for me at Māhān on August 9, 1888. Of the 50 verses which it contains only 24 are given in the Majma‘ul-Fūṣāḥ, which only adds one or
two new verses, but in some cases adopts a different order; besides supplying a few variants. The poem is not to be found at all in the lithographed edition.

(Translation)

"I see the Power of the Maker; I see the state of the time.
The state of this year is of another sort; not like last year and the year before do I see it.

These words I speak not from the stars; rather I see them from the Creator.

When 'ayn, rd and dâu (= 274) have passed of the years I see wonderful doings.
In Khurásán, Egypt, Syria and 'Iráb I see sedition and strife.
I see the darkness of the tyranny of the lands' oppressors boundless and beyond computation.
I hear a very strange story; I see vexation in the land.
War, strife, mischief and injustice I see on the right and on the left.
Looting, slaughter and many armies I see in the midst and around.
I see the servant like the master; I see the master like the servant.
They impress a new superscription on the face of the gold; I see his dirhams of short weight.
I see the dear friends of every people grown sorrowful and abased.
Each of the rulers of the Seven Climes I see involved with another.
I see the face of the moon darkened; I see the heart of the sun transfixed.
The appointment and dismissal of officials and agents, each one I see twice repeated.
In Turk and Tájik towards one another I see enmity and strife.
I see the merchant left friendless on the road at the hands of the thief.
I see from small and great much cunning, guile and trickery.
I find the condition of the Indian ruined; I see the oppression of Turks and Tartars.
I see the Holy Place fearfully desolated, the abode of a number of evil men.

1 I.e. these predictions are not based on astrological predictions but inspired by revelation from God.
2 Tájik, a term originally applied to the Arabs (Tásh, Táš) who garrisoned the towns of Khurásán and Transoxiana, was later and is still applied to the Persian settled population as opposed to the nomads of Turkish stock.

1 The variants in the Majma'ul-Fuáhá give a slightly different meaning, viz. "After that year for several years more."
2 Or, if the variant be adopted, "strong and firmly established."
3 I.e. Muhammád.
I see his aspect and attributes like the Prophet: I see knowledge and clemency as his distinctive signs.

I see again "the White Hand" (long may it endure!) conjoined with Dhu'l-Fiqâr.

I see the Mahdi of the time and the Jesus of the age both royally riding forth.

I smell the rose-garden of the Law, I see the flower of Religion in blossom."

These “apocalyptic” poems, however, though they have attracted most attention in Persia, constitute but a small fraction of the whole. Most of Ni'matu'llah’s Pantheistic poems illustrate the doctrine of Wahdatul-Wujud (Pantheism), while a certain proportion (in which again the Bábís see an allusion to their founder) use the favourite illustration of the “Point” (Nuqta), of which the circle is only a manifestation; just as the letter alif is, in the world of calligraphy, a manifestation of the diacritical “point,” which shares with the mathematical “point” the same title. A few specimens will suffice for the purpose of illustration.

"The Point appeared in the circle and was not; nay, that Point produced the circle."

The Point in its revolution becomes a circle in the eyes of him who measured the circle.

Its beginning and end joined together when the Point measured the completion of the circle.

When the circle was completed, the compass put its head and feet together and rested.

We are all without Being, without Being: we are without Being and Thou art Existent.

I called the whole world His dream: I looked again, and lo, His dream was Himself.

Sweeter than the sayings of our Sayyid Ni'matu'llah has heard no other words."

1 Alluding to the miracle of Moses, when he drew forth his hand "white as snow."

2 The famous sword of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib.
that his literary activities continued until he had reached a very advanced age:

"The Living and Eternal [God] hath vouchsafed to this servant ninety
and seven years of pleasant life."

2. Qāsimu'l-Anwār.

The next poet of this epoch who claims our attention
was like the last a Sayyid and a mystic. The main facts
concerning his life are thus summarized by
Rieu. "He was born in Sarāb (Sarāw) in the
district of Tabrīz in 757/1356, and had for religious instructors
Shaykh Ṣadrū'd-Dīn Ardabīlī, an ancestor of the Šafawīs,
and after him Shaykh Ṣadrū'd-Dīn Yamanī, a disciple of
Shaykh Awadu'd-Dīn Kirmānī. After staying some time
in Ṣīlatn he went to Khurāsān and settled in Herāt, where
he lived during the reigns of Timūr and Shāh-rūkh. There
disciples flocked to him in such numbers and he acquired
such influence as to give umbrage to the sovereign.
A pretty but probably fictitious anecdote about this event is given
by Ouseley in his Notices of the Persian Poets (London, 1846), pp. 101-
tog.

The intimacy of Qāsimu'l-Anwār's relations with Shaykh Ṣadrū'd-Dīn of Ardabīl, the ancestor of the Šafawī kings

2 See above pp. 365-366, where I have endeavoured to show that
this attempt was instigated by the Ḥurūfī sect.
3 A pretty but probably fictitious anecdote about this event is given
by Ouseley in his Notices of the Persian Poets (London, 1846), pp. 101-
tog.
of Persia, is abundantly confirmed by an unpublished Persian work on the genealogy of that dynasty entitled *Silsilatu'N-Nasab-i-Safaviyya*, of which I possess a manuscript from the library of the late Sir Albert Houtum Schindler. In this MS. (ff. 27b–28b) the poet is mentioned as one of the Shaykh's most enthusiastic disciples, and an account is given of the rigid discipline whereby he attained in the great Mosque of Ardabil to that vision wherein he beheld himself distributing the light to his fellow-disciples, whereby he earned the title of *Qasimu'l-Anwar* ("the Apportioner of the Lights"). On the death of Shaykh Safi, the father of Shaykh Sadrud-Din, he composed the following verses,

\[ \text{الآيات} \]

1. The chief representative of saintship, who is actually Shaykh Safi, was for nearly ninety years the guide on this road. His soul at the moment of its departure sneezed\(^2\) and exclaimed, "O Angel of Death, I have attained unto God." When the Angel saw his condition he was amazed and cried, "O Shaykh, a thousand times may God have mercy upon thee! Thou art utterly consumed, O Qasimi, by separation from the Master! Be patient in separation: may God give thee patience!"

\[ \text{The verses also occur in one of my MSS. of the poems of Qasimu'l-Anwar.} \]

\[ \text{For sneezing as a sign of life (here, apparently, of Eternal Life) see Sir J. G. Frazer's *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 6 and 9.} \]

\[ \text{In which there is supposed to be a reference to Timur's death, though it is so vague as to be capable of application to any public calamity.} \]

\[ \text{The poetry of Qasimu'l-Anwar, so far as a foreigner may venture to judge it, is only of average merit, and is generally of the same mystical character as that of Maghribi and other kindred poets. Of its general type the two following ghazals may serve as fair specimens.} \]

\[ \text{1 Ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 689-693.} \]
Of thy favour, Cup-bearer, fill me up that clear and crystalline bowl,
That spirit of holy sanctity, that high and exalted soul
What day thou givest a cup of wine to settle our whole affair
Bestow, I pray, of your charity a draught on yon Preacher rare
Wouldst thou that the motes of the universe may with thee in the
dance be whirled?
Then toss aside in thy dance's stride thy tresses tangled and curled!
0 chiding mentor, get thee hence:
For never thy windy talk can drive from our heads this passion and
pain.
‘Lose thyself,’ thou didst say, ‘that thou to thyself the way may’st
gain!’
But this riddle dark and inscrutable I cannot solve or explain.
Whenever I cast my life away, a hundred I win in its place:
Who can limit the miracles of Christ and His healing grace?
Qásim ne'er of his own free will would play the lover's part,
But what can one do when the matter lies with the Lord of the Soul
and Heart?’

"Ere ever cloistered cell was built, or Somnath's ancient fane
We dwelt with Thee in every phase of life on Being's plane.
'Twixt us all talk of Messenger and Message1 falls away:
What need of Messenger when Thou dost bide with me for aye?
Can I oppose the Loved One's will, when ever with the Friend
I hold communion sweet in moods and musings without end?
For mention of all 'others'2 let thy tongue be cleansed and freed,
Since those in whom the Spirit works of 'others' take no heed.
Sober to tread the mystic Path no obligation's thine:
Each atom in the Universe intoxicates like wine.
0 Zealot, press me not, I pray, in language harsh and rude,
For unto those of goodly kind allowed are all things goods.
0 Qásim, silence! to the steed of speech apply the rein,
That Love's High Priest may speak of things that neither fade nor
wane.4

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1 I.e. presumably of Prophet and Revelation.
2 I.e. other than God.
3 Qur'dn, xxiv, 26.
4 Qur’dn, xviii, 44.
The following ode is interesting as showing traces of Ḥurūfī ideas:

(4)

 степы айаам گفت سبع سوّات

 ثم على الاعتر اشوات نبايات

 حضرت عزرآآ عروش نا مناهیست

 فاش بگویه عروش جمله دوآت

 بر سر هو ذرة مستویست پاسی

 جون بشناسی رسر بندل مرادات

 هرهجه که کوبه فقهه کوهد هی

 هرهجه که کوبه فقهه کوهد همهات

 هرهجه شراب خدا ز جام محتد

 نوش کنن وا رد ز عشه و طامات

 نعو، مستی مزن حَقَّ مستی یوائی

 غایت عمیا بوش بجعل میاهات

 قاسی و صخبت نتفه متقد

 فانه و شاهیر بر فاع بلایات

 "In six days' runs God's Word, while Seven Marks the divisions of the Heaven.

 Then at the last 'He mounts His Throne';

 Nay, Thrones, to which no limit's known.

 Each mote's a Throne, to put it plain.

 Where He in some new Name doth reign:

 Know this, and so to Truth attain!

 Fie, fie! the zealot answers back

 Whate'er I say. I cry 'Alack!'

 1 One MS. has زمستم طامات.
 2 That God created the heavens in six days and then ascended (or settled Himself) on His Throne is mentioned repeatedly in the Qur'an, e.g. v. 52; x. 3; xxv, 60, etc. The number of the heavens, not mentioned in these verses, is given as seven in ii. 27 etc. The numbers 7, 14 and 28 have great significance in the Ḥurūfī doctrine.
 3 This is the characteristic pantheistic interpretation of the Ḥurūfī.

 Although the traces of Ḥurūfī influence in this poem are unmistakeable, it cannot on such evidence alone be proved that Qāsimu'l-Anwār was actually a member of that sect, though his association with an admitted disciple of Faḍlu'llāh of Astarābād and the suspicion which he thereby incurred afford strong corroboration of this conjecture. But his saints and heroes were many, and we find in his poems encomiums of theologians like al-Ghazzī, mystics like Shaykh Ahmad-i-Jām, Bāyazīd of Bīšām, and Khwāja 'Abdu'llāh Ansāf, and theosophic poets like Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār and Mawla'nā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, whose works he bids his readers bind together in one volume:

 دولت باذاد و دریک جلد کن جمع، همه اقوال و اقاویا و عطار.

 It is indeed likely that one of his half-Turkish poems with the refrain Chelebi, bisî onutma ("O Chelebi, forget us not!") may be addressed to the "Chelebi Efendi," or hereditary superior of the Mawlawī or Mevlevī order of darwishes, of Qonya in Asiatic Turkey. Of these Turkish or half-Turkish poems there are only two or three, nor are they of a high quality. The poems in some Persian dialect (probably that of Gilān) are more numerous and more
interesting, though our knowledge of these dialects in their mediaeval forms is insufficient as a rule to enable us fully to interpret them. The text of one, based on the two MSS., is here given as a specimen.

(Qasim u'l-Anwar)

"Thou art the Qibla of my soul, O Gil, with the colour and fragrance of an angel.

The Moon of the Heaven of Nobility, the Cypress of the Gardens of Desire.

Thou art not a Gil but an angel, compounded of heart and soul.

How should any Gil be thus Hufri-like and of such angelic temper?

May my heart and faith be thy sacrifice! Take them if thou wilt, for thou art very fair:

Thou art the Qibla: why should I wander from city to city, from street to street?

The tyranny which thy musky tresses have wrought upon me I will explain to thee hair by hair, if opportunity offers.

If the reflection of thy beauty reaches the mirror for a moment How [much the more] should it reach him who is ever face to face with thee?

Last night thou didst signify to me by hints, 'Tomorrow I will not leave thee in sorrow':

Once again of thy clemency repeat the tale of yesterday!

I said to her, 'O Desire of the Soul, thou didst give me a promise of union!'

She said, 'Seek not to recall those stories, for that has gone by!'

I said to her, 'O my Dear, I have been brought low by thy love!' She said, 'No, regard not as low one who has spoken with me lip to lip!'

I said, 'I am thy lover: what is the cure for my pain?'

She said, 'Thou speakest this word being beside thyself, and it will yield no result.'

Qasim, through separation and grief, is lost and heedless of himself: Of thy clemency seek to win back him who is lost in separation!"

1 This term is applied to a native of the Caspian province of Gilan. Riḍī-qi Khán in his Farhang-i Anjaman-ard-yi Násirī says (s.v.) that it is also pronounced Gayl (Gil), in proof of which he cites the following quatrain by Qasim u'l-Anwar in which it rhymes with mayl and sayl:

2 These words are entirely in dialect, and the sense given is only conjectural.

3 Meaning doubtful.
That Qāsimūl-Anwār was familiar with Gīlān and other regions bordering on the Caspian Sea is confirmed by other poems in which he mentions Āstārā, Lāhijān, Ardabīl and other places in that part of Persia. Further facts about him might undoubtedly be deduced from an attentive examination of his poems, but space only permits me to give two more extracts from them, both taken from his maṯnawī poem the Anṣū‘āl-Aṙīfūn, in the prose preface to which he gives his full name as “‘Alī b. Naṣr b. Ḥārūn b. Abūl-Qāsim al-Īḥṣāyī at-Ṭabarzī, better known as Qāsimī.” The first extract is an allegory of the sinner who clings to his sin because it is sweet to him.

A negro, lacking reason, faith and taste,
Whose life the demon Folly had laid waste
Had in a jar some treacle set aside,
And by mischance a mouse fell in and died.

He seized the mouse and plucked it out with speed—
That cursed mouse, whose death was caused by greed.

Then to the Qādī sped the unwilling wight,
Taking the mouse, and told of Fortune’s spite.

The Judge before the folk, refined and rude,
Condemned the treacle as unfit for food.

The luckless negro scouted this award,
Saying, ‘You make a great mistake, my Lord!
I tasted it, and found it sweet and good;
If sweet, it cannot be unfit for food.'
Had this my treacle bitter been, then sure
Unlawful had I held it and impure;¹
The mind perverted of this black accursed
Bitter and sweet confounded and reversed.
Sin seemeth sweet and service sour, alack!
To thee whose face is as a negro's black.
To passion's palate falsehood seemeth sweet;
Bitter is truth to nature's incomplete.
When men are sick and biliously inclined
The taste of sugar alum calls to mind.
Sick for this world all hearts, both young and old,
Jaundiced for love of silver and of gold.
O captive in the snare of worldly joys,
Perish not mouse-like for the sweet that cloys!
Though bitter seems God's discipline to thee
This bitter drug is thy sure remedy.
This bitter drug will cause thine ill's surcease,
And give the patient healing, rest and peace.²

The second extract is of greater interest, for it describes a meeting between Shaykh Ṣafiyu'd-Din, the ancestor of the Safawis, who take their name from him, and the famous Shaykh Sa'di of Shiraz. Some independent corroboration of this interview, or at least of its possibility, is afforded by the previously-quoted Sičsilat'ud-Neoab-i-Ṣafaviyya, which gives the date of Ṣa'fiyyu'd-Din's birth as "in the last days of the 'Abbásid Caliphs in A.H. 650" (A.D. 1252-3), at which time, the author adds, Shams-i-Tabriz had been dead five years, Shaykh Muḥy'u'd-Din ibn'u'l-'Arabi twelve years, and Shaykh Najmu'd-Din Kubrá thirty-two years; while of eminent contemporary saints and poets, Jalálu'd-Din Rúmí died when he was twenty-two and Sa'di when he was forty-one years of age. He was also contemporary with Amīr 'Abdu'lláh of Shiráz, Shaykh Najibu'd-Din Buzghásh, 'Alá'u'd-Din Simnáni, and Maḥmúd Shabístarí. A page or two further on we read how Ṣa'fiyyu'd-Din went to Shiráz to seek guidance from the above Shaykh Najibu'd-Din Buzghásh, but found on his arrival that this saintly personage

¹ See p. 474 supra. The passage here referred to occurs on f. 9 of the MS.
² See pp. 146-150 supra.
had passed away. This, no doubt, is the occasion to which the following passage in the *Anisul-Árifin* refers.

The MS. has which I have ventured to emend as in the text.
the literary talent of this period, there intervene a number of minor poets amongst whom it is difficult to make a selection, but of whom half a dozen or more deserve at least a brief mention. Little, as a rule, is known of their lives or personal characteristics, though most of them are noticed in the numerous biographical works of the period, and for convenience they may best be arranged in chronological order, according to the dates of their death.

Kātībī of Nishápūr.

Kātībī of Nishápūr (or of Turshiz), who died in 838/1434–5, comes first in sequence and perhaps in merit. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Naqī, in his Ma’ālik ‘n-Nawā’lī, classes him amongst the poets who were living in his time but whom he had never had the honour of meeting, and writes of him:

“He was incomparable in his time, and introduced wonderful ideas into whatever kind of verse he attempted, especially his qaṣīdas, even inventing new artifices, which were entirely successful. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s opinion of him So also his mathnawīs, such as ‘Love and Beauty’ (Hasan u ‘lskā), ‘Regarder and Regarded’ (Nāṣir u Manzūr), ‘Bahrām and Gul-andām,’ which illustrate such artifices as the double metre (dhulqāfaytn), the double rhyme (dhul-qāfaytayn) and various kinds of word-pla

1 Dawlatshīh, however, implies that these were separate poems entitled Majmu‘l-Bahrayn, Dhul-Qāfaytayn, and Da‘nāma-i-Tajmīsat.

2 Probably Sulṭān Abū Sa‘īd and Abūl-Ghāṣf Ḥusayn are meant.

From this passage, which is hardly worth translating in full, we learn that, while at Shīrāz, Shaykh Ṣafīyyu’d-Dīn, whose reputation had made Ardabil (or Ardawil) famous, became acquainted with the great Sa‘dī, who was so much impressed by his sanctity and holy enthusiasm that he offered to add to his Diwān some poems in his praise. This offer, however, Ṣafīyyu’d-Dīn declined, on the ground that he was too much preoccupied with “the Beloved” to concern himself with anything else; a refusal which evidently caused poor Sa‘dī some chagrin, as he “wept bitterly,” while paying tribute to the Shaykh’s exalted motives.

Between the subjects of the last two biographies, who, if not very remarkable poets, had at least a certain character and individuality, and the great Jāmī, in whom culminated
which Khwándamír² adduces as a proof that he perished in the outbreak of plague at Astarábád to which he alludes³:

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نَزْ آقِش فِي رُبُوب نَاكَأْهُنَّ خَرَابَ
استَرَا بَلَدَهُ حَجَّش وَنُحُو طَخَوْتِرَ زُنُهْ،
أَنَّدَرَوْ اَيْبَر وَبَنَانَةَ حَسَّ بَايِبَ نَبَانَةَ,
كَتَأَنِّدُرُ يَبِهَتْهُمْ فَهُنَّ اَنَدَرَنَّ هَنَّ ماَنَدُ هَنَّ خَمَالَ.
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"That Astarábád whose dust was more fragrant than musk
Was suddenly made desolate by the fiery wrath of the pestilence.
No one, old or young, survived therein:
When fire falls on the forest neither moist nor dry remains."

Dawlatsháh consecrates ten pages of his Memoirs of the Poets³ to Kátibí, who, according to him, was born at a village between Turshíz and Níshápúr, whence he is sometimes called Turshízí and sometimes Níshápúr. He learned the art of calligraphy from the poet Simí⁴, who, however, became jealous of him, so that he left Níshápúr for Herát. Finding his talent unappreciated at the court there, he went to Astarábád and Shárván, where he attached himself for a time to Amír Sháykh Ibrráhím, from whom he received large sums of money which he dissipated in a short while, so that he was reduced to the state of penury depicted in the following verses:

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ما مَطَخِيْرَوْا دِي طَلْبُ خَدْرِمَ كَحِ يَغْرَإِيْ بِثرٍ
تَا شُوْدَ زَانُ آقِش كَحْرَ ماَ مِيْبانَ سَاَعَتِهَ،
كَغْتُ لِحْرِ وَذِنَّهَوْ كَرِيْبُهُ خَوْاَحَتُ دَادَ آَدَر،
كَغْتُمُ آَقْنُو آَميِياَيْ خَرَٰبُ كَرْدنَّ سَاَعَتِهَ.
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¹ Habbúr-Síyáv, vol. iii, part 3, p. 149.
² These verses are also given by Dawlatsháh (pp. 380–390 of my edition), who merely says that he composed them "on the plague and the fierceness of the pestilence."
³ P. 381–391 of my edition.
⁴ Simí’s life is given by Dawlatsháh, pp. 412–417.

Kátibí next proceeded to Ádharbáýján, and composed a qaṣída in praise of the Turkmán ruler Iskandár ibn Qará Yúsuf. As this potentate failed to appreciate his efforts or to reward him for them, he wrote a very coarse lampoon on him and departed to Ísfahán, where he seems to have undergone a kind of conversion at the hands of Ṣá’inú’d-Dín Taríka, to have renounced the adulation of princes and attendance at courts, and to have adopted the outlook of the Šúf mystics. Dawlatsháh¹ quotes one of his poems (also occurring, with two additional verses, in a manuscript of mine) which reflects this change of heart, but is more conspicuous for piety than for literary merit. From Ísfahán he went to Rasht and thence once more to Astarábád, where, as we have seen, he died.

Jámí, a better judge than Dawlatsháh, is more guarded in his praise of Kátibí, of whom he says in the seventh chapter of his Baháristán that he had many original ideas which he expressed in an original way, but that his verse was unequal and uneven—"cats and camels" (shútúr gúrbá). I possess a good manuscript of his Díván (hitherto, so far as I know, unpublished) dated 923/1517 and containing nearly 3000 verses, odes, fragments and quatrains. As usual the fragments are the most personal, and therefore, from the biographical point of view, the most interesting, though unfortunately ignorance of the persons and circumstances to which they refer often render a full appreciation impossible. Of these fragments my MS. contains 105 (ff. 104a–115b), mostly consisting of only two verses, of which only two can be precisely dated. The first records the death by violence of Minúchihír Sháh in 825/1422, and the second the death of Mír ‘Ádíl Sháh in 827/1424. The following have been selected as presenting some special

¹ P. 384 of my edition.
The feature of interest. The first is remarkable only on account of the ingenious rhyme and alliteration:

"O heart, if thou wouldst ride on the road of honour, swiftly gallop the steed of ambition into the arena of contentment. That thy heart may become acquainted with the mystery of everything that is, cast the cash of thy being in full at the feet of the mystics. If the substance of thy soul be diminished when thou siftest the dust of poverty, suffer not dust from this road to settle on thy heart, but sift again. And if thou knowest rightly the occasions for sitting and rising, sit if thou wilt in Armenia, or rise up if thou wilt in Ablharz."

The alliterations "tāz tāz, rāz rāz, bāz bāz, and Abkhāz hāz" are very ingenious, though otherwise the lines are not remarkable. The reference in the following fragment may be to the poet Salmān of Sāwa himself, or possibly to Kātibī’s contemporary ʿArifī of Herāt, who, as Mīr ʿAlī Shīr tells us in his Majālsūn-Nafṣīs, was called by his admirers ‘the second Salmān.’

"If Hasan stole ideas from Khusraw, one cannot prevent him, For Khusraw is a master, nay, more than the masters! And if Kamāl stole Hasan’s ideas from his Diwān One can say nothing to him: a thief has fallen on a thief!"

The two following pleasant quips, which help to explain Kātibī’s unpopularity with his colleagues, are addressed to a contemporary poet named Badr (‘Full Moon’). Dawlatshāh, who accords him a brief notice, tells us that this Badr was for many years the principal poet of Shirwān, where, as we have seen, Kātibī established himself for a time. Dawlatshāh gives the first of the two following fragments as a specimen of the literary duels which took place between these two, and adds that though some critics prefer Badr’s poetry to Kātibī’s, the people of Samarqand hold a contrary opinion.

1 See Dawlatshāh, pp. 418-420 of my edition.
2 See pp. 108-110 supra.
4 Dawlatshāh has the better variant: I will tear thee asunder with my index finger."
I have the title Kātibī, O Badr, but Muhammad is the name which came to me from heaven; Muhammad became my name, and thou art Badr; with my finger I will tear thine asunder."

"Yesterday I said to the ill-conditioned little Badr, 'Thou art no poet! He who is of the poets, him should one encourage.' In every city, he replied, 'I have hung up a poem: One who produces such poetry ought [himself] to be hung!"

The following, on the other hand, is a tribute to the skill shown by Abū Ishāq (Bushāq) of Shirāz in the gastronomic poems contained in his Diwan-i-Atīma:

"Shaykh Bushāq (may his luxury endure!) dished up hot the idea of foods: He spread a table of luxuries: all are invited to his table."

The following satire on a poet named Shams-i-'Alā is imitated, and indeed partly borrowed, from a well-known poem by 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī:

"He is no poet who, when he produces verses, brings together images from the poems of the masters; No house which is made of old bricks stands on so firm a foundation as a new house."

Here is another denunciation of plagiarists:

\[\text{Shams-i-'Alā hath at length departed from the world, he who now and again used to be taken into account, Hath departed and left behind him a Diwan of verse; even that would not be left if it were of any use!} \]

In the following he accuses the poet Sīmf, who taught him calligraphy, of plagiarism:

\[\text{"Shams-i-'Alā hath at length departed from the world, he who now and again used to be taken into account, Hath departed and left behind him a Diwan of verse; even that would not be left if it were of any use!"} \]

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The allusion is to the Prophet Muhammad's miracle of cleaving the full moon (Badr) asunder with his finger. "Thine" means "thy name."
"O Prince, thou art he on account of the weight of whose love the back of the arch of the Placeless is bowed even as the vault of Heaven!

Our share of favour is not lacking out of thy abounding liberality, but the wine they bring is of short measure, like the life of thine enemy."

Finally here is an epigram addressed to his pen:

"Alack at the hands of my pitch-stained pen, which showed forth my secret to foe and friend!

I said, 'I will cut its tongue that it may become dumb'; I did so, and it waxed more eloquent than before."

There are references to other places, such as Sārī in Māzandarān, and to other individuals whom I cannot identify, such as Khwāja Niẓām, Abdu'l-Rahmān, a poet named Amin, and Shāpūr, Jamshid and Ardashīr, who were perhaps Zoroastrians, since the first two of the three are mentioned in connection with wine. The last seems to have been a rebel against the king of Shirwān, who, having got him into his power, hesitated between killing and blinding him; whereon the poet advises the latter course in these verses:

"The white salve on the red lid of my eye is exactly like powdered salt on roast meat."

Though almost all the biographers (except the modern Riddā-qlī Khān in his Majmā'ul-Fusūḥā) make mention of 'Arīfī, the particulars which they give about him are very

1 See Rieu's Persian Catalogue, pp. 639-640, and his Persian Supplement, p. 185.

P. 490 supra.
meagre. His Ḫāl-nāma, which Jámi calls "one of his best poems," comprises only some 500 verses. It has not, I think, been printed, but I have looked at a pretty and fairly good manuscript of it in the Cambridge University Library, transcribed in 952/1546, and found it, I regret to confess, laboured and insipid. The following passage, describing the king's polo-pony, includes some of the specimen verses given both by Jámi and Mīr 'Alī Shīr, and may therefore be assumed to be a favourable sample:

"The King of the denizens of earth Muhammad, whose throne is the sun and his cushion the moon,
That King for whom, when he lifts his polo-stick, the moon becomes the ball and heaven the playing-field.
At what time he throws his leg over the saddle he raises the dust from the terrestrial sphere.
When his spur excites his horse, thou wouldst say that fire mingled with wind.
When the King's polo-pony is at the gallop it snatches away the ball from the steed of heaven.
If he did not restrain it in its leaping, it would overshoot the goal of heaven.
When it is drenched in perspiration it is like rain with lightning in the midst.
Fire flies from its hoof, while the whirlwind clings to its tail."

Mawláná ‘Alí Shiháb of Turshíz, Amfr Shríh of Sabzawár (d. 857/1453), Kátibí of Turshíz (d. 839/1435-6), and Nasírí, "the tire of whose writings and détsus," he adds, "is celebrated throughout the habitable quarter of the world." "There were," he concludes, "four talented artists at the court of Sháh-rukh who in their own time had no peer, Khwája ‘Abdu'l-Qidír of Marágha in the art of music and roundels (adwádr), Yúsuf of Andakán in singing and minstrelsy, Usád Qiwámu'd-Dín in geometry, design and architecture, and Mawlání Khalíl the painter, who was second only to Mání.t" Yet the verses of these poets, for the most part unpublished till this day and very rare even in manuscript, were probably but little known even in their own time outside Khurásán, and we may consider ourselves fortunate if we can individualize them by some special personal characteristic or incident in their lives, such as that ‘Adhári visited Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, became a mystic and renounced the flattery of kings, and made a journey to India; or that Sháhí was a descendant of the Sarbadárí rulers of Sabzawár and a Shi'a, which latter fact has won for him a long and laudatory notice in the MándZisu'n-Míníín ("Assemblies of true believers," i.e. Shi'ites) of Nírú'lláh ibn Sayyid Sháriíf al-Má'áshi of Shíshá. "Scholars are agreed," says Dawlatsháh, "with his usual exaggeration, "that in the verse of Amír Sháhí are combined the ardour of Khusraw, the grace of Hasan, the delicacy of Kamál, and the clarity of Hifíz." That he entertained no mean opinion of himself is shown by the following verses which he extemporized when assigned a lower place at the reception of some prince than that to which he considered himself entitled:

\[\text{It is commonly believed by the Persians that Mání (Manes), the founder of Manicheanism, claimed that his skill in painting was the miraculous proof of his divine mission.}\]

\[\text{See pp. 399-400 of my edition of Dawlatsháh.}\]

\[\text{Composed about 993/1585. See Rieu's Persian Cat., pp. 337-8.}\]

\[\text{P. 426 of my edition.}\]

\[\text{Ibid., p. 437.}\]

\[\text{Notwithstanding such a mouth as I have,}\]

\[\text{I utter verse from which water drips.}\]

Such ingenuities are very characteristic of the time and place of which we are speaking, and therefore deserve notice, but they do not constitute what we understand by poetry. The following passage from Dawlatsháh gives a good idea of what the courts of these Tímúrid princes were like:

\[\text{Now the auspicious birth of Prince Básunghur took place in the year 807/1399-1400. He possessed a perfect comeliness and favourable fortune and prosperity. Alike in talent and in the encouragement of talent he was famous throughout the world. Calligraphy and poetry were highly esteemed in his time, and scholars and men of talent, attracted by his renown, flocked from all regions and quarters to enter his service. It is said that forty calligraphers were busy copying in his library, of which scribes the chief was Máwlláná Ja'far of Tabríz.}\]

\[\text{Cited by Mír 'All Shír Nawaít in his Majdísu'n-Náfís.}\]

\[\text{Ab means water, but also lustre, temper (of steel), water (of diamonds), splendour, and the like.}\]

\[\text{Pp. 350-351 of my edition.}\]
He showed favour to men of talent, loved poets, strove after refinement and luxury, and entertained witty courtiers and boon-companions. Of the kings of all times since Khusrav Parviz none lived so joyous and splendid a life as Baysunghur Sultan. He composed and appreciated good verse both in Turk and Persian, and wrote six different hands. This verse is by him:

Baysunghur hath become the beggar in thy street:
The king is the beggar in the street of the fair.

It is related that, in the time of Sultan Baysunghur, Khwaja Yusuf of Andaklan had no peer in song and minstrelsy throughout the Seven Climes. His notes, sweet as David's song, lacerated the soul, while his 'Royal Mode' sprinkled salt on wounded hearts. On several occasions Sultan Ibrahirn the son of Shihrukh sent from Shfriz to ask for Khwaja Yusuf from Baysunghur Sultan, who, however, raised difficulties. Finally he sent a hundred thousand dinars in cash in order that Ulugh Baysunghur might send Khwaja Yusuf for him, but Baysunghur answered his brother in this verse:

We will not sell our Yusuf [Joseph]: keep thy black silver!

Between Ulugh Beg Korkan, Baysunghur Bahadar and Ibrahirn Sultan there passed many pleasant sayings and much correspondence which transcend the scope of this Memoir, but faithless Fortune and the cruel Sphere laid hands on the life of that joyous prince in the days of his youth, nor did the ministers of Fate and Destiny take pity on his immaturity. One night, by the decree of the Lord of Lords, through excess of wine he was overwhelmed by the deep sleep of death, of which the inhabitants of Herat supposed apoplexy to be the cause.

They say that death is a strange sleep: that heavy sleep overtook us.

So the Prince, half-drunken, staggered to the bed of earth, whence he shall rise up benumbed on the Resurrection Morning, with others drugged with the Wine of Death, to seek from the cup-bearers of 'and their Lord shall give them to drink pure wine' the purification of the headache-healing wine of 'a full lampen'. It is our firm hope that the All-Merciful Judge will overlook his sin, which naught but the dew of His Mercy can wash away. This tragic catastrophe of Baysunghur Sultan took place in the metropolis of Herat in the White Garden in the year 837/1433-4, his age being then thirty-five years. The poets who were attached to the service of Baysunghur Bahadar during the reign of Shihrukh Sultan were Babi Saawadji, Mawlahan Yusauf Amuri, Amirt Shahi of Sabzawar, Mawlahan Katiib of Tursht, and Amirt Yamina'd-Din... The poets composed elegies on Sultan Baysunghur's death, but Amirt Shahi surpassed them all in this quatrain:

Dar Malirro to dhar biyi Shion Kerd;
Lala hekhe shiai wida dramen Kerd;
Gul qimab qayai urgawani biyidi;
Qeruny neyd seiaa dar gurden Kerd.

The age lamented much in mourning for thee; the red anemone poured forth all the blood of its eyes into its skirt; The rose rent the collar of its crimson mantle; the dove clothed its neck in black felt.

Dawlatshah, in spite of all his faults, of which inaccuracy and an intolerable floridity of style are the worst, does succeed in depicting better than many contemporary historians and biographers the strange mixture of murder, drunkenness, love of Art and literary taste which characterized the courts of these Timurid princes, and it may not be amiss to add to the preceding extracts the portrait of one of the most accomplished of them, Ulugh Beg, with which he concludes his notice of the poet 'Ismat of Bukhara, the master of Bishti and Khaydil, and the contemporary of Rustam of Khuristan, Tahir of Abiward, and Barandaq of Bukhara. After mentioning that 'Ismat died in 829/1425-6 he continues:

CH. VIII] DAWLATSHAH'S PICTURE OF HIS TIME

1 The Sidsanian, contemporary with the Prophet Muhammad (seventh century after Christ).
2 Alhang-i-Khuzrawdnt, the name of one of the modes or airs of Persian music.
3 Qur'dn, lxxxvi, 21.

Now as to the late Sultan of blessed memory Ulugh Beg Korkan, he was learned, just, masterful and energetic, and attained a high degree in the science of Astronomy, while in Rhetoric he could split hairs. In his reign the status of men of learning reached its highest
In the year 800/1397-8, when I was in Qard-bAgl1 with my maternal uncle, who was story-teller to the great Amir, the Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction, Timir Kdrkbn, I became attached to the service of Ulugh Beg Mirzb in the days of his childhood, and for several years was that Prince's playmate in childish games and used to tell him tales and stories, while he, after the fashion of children, became familiar and intimate with me. In the year 852/1449-50, when the above-mentioned Prince conquered Khurdsdn and halted at Isfarg'in, I arose, after the grey dawn of age had been kindled from the evening of youth1, and hastened to wait upon him. When he saw me from afar off in the garb of the religious mendicants and men of God, after saluting me and enquiring after my health, he said, "O darwLch, thou seekest to be my ancient companion and friend. Art thou not the nephew of our story-teller?" I was amazed at the quick apprehension and clear memory of the King, and replied, that I was. He spoke of QarA-bdgh, our story-teller, "He further constructed a fine college in Samarqand, the title of which in beauty, rank and worth is not to be found throughout the seven climes, and in which at the present time more than a hundred students are domiciled and provided for. During the reign of his father Shdh-rukh he exercised absolute sway over Samarqand and Transoxiana....

"It is related that MirzA Ulugh Beg's intelligence and power of memory were such that a record was kept of every animal which he overhewed in the chase, with the place and date of the hunting, recording the day, the locality, and the nature of the quarry. By chance this book was mislaid, and seek as they might they could not find it, so that the librarians were filled with apprehension. 'Be not troubled,' said Ulugh Beg, 'for I remember all these particulars from beginning to end.' So he summoned the scribes and repeated the dates and circumstances, all of which the scribes took down until the record was completed. After a while by chance the original record turned up. They collated the two copies, and found divergences only in four or five places.

"Many such marvels are related of the genius and intelligence of this prince. Thus the learned Shaykh Adhari (the poet) relates as follows:

1 His proper name was Salihu'd-Din MhsL.
2 Concerning this important work, probably completed about 841/1437-8, see Rieu's Persian Catalogue and the references there given, especially to the partial text and translation published by Srdillot (Paris, 1847 and 1853).
4 The turning grey of black hair is often poetically described by the Persians as the dawn coming up out of the night.
is as follows. His full name was Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥusayn, and, as his title Ṭabīʿ implies, he was by profession a preacher. He had a fine and melodious voice and a considerable knowledge of theology and traditions. Every Friday morning he used to preach in the Dārūs-Siyādat-i-Sultān at Herāt, and afterwards used to officiate in the Mosque of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. On Tuesday he used to preach in the Royal College, and on Wednesday at the tomb of Khwāja Ābūl-Walīd Ahmad. In the latter part of his life he also sometimes preached on Thursday in the chapel of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā. He was skilled in astronomy as well as in the art of literary composition, and could hold his own with his contemporaries in other branches of learning. His son Fakhruʿd-Dīn ʿAli, who succeeded him as a preacher, was something of a poet and composed the romantic mathnawī known as Ḥaẓūn and Ayḥā. The father, however, does not seem to have written poetry, but preferred to display his skill in fine writing, chiefly in the well-known Anwār-i-Sihāṭ, or "Lights of Canopus." This florid and verbose rendering of the famous Book of Kalīla and Dimna, thanks to the reputation which it enjoys in India, has attracted an undue amount of attention amongst English students of Persian: it was for many years one of the text-books prescribed for candidates for the India Civil Service, and is one of the lengthiest Persian texts which ever issued from an English printing-press. The way in which this wordy and bombastic writer has embroidered and expanded not only the original Arabic version of Ibnūl-Muqaffaʿ, but even the earlier Persian version, may be appreciated by the English reader who will refer to vol. ii of my Literary History of Persia, pp. 350–353. The other works of Ḥasayn Ṭabīʿ have been already mentioned, except an epistolary manual entitled Makhlūzāt-ʿInshād which I have not seen. He died in 910/1504–5, nineteen years before Khwāndamīr's notice of his life was written.

1 Messrs Austin of Hertford, 1805.
2 Pp. 441, 442 supra.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawātī.

The importance and influence of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, both as a writer and a patron of literary men, was, as pointed out in the last chapter, immense, and he may without exaggeration be described as the Mēcenās of his time and country. He was the friend and patron of Jāmiʿ, who dedicated many of his works to him, and on whose death in 898/1492 he composed an elegy of which Khwāndamīr quotes the opening lines, and his name occurs in connection with a large proportion of the scholars and poets noticed by the last-named writer in the section which he devotes in the Habībūs-Siyār to the men of letters of Sultān Ḥusayn's time. Bābur, who is much more critical and much less addicted to indiscriminate praise than biographers like Dawlatshāh and Khwāndamīr, speaks in the highest terms of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, and says that he knows of no such generous and successful patron of talent. Apart from the numerous writers and poets whom he encouraged and patronized, the painters Bihzād and Shāh Muṣaffar and the incomparable musicians Qul-Muḥammad, Shāykh Nāʾī and Ḥusayn ʿŪdī owed their success to him. He himself was a successful musician, composer and painter, and unrivalled as a poet in the Turki language, in which he produced four Dvānas of lyric poetry and six long mathnawīs, five in imitation of Nizāmī's Khamsa ("Quintet"), and one in imitation of ʿAttār's Mantiq al-Tayr ("Speech of the Birds") entitled Lisānūṣ-Tayr ("the Language of the Birds"). In Persian poetry, which he wrote under the pen-name of Ṣafī, he was, according to Bābur, less successful, for though some of his verses were not bad, most were weak and poor. His prosody also was lacking in accuracy, and in the treatise entitled Mīṣāḥūl-Awzān ("the Measure of Metres") which he wrote on that subject Bābur asserts

that he made erroneous statements about four of the twenty-four quatrains which he discussed.

It is on his Turkish rather than on his Persian poetry, therefore, that Mir ‘Ali Shir’s claims to literary fame are based, though his munificent patronage of all literature and art entitles him to honourable mention in any history of Persian literature. Such as desire further particulars of his life and work will find them in the admirable monograph published by M. Belin in the Journal Asiatique for 1861 under the title of Notice biographique et litteraire sur Mir Ali-Chir Névâdî, suivie d’extraits tirés des œuvres du même auteur. He was born at Herat in 844/1440-1 and died and was buried there on the 12th of Jumâda ii, 906 (January 3, 1501). His life, for a statesman in so troublous a land and time, was singularly peaceful, and throughout it he enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Sultan Abu’l-Ghazi Husayn, his school-fellow in childhood and his sovereign in maturer age. For public life and political power he cared little, and would willingly have renounced them in favour of spiritual contemplation and literary leisure, nor did he ever take to himself a wife. He was even admitted by the illustrious Jâmi into the Naqshbandi order of darwishes. His zeal for good works was unfailing, and he is stated to have founded, or restored, and endowed no fewer than 370 mosques, colleges, rest-houses and other pious and charitable institutions in Khurasân alone. He was a prolific writer, and Belin enumerates 29 of his works, composed at various dates between the accession of Sultan Husayn and his death. The latest of these was his Muhâkamat-al-Lughatayn, or “Judgement between the two Languages,” in which he endeavours to establish the superiority of the Turkî over the Persian tongue. This was written in 905/1499-1500, only the year before his death.

Jâmi.

Mullá Nûru’d-Dîn ‘Abdu’r-Rahmân Jâmi, who was born at the little town of Jâm in Khurasân on Sha’bân 23, 817 (November 7, 1414), and died at Herât on Muḥârram 18, 898 (November 9, 1492), was one of the most remarkable geniuses whom Persia ever produced, for he was at once a great poet, a great scholar, and a great mystic. Besides his poetry, which, apart from minor productions, consisted of three Dîwâns of lyrical poetry and seven romantic or didactic mathnâvis, he wrote on the exegesis of the Qur‘ân, the evidence of the Divine Mission of the Prophet Muhammad, traditions, lives of the Saints, Mysticism, Arabic grammar, Rhyme, Prosody, Music, acrostics (mu‘amma) and other matters. In the Tuhfa-i-Sâmî forty-six of his works are enumerated, and I do not think this list is exhaustive. He was held in the highest honour by his contemporaries, not only by his fellow-countrymen, but, as we have seen, even by the Ottoman Sultan, who vainly endeavoured to induce him to visit his court. By his most illustrious contemporaries he was regarded as so eminent as to be beyond praise and so well known as to need no detailed biography. Thus Bâbur, after observing that “in exoteric and esoteric learning there was none equal to him in that time,” says that he is “too exalted for there to be any need for praising him,” and that he only introduces his name “for luck and for a blessing.” Sâm Mirzâ, the son of Shâh Isma’îl the Safawi, places him first in the fifth section (Sahîfa) of his Tuhfa-i-Sâmî, and says “by reason of the extreme elevation of his genius...there is no need to describe his condition or set forth any account of him, since the rays of his virtues have reached from the East to the uttermost parts of the

1 Also published separately as a pamphlet of 150 pages.
2 He succeeded to the throne of Herât on the death of Abû Sa’îd in Ramaḍân 873 (March-April, 1469).
3 Ibid., p. 59-64.
4 See pp. 422-3 supra.
5 Bâbur-nâma (ed. Il’minsky), pp. 222-223.
6 Cambridge MS. Or. 646, pp. 93-100.
West, while the bountiful table of his excellencies is spread from shore to shore." Dawlatshah, who puts him first, before Mir 'Ali Shir, in the concluding section of his *Memoirs*¹, which deals with living contemporary poets, speaks in a similar strain. Mir 'Ali Shir, besides the brief notice of him at the beginning of his *Mujaddidu'n-Nafz*, has devoted an entire work, the *Khamsatu'l-Mutakhayyirin* ("Quintet of the Astonished") to his praises. This work, fully described by Belin², is so entitled because it is divided into five parts, a preface, three chapters and an epilogue, which treat respectively (1) of the origin, birth and life of Jami, and of the author's acquaintance with him; (2) of events and conversations between the author and Jami indicating the degree of their intimacy; (3) of the correspondence between them preserved in Jami's works; (4) of the works composed by Jami at the author's suggestion and instigation; (5) of the books and treatises read by the author under Jami's direction, with an account of his death and funeral, which was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and attended by many members of the Royal Family, noblemen, divines and scholars, besides a vast concourse of the common people. But the most valuable biography of him is probably that written by his most eminent disciple, 'Abdul-Ghafur of Lär, who died on Shaban 5, 912 (December 21, 1506) and was buried beside his master³.

All the essential facts of Jami's life, however, are given in the excellent *Biographical Sketch* (pp. 1-20) prefixed by Captain Nassau Lees to his edition of the *Nafahatu'l-Umm*⁴, a sketch only marred by a violent and uncalled-for attack on Mysticism. The details are far fuller and better vouched for than, for instance, in the case of Háfiz. Jami himself

⁴ Published at Calcutta in 1899.
has recorded the date of his birth and the double reason for which he adopted the pen-name by which he is known, and he has also recorded the dates when most of his poems and other works were composed, for the most part during the last fourteen or fifteen years of his long life. These dates, as well as the texts of the poems, rest on an unusually firm foundation, for there exists at St Petersburg, in the Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, an autograph manuscript of the poet's Kulliyāt, or Complete Works, which has been described in great detail by the late Baron Victor Rosen, and which has finally settled several doubtful points of chronology. For further details of his life and character there is no lack of contemporary evidence. Even as a boy he showed remarkable quickness and ability, and, as he grew older and pursued his studies under more famous masters, he rapidly assimilated such knowledge as they were able to impart, and often finished by being able to confute them in argument. Of his scholarship Nassau Lees writes as follows:

"Considering Jāmī, not as a poet, but simply as a scholar, it cannot be denied that he was a man of remarkable genius and great erudition; and it is to be regretted that he does not seem to have been free from self-conceit, supercilious hauteur, and contempt for the literati of his day, so commonly the characteristic of the votaries of his peculiar philosophy. He was extremely reluctant to admit that he was indebted to any of his masters for his acquirements. 'I have found,' said he, 'no master with whom I have read superior to myself. On the contrary I have invariably found that in argument I could defeat them all. I acknowledge, therefore, the obligations of a pupil to his master to none of them; for if I am a pupil of anyone it is of my own father, who taught me the language.'"

More pleasing, though possibly due to the same motives, was his refusal to flatter or humble himself before the rich and powerful, a rare virtue amongst the poets of that day, which led his biographer 'Alī the son of Ḥusayn Wāfī al-Kāshīfī to cite:

remark that to one more than Jâmi did the following lines of Nizâmî apply1:

Since in my youth I never forsook Thy gate
To seek elsewhere the favours of the great,
Thou in return didst send them all to me:
I sought it not; it was a boon from Thee."

To his spiritual teachers, on the other hand, and to those who guided him in the mystic's path Jâmi showed the greatest veneration and rendered the most ungrudging homage; a fact abundantly illustrated by Nassau Lees in his Biographical Sketch.

But though, or perhaps because, he refused to flatter or fawn on the great, few Persian poets have enjoyed during their lives such profound and widespread respect, or have lived so long without being exposed to such disagreeable experiences or discouraging vicissitudes of fortune as fell to the lot of even the greatest of them, such as Firdawsi, Nasîr-i-Khusraw, Anwârî, Sa'dî or Hâfiz. The only unpleasant incident recorded as having befallen Jâmi, and one from which he easily and speedily extricated himself, occurred at Baghâdâd when he was returning from the Pilgrimage in 877-8/1472. A garbled citation from one of his poems, the Sîsilatu'd-Dhakab, or "Chain of Gold," was employed by some ill-disposed persons to convict him of hostility to the House of 'Alî, in spite of a remarkable poem in praise of al-Ḥusayn, 'Alî's son, which he had composed a little while before when he visited the scene of his martyrdom at Karbâla'. In a crowded meeting presided over by the chief doctors of Baghâdâd, Jâmi easily succeeded in refuting the accusation and turning the tables on his detractors, adding that "if he had any fears at all in writing"

1 Nassau Lees's Biographical Sketch, p. 5.  
3 Ibid., p. 19.  
4 Ibid., p. 12.  
5 The Shafi'i'Arab is the name given to the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates.
On another occasion Jāmī composed the following verses on a contemporary poet named Sāghari who had accused his fellow-poets of plagiarizing his ideas:


Sāghari Miγgīf Ẓarān Muanāi Nūrānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānāн

"Sāghari was saying, 'Wherever the plagiarists have seen a fine idea in my poetry they have stolen it.' I have noticed that most of his poems are devoid of ideas: whoever said that the ideas had been stolen spoke the truth."

When Sāghari angrily reproached Jāmī for this verse, he said, "It is not my fault. What I wrote was shght ("a certain poet"); not Sāghari (Sāghari), but some mischievous has altered the dots over the letters to annoy you."

Amongst the chronograms which commemorate the date of Jāmī's death the two best known are

$\sum \frac{20 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 40 + 50 + 1 = 1898}$

"And whosoever entereth it is safe"; and

$\sum \frac{40 + 40 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 5 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 5 + 40 + 5 + 40 + 5 = 1898}$

"Smoke [of the heart, i.e. sighs] came up [or 'was subtracted'] from Khursān."

Khursān gives $600 + 200 + 1 + 60 + 1 + 50 = 912$; smoke (đād) gives $4 + 6 + 4 = 14$; $912 - 14 = 898$.

We pass now to a consideration of Jāmī's numerous works, which fall primarily into two categories, prose and poetry. Of his chief prose works, the Nafahātul-Uns (Biographies of Sufi saints, composed in 883/1478), the Shawāhidu'n-Nuβuwaw ("Evidences of Prophethood," composed in 885/1480), the commentary on ʿIrāqī's Lāma'āt (known as Ashīrat-ul-Lama'āt), composed in 886/1481), and the Lawdīk ("Flashes") mention has been already

1 Nassau Lees, op. cit., p. 19.
mystic Shaykh Muḥyī’-din ibn-al-ʿArabī (composed in 896/1491), and a Commentary on the *Nusṭāt*i of his disciple Shaykh Saḥrū’-d-Dīn al-Qunayfī. This is entitled *Naqdun-Nusṭāt*, and is one of Jámi’s earliest works, for it was composed in 863/1458-59.

Of Jámi’s minor works I have noted some two dozen, included by Sām Mīrzā in the list of forty-six which he gives in his *Tuhfet-i-Sāmē*, but this latter number is more than doubled by the *Mirdāt-i-Khayāt*1, which states that Jámi left behind him some ninety works. These minor works include commentaries on portions of the *Qurān*, e.g. the Sāratul-Fātiha; commentaries on Forty Traditions and on the Traditions of Abū Dharr; theological tracts on the Divine Unity (Risāla-i-Tahhiliyya and Lā ʿilāha illa ʿllāh), the Rītāt of the Pilgrimage (Mansik-i-Haţj) and the like; monographs on the lives or sayings of various eminent mystics, such as Jalā’ul-Dīn Rūmī, Khwāja Pārsā, and ʿAbdullāḥ Anṣārī; tracts on Sūfī ethics and practice (e.g. the Ṭartīq-i-Suffāyān and Taḥqīq-i-Maddabāb-i-Suffāyān); and commentaries on Arabic and Persian mystical verses, such as the *Tawīyya* and *Mīmīyya* (or Khamīyya) of ʿUmar ibnul-Ḥārīd, the opening verses of the *Mathnawī* (also known as the *Nay-nāma*, or “Reed-book” from its subject), a couplet of Amīr Khusrav of Dihlī, and a commentary of some of his own quatrains. Besides all these Jámi wrote treatises on prosody, rhyme and music, a commentary on the *Miftāḥul-Ghayb*, and another for his son Diyā’-ul-Dīn2 on the well-known Arabic grammar of Ibnul-Ḥājib known as the *Kdfīya*. There is also a collection of Jámi’s letters (*Munṣulrat*), and five treatises on the *Muʿammād*, or Acrostic, which was so popular at this period.

2 Published by Blochmann at the end of his *Persian Prosody* (Calcutta, 1872).
3 This book, commonly called *Sharḥ-i-Muṭlaḥ Jámi*, is properly entitled, in allusion to the son’s name, *al-Fawād-ul-Diyāyya*, and is well known and widely used in the East.

**CH. VIII**

**JÁMI’S BAHĀRISTĀN**

Last, but not least, amongst Jámi’s prose works is the *Bahārīstān*, or “Springs land,” a book similar in character and arrangement to the more celebrated *Gulistān* of Sa’dī, composed in 922/1487. It comprises eight chapters (each called *Katwāl*, “Garden”), the first containing anecdotes about Saints and Sūfis; the second sayings of Philosophers and Wise Men; the third on the Justice of Kings; the fourth on Generosity; the fifth on Love; the sixth on Jokes and Witticisms; the seventh on Poets3; and the eighth on dumb animals. The work is written in mixed prose and verse, the proportion of verse being very considerable. The text, accompanied by a German translation by Schlegel, was published at Vienna in 1845. There are also several Constantinople printed editions of the text, a complete English translation published in 1887 by the Kama Shastra Society, and an English version of the sixth book entitled “Persian Wit and Humour” by C. E. Wilson. The curious reader can therefore easily acquaint himself more fully with the contents of this book, even if he does not read Persian, and it is therefore superfluous to describe it more fully in this place.

It is as a poet, however, that Jámi is best known, and it is of his poetical works that we must now speak. These Jámi’s poetry comprise seven *mathnawī* poems, known collectively as the *Sa’d* (“Septet”) or *Haft Avarang* (“Seven Thrones,” one of the names by which the constellation of the Great Bear is known in Persia), and three separate *Divāns*, or collections of lyrical poetry, known respectively as the *Fāṭihatul-Shāhid* (“Opening of Youth”), compiled in 884/1479-80; the *Wāṣiṭatul-Iqṭīq* 4

1 This chapter contains 53 “witticisms,” many of them very coarse, and hardly any of them sufficiently amusing to raise a smile.
2 Particulars of some three dozen are given, but the notices given by Jámi of his own contemporaries are very brief.
3 I possess that printed at the Akhtar Press in 1294/1877. See also Ethel’s *India Office Persian Catalogue*, col. 771-2.
The Haft Awrang comprises the seven following poems:

1. **Siðsilatu'd-Dhahab** (the “Chain of Gold”) composed in 890/1485.

2. **Sulmath b wa Absal**, published by Forbes Falconer in 1850, and translated into English in 1856. This edition contains 1131 verses. Another English prose abridged translation by Edward FitzGerald was published in London in 1856 (pp. xvi + 84).

3. **Tuḥfatul-'Ahrār** ("the Gift of the Noble"), composed in 886/1481, was published by Forbes Falconer in 1848, and contains 1710 verses.

4. **Subhadill 'Abrar** ("the Rosary of the Pious") has been twice printed (1811 and 1848) and once lithographed (1818) at Calcutta.

5. **Yūsuf u Zulaykhā**, composed in 888/1483, the best known and most popular of these seven poems, was published with a German verse-translation by Rosenweig (Vienna, 1824). There is an English translation by R. T. H. Griffith (London, 1881), and another in very mediocre verse by A. Rogers (London, 1892).

6. **Laylā b wa Majnūn**, composed in 889/1484, has been translated into French by Chézy (Paris, 1805) and into German by Hartmann (Leipzig, 1807).

7. **Khirad-nāma-i-Sikandar** ("the Book of Wisdom of Alexander") has received the least attention of the seven poems, and, so far as I can ascertain, has never been published or translated.

### 1. The Chain of Gold

Of the *Siðsilatu'd-Dhahab* or "Chain of Gold," I possess a good manuscript transcribed in 997/1588-9. This poem discusses various philosophical, ethical and religious subjects with illustrative anecdotes and comprises some 7200 couplets. A certain incoherence and scrappiness, combined with a not very pleasing metre, seem to have rendered it less popular than the remaining poems of the "Septet," and hence probably its comparative rarity. It is dedicated to Sultān Husayn, "whose justice bound the hands of the Sphere from aggression":

شاعر سلطان حسين آتکو بست: جرمًا عدلش ار تعظیم دست,

and there follows a most elaborate and artificial acrostic on this Prince's name, full of the most far-fetched conceits.

As a specimen of the poem we may take the following anecdote concerning the distress of a poet who composed a brilliant panegyric on a king, which no one applauded save an ignorant fellow who had no acquaintance with the forms of poetry.

لقّبه كریستن آن شاعر که قصیده، غرا در حضرت بادشا خواند

و هیچ کس تحسین کرده چرا جز چاله که یک کنتل سین

عازف نبود.

### 1. The Chain of Gold

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JAMI'S "CHAIN OF GOLD"

و آفرینی که این مفکل صورت
روز عیش مرا مبادل طرد
هرچه از بوستان بیکنگیت
گرچه شاعر قبول بیست روابط
شعر خانم فقییر عاد
حاصل داند که سر باشد و غرام
میل هر کم به چنین جنس وی است
آنچه پشت جنس ماده دست
زاغ حواشی نفیس ناحویز زاد
چچ شناد صفرلی بدلی باغ
چپن سارد بادکنک ویرانه
عصی پنیر رز قصر شه خانه
سبت چون دیده سخت بینش
عمر می آید ز تحسینش
همچنین رافضی بان داغی
چون کند منج و آفرینی علی
آید از منج او علی را علی
و آفرینش بود علیا بار
گر تو کمک که میل دل هرکن
سبت خالی ز نتیج باز
رافضی بس دنی علی عالیست
میل چون از مناسب خالیست
بار کوچم حکایتی در یاب
عصر نامی درآن رس بجواب
"A bard whose verse with magic charm was filled,
Who in all arts of eulogy was skilful,
Did for some king a flag of honour raise,
And wrought a poem filled with arts of praise.
Reason and Law the praise of kings approve;
Kings are the shadow of the Lord above.
The shadow's praise doth to the wise accord
With praises rendered to the shadow's Lord.
A skilful rhapsodist the bard one day
Brought in his verse before the King to lay.
Melodious verse melodious voice doth need
That so its beauty may increase indeed.
From end to end these praises of the King
Unto his ears the rhapsodist did bring.
A fine delivery is speech's need:
The Book God bids melodiously to rend1.
When to the end he had declaimed the piece
And from reciting it at length did cease,
The poet strained his ears to hear the pause
Swiftly curtailed by thunders of applause.
The man of talent travaileth with pain
Hoping the critic's well-earned praise to gain,
Yet no one breathed a word or showed a sign
Of recognition of those verses fine.
Till one renowned for ignorance and pride,
Standing beyond the cultured circle, cried,
'God bless thee! Well thou singest, well dost string
Fair pearls of speech to please our Lord the King!'
The poet gazed on him with saddened eye,
Covered his face, and sore began to cry.
'By this,' he wailed, 'my back is snapped in twain:
The praise of this lewd fellow me hath slain!
That King and beggar grudged my praises due
My fortune's face with black did not imbrue,
But this fool-fellow's baseless ill-judged praise
Hath changed to woe the pleasure of my days
In folly's garden every flower and fruit,
Though fair of branch and bud, is foul of root.
Verse which accordeth with the vulgar mood
Is known to men of taste as weak and crude.
Like seeks for like; this is the common law;
How can the ripe foregather with the raw?"

1 Qur'an lxiii, 4: "and chant the Qur'an with a well-measured recitation."
POETS OF THE LATER TIMŪRID PERIOD

"people of the Qibla"; the Angels of the Tomb, Munkir and Nakfr; the two blasts of the trumpet; the distribution of the books kept by the recording angels; the Balance; the Bridge of Sird; the fifty stations of 'Arāḍt; indicating that the infidels shall remain in Hell-fire for ever, while sinners shall escape therefrom by the intercession of the virtuous and the pious; Paradise and its degrees.

The second book of the "Chain of Gold" consists chiefly of dissertations on the different kinds and phases of Love, "metaphorical" and "real," and anecdotes of saints and lovers. The third contains for the most part anecdotes of kings, and towards the end several about physicians. Amongst the latter it is interesting to find two borrowed from the fourth Discourse of the Chahār Maqāla of Nizāmī-'Arūḍ of Samarqand, one related by Avicenna concerning a certain physician at the Sāmānid Court who healed a maidservant by psychical treatment, and the other describing how Avicenna himself cured a prince of the House of Buwayh of melancholic delusions. These are followed by a dissertation on the two opposite kinds of poetry, the one "a comfort to the soul" and the other "a diminution of the heart"; and an interesting dissertation on poets of old time who rewarded their royal patrons by immortalizing their names, which would otherwise have passed into oblivion. The poets of whom mention is here made are Rūdakī, 'Unsūrī, Sanā'ī, Nizāmī, Mu'izzī, Anwārī, Khāqānī, Zahirī, Sa'dī, Kamāl and Salmān of Sāwā. Another anecdote from the Chahār Maqāla about one of 'Unsūrī's happy improvisations is also introduced in this place. The book ends somewhat abruptly with a short conclusion which, one cannot help feeling, would have seemed almost equally appropriate at any other point in the text. In a word, the "Chain of Gold" could bear the withdrawal of many of its component links without suffering much detriment. It contains some excellent matter, but is too long, and lacks artistic unity of conception.

Salāmān and Absāl.

The character and scope of the curious allegorical poem of Salāmān and Absāl may be readily apprehended by the English reader from Edward FitzGerald's rather free and somewhat abridged translation. His rendering in blank verse is generally graceful and sometimes eloquent; but the employment of the metre of Hiawatha for the illustrative anecdotes (which, as is generally the case in poems of this class, frequently interrupt the continuity of the text) is a less happy experiment. The story is of the slenderest kind, the dramatic personae being a King of Greece, a Wise Man who is his constant mentor and adviser, his beautiful and dearly beloved son Salāmān, Absāl the fair nurse of the boy, and Zuhra (the planet Venus), representing the heavenly Beauty which finally expels the memory of Absāl from Salāmān's mind. Amongst the somewhat grotesque features of the story are the birth of Salāmān without a mother to bear him (the poet's misogyny holding marriage in abhorrence, though he was himself married), and the seniority by some twenty years of the charming Absāl over her nursling, whom, when he reached maturity, she entangles in an attachment highly distasteful to the king and the sage. The latter, by a kind of mesmeric power, compels Salāmān in the earthly paradise whither he has fled with Absāl to build and kindle a great pyre of brushwood, into which the two lovers cast themselves, with the result that, while poor Absāl is burned to ashes, Salāmān emerges unhurt, purified from all earthly desires, and fit to receive the crown and throne which his father hastens to confer upon him. The allegory, transparent enough without commentary, is fully explained in the Epilogue.

1 See my translation of the Chahār Maqāla, Anecdotes xxviii (pp. 113-115) and xxvii (pp. 125-128).
2 Ibid., Anecdote xiv, pp. 56-58.
As FitzGerald’s work has a special interest in the eyes of all amateurs of Persian literature, I here give an extract of his translation with the corresponding passage of the original. The passage selected describes the arrival of the lovers, in the course of their flight from the King’s reproaches, in the enchanted island where they spend their joyous days of dalliance.

Jámi’s Salamán and Absál

Kohti bagh aur chūn dr nenął 1
‘ghine’ pīlinik ānā shakhte,
Ya pīnkht oon bi roż hāb,
Bher gānt ab rūi khoon ānā nqāb;
Chūn Salmān dīd tālī pīshērā,
Az sfer khoṭā khoṭ dr andispāra;
Ba dāl farāg z hār amīd o bīm;
Koṭhā ba abāl dr pīshē mū&mīm;
Har dū Shāhān Mīhī Gān o tīn bīm;
Har dū kher Gūn gūn o ‘oozn bīm;
Sachhīti z ʿawāzīs ḥiwar dū;
Rahāni z amīzī ṭimār dūr;
Nī malmīt pīshē ba aitān bejīnak;
Nī nhāq āndespār ba aitān dū o rīk;
Gūn dū ‘oozōn o ḥaṛāt dūnī;
Gījī dū ‘apāl o ḥapār mārī; 1
Har zāmān dr marāzīrī khar dr ḥowāb;
Har nīfs az jīshī hār dr ḥowāb;
Gāh ba ‘īlīl ba gantār āmēd;
Gāh ba ʿooznī shīrzhōr āmēd;
Gāh ba ṭāṣās dr jōlāṅkerī;
Gāh dū ṭantār ba gūkā dūrī;
Qāmeh khoṭāh da dū pīr az ābī o tīb;
Har dū mībīnīd rūz khoon bīsīb;
‘oozn nī Mīhī baṭh baṣṭ wa dū tārī;
Dīr Mīhī o ‘ūbī jūbān dr ṭantār;

1 Pp. 48–49 of the translation, il. 802–824 of the text.
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FitzGerald's translation (pp. 48-49).

"When they had sailed their Vessel for a Moon
And marred their Beauty with the wind of th' Sea,
Suddenly in mid Sea revealed itself
An Isle, beyond Description beautiful;
An Isle that all was Garden; not a Bird
Of Note or Plume in all the World but there;
There as in Bridal Retinue array'd
The Pheasant in his Crown, the Dove in her Collar;
And those who tuned their Bills among the Trees
That Arm in Arm from Fingers paralyz'd
With any Breath of Air rated dry
Down scattered in Profusion at their Feet,
Where Fountains of Sweet Water ran, and round
Sunshine and Shadow chequer-chased the Ground.
Here Iram Garden seemed in Secresy
Blowing the Rosebud of its Revelation;
Or Paradise, forgetful of the Day
Of Audit, lifted from her Face the Veil.
Salâmân saw the Isle, and thought no more
Of Further-there with Absâl he sat down,
Absâl and He together side by side
Rejoicing like the Lily and the Rose,
Together like the Body and the Soul.
Under its Trees in one another's Arms
They slept—they drank its Fountains hand in hand—
Sought Sugar with the Parrot—or in sport
Paraded with the Peacock—raced the Partridge—
Or fell a-talking with the Nightingale.
There was the Rose without a Thorn, and there
The Treasure and no Serpent to beware—
What sweeter than your Mistress at your side
In such a Solitude, and none to chide!"

3. The Gift of the Free.

The Ṭuhfatu'l-ʿAhrâr, or "Gift of the Free," is a didactic
and moral poem of theological and ethical contents com-
prising, besides doxologies, eulogies of the
Prophet, and Supplications to God (Mundjât),
twenty Maqâlit or Discourses, of which the last

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is addressed to the poet's little son Yûsuf Dayā'u'd-Dîn, who
was then only four years of age, while his father was sixty.
Each discourse is, as a rule, followed by one or more illustra-
tive anecdotes. In a short prose preface prefixed to the poem
Jâmî implies that it was inspired by the Makhzanu'ls-Asrâr
("Treasury of Mysteries") of Niţâmî and the Matla'ul-
Anwâr ("Dayspring of Lights") of Amir Khusrâw of Dihlî.
The poem is on the whole dull and monotonous, and can-
not be regarded as a favourable specimen of Jâmî's work.
As a specimen I give a prose translation of part of the
author's above-mentioned address to his son, the original
of which can be consulted by those who desire it in Forbes
Falconer's printed text.

Twentieth Discourse,
giving counsel to my precious son.
(May he be nurtured on the Herb of Beauty in the Garden of
Childhood, and may he find his way to the Limit of Perfection
in the School of Elocution!)

(1615)

"0 New Moon to the night of my hope, to whose Image the eye of
my fortune is a pledge!
The Crescent Moon arises after thirty days, while thou didst show
thy face after sixty years.
Thy years are four at the time of reckoning: may thy four be forty
and thy forty four!
May each forty [years] of thine be quadragesima, wherein, by know-
ledge and ecstasy, thou mayst explore the degrees of Perfection!
Thy name is the Yûsuf [Joseph] of the Egypt of Faith: may thy
title be the Light (Qâdî) of the Empire and of Religion!
With the pen which inditeth wisdom I write this Book of Wisdom
for thee.
Although thou hast not at present understanding of advice, when
thou attainest the age of understanding put it into practice.

1 See note on p. 527.


3 Arbaʿīn (Arabic Ārbaʿīn), a period of fasting and religious exercises
lasting forty days practised by darwûshes and seekers after occult powers.
See my Year among the Persians, p. 148.
Until the hairs of thy face become a veil, set not thy foot outside the
house into the market and the street. Be the [willing] prisoner of thine
own apartments (baram). Never carry thy goods from the companionship of thy house-fellows
to the doors of strangers. The sight of a stranger is not auspicious, especially if his age exceed
thine.

If they set thee to work at school and place the tables of the alphabet
in thy lap, do not sit beside every low-born [school-fellow]: separate thyself
from all and sit alone. Although the letter alif (ا) is not by itself of crooked stature, see how
crooked it becomes [in combination] as lam-alif (ل). When thou placest thy slate in thy lap lift not up thy finger like an
alif therefrom. Modestly hang thy head like the letter dat (د); fix thine eyes upon
it like the letter sdd (س).

Smiling now at this one, now at that one, show not thy teeth like the letter
sum (ص). Do not sit beside every low-born [school-fellow]: separate thyself
from all and sit alone.

Divide not thy heart with errant thoughts; be like the letter mim
(م) too narrow-mouthed for speech. Hearken not vainly to every kind of little-tattle, so that thou mayst
not suffer the pain of a box on the ear. Take heed of right behaviour during the teacher's lessons, lest thou
become the little clum8 of the school-room.

Although the [master's] slaps impart virtue, yet is it better if thou
doest not bring the affair to slapping!\[1\]

Excellent as this paternal advice (and there is much
more of it) may be, it does not constitute what we should
regard as suitable material for poetry, while here again the
many fanciful conceits about the ethical lessons to be learned
from the shapes of the letters of the alphabet make it difficult
to produce a tolerable translation even in prose.

4. The Rosary of the Pious.

The Subhātul-Abrār, or "Rosary of the Pious" is a
didactic poem of theological, mystical and
ethical contents very similar to the last, equally
lacking in coherence and even less attractive in
form and matter. The following story of Abraham and
the aged Fire-Worshipper, which also occurs in Sa'di's Būstān\[1\], and is the subject of some very lengthy reflections
in Forbes's Persian Grammar\[2\], where it is quoted amongst
the extracts, may serve as a specimen.

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1 See Graf's edition (Vienna, 1858), pp. 142-3, ll. 37-54.
2 Pp. 152-4 and 164-70.

B. P.

34
'One from a heathen temple took the road
And lodged as guest in Abraham's abode,
Who, seeing that his practice did accord
111 with true faith, dismissed him from his board.
Beholding him a stranger to God's Grace,
The Fire-fane's smoke apparent in his face,
Bade him confess the Lord who doth bestow
Men's daily bread, or leave the board and go.
The aged man arose, and 'Friend,' quoth he,
'Can Faith the vassal of the Belly be?
With lips athirst and mouth unfilled with food
He turned away his face and took the road.

To Abraham a message from the skies
Came, saying,
'O most fair in qualities!
Although that stranger held an alien creed,
Food to prohibit him was no righteous deed.
For more than threescore years and ten, in fine,
He offered worship at a heathen shrine,
Yet ne'er did I his sustenance withhold,
Saying, 'Thy heart is dead to faith and cold.'
What harm were it if from thine ample store
Some morsels thou shouldst give him, less or more?
Abraham called him back, and did accord
A place to him at his most bounteous board.
'This flood of grace,' the aged man enquired,
After that first rebuff what thought inspired?
He told the message which his act had banned,
And told him too of that stern reprimand.
'To one,' the old man said, 'who thus can take
To task his servant for a stranger's sake
Can I endure a stranger to remain,
Or fail his love and friendship to attain?
Unto the Source of Good he then addressed
His homage, and his faith in God professed.

The story and the moral are admirable, but most Persian scholars will, I think, prefer Sa'di's older to Jámf's later version.

5. Yúsuf and Zulaykhá.

The fifth of the "Seven Thrones," the Romance of Yúsuf (Joseph) and Zulaykhá (Potiphar's wife), is by far the most celebrated and popular, and is also the most accessible both in the original and in translation. The entire text, with German metrical translation and notes by Vincenz Edlem von Rosenzweig, was published in a fine folio volume at Vienna in 1824, and there are several Oriental editions of the text. I have already alluded to the late Mr A. Rogers' English rhymed translation (1892) which cannot be described as happy; R. T. H. Griffith's earlier translation (1881) I have not seen. Of two fine passages on the nature of Beauty and its essential desire to manifest itself, and on love of the creature considered as the bridge leading to love of the Creator I have published translations, originally in a lecture on

1 See Ethê's India Office Persian Catalogue, col. 746-747.
2 This latter passage is practically a commentary on the well-known Šúfí aphorism, "the Phenomenal is the Bridge to the Real."

(البجع قنطرة الحقيقة)
Şūfism contributed to the Religious Systems of the World⁴ and again in part in vol. i of my Literary History of Persia (pp. 439 and 442).

The story itself, based on the Sūratu Yūsuf (Qur'ān xii), which describes it as "the most beautiful of stories," is one of the most popular themes of romantic poetry in Persia and Turkey, and engaged the attention of the great Firdawsi after he had finished the Shāh-nāma, and after him of a whole series of Persian poets. Of the Turkish renderings of the tale a pretty complete list will be found in a footnote in the second volume of Gibb's History of Ottoman Poetry⁵. But of all these renderings of the well-known tale Jāmī's deservedly holds the highest place, and on it his reputation largely rests. The text of the following translation, which unfortunately is a very inadequate representation of the original, occurs on p. 81 of von Rosenzweig's edition, ll. 19-42.

This speech from Bāzīghā⁶ when Joseph heard From his sweet mouth came forth this living word:

1. That Master-craftsmen's work am I, said he;
2. One single drop contents me from His Sea;
3. One dot is Heaven from His Pen of Power,
4. And from His Beauty's garth this world a flower.
5. The Sun's a gleam from out His Wisdom's Light,
6. The Earth's a bubble on His Sea of Might.
7. Each mundane atom He a Mirror made,
8. And His Reflection in each one displayed.
9. His Beauty from all faults and flaws is free,
10. Hid 'neath the Veil of what no eye can see.
11. Discerning eyes in all that's dowered with Grace
12. See naught, when well they look, except His Face;
13. Beside the Prototype the Shadow's dim;
14. See His Reflection, haste thee unto Him.
15. If from the Prototype you stand bereft,
16. When fades the Shadow, naught to you is left.

Published by Swan Sonnenschein in 1892, pp. 314-332.

2 A lady who, like Zulaykhā, falls in love with Joseph, but is turned by his exhortations from love of the creature to love of the Creator.

6. Laylá and Majnūn

Of the last two of Jāmī's "Seven Thrones," the Romance of Laylá and Majnūn and the Book of Wisdom of Alexander, copies are rare, but I have been able to examine them cursorily in a fine manuscript¹, transcribed in 937/1530-1, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, and have selected the following passages as typical. The first two are from the Laylá and Majnūn².

1 Printed in von Rosenzweig, pp. 314-332.
2 Cf. von Rosenzweig, pp. 314-332.

⁴ Nor will the Shadow long remain with thee;
⁵ The Rose's colour hath no constancy.
⁶ Look to the Source, if permanence you claim;
⁷ Go to the Root, if constancy's your aim.
⁸ Can that which is, and soon is not again,
⁹ Make throb the heart, or twinge the vital vein?"

"When the Dawn of Eternity whispered of Love, Love cast the Fire of Longing into the Pen. The Pen raised its head from the Tablet of Not-Being, and drew a hundred pictures of wondrous aspect. The Heavens are the offspring of Love: the Elements fell to Earth through Love. Without Love is no token of Good or Evil: that thing which is not of Love is indeed non-existent. This lofty azure Roof which revolveth through the days and nights is the Lotus of the Garden of Love, and the Ball which lies in the curve of Love's Polo-stick. That Magnetism which is inherent in the Stone, and which fastens its grasp so firmly on the Iron, is a Love precipitated in Iron Resolve which hath appeared from within the Stone. Behold the Stone, how in this resting-place it becomes without weight through longing for its opponent: Judge therefrom of those who suffer sorrow in the attraction of the love of those dear to the heart. Although Love is painful, it is the consolation of pure bosoms. Without the blessing of Love how shall a man escape from the sorrow of the inverted Wheel [of Heaven]?

Concerning the cause of the versification of this Book, and the reason of the arrangement of this Address.

"When I withdrew the Veil from this Mystery, and prepared this strange Song, the Parrot of my Genius became an eater of sugar from the Story of Joseph and Zulaykhá. In this outpouring of sugar there sprang from my Pen sweet verses mingled with sugar."
Therefrom tumult fell upon the World, and a gladness in the hearts of lovers.

It was a Fountain of Graciousness, but therefrom my thirst was not appeased.

The Bird of my Heart desired to sing another song on another topic. When under fortunate auspices I cast lots, [the lot] fell on an account of Majnūn's plight.

Although aforesaid two Masters, raised high above the Realm of Verse, Unloosed their tongues in the enunciation of subtleties, and therein did full justice to speech:

That one\(^1\) pouring forth pearls like a Treasure (ganj) from Ganja, and this one\(^2\) scattering sugar like a Parrot in India;

That one smiting the ears of [unjustified] pretension, and this one unveiling the bride of the Ideal;

That one with his verse engraving an inscription on the rock, and this one giving colour [to the tale] by his exquisite art;

That one raising his standard to the Zenith of Glory, and this one preparing the spells of Magic;

I also bound my girdle behind me, and seated myself on my dromedary fleet as the wind,

And wherever their Pegasus\(^3\) attained, through their inspiring minds I also urged onwards my camel in humility, and brought myself within the range of their dust.

Though I fall behind their reckoning, yet their dust upon my face sufficeth me.\(^4\)


The following anecdote from the *Khik̄âr-nāma-i-Sikandar*, or "Book of Wisdom of Alexander," is taken from the same manuscript\(^5\) as the last two extracts:

(حکایت أن حداد خدا گوش بر افسانه گوش نداد و نقدا بامید نسیه
از دست بداد؟)

خون میدهد جواب چرخید بیاد،
پی شکل قدر غوش و حاو،

\(^1\) *I.e.*, Nizāmī of Ganja.

\(^2\) Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī.

\(^3\) Râkât, the name of Rustâm's celebrated charger.

\(^4\) R. 13.8 of Trinity College, Cambridge, f. 171*.

CH. VIII] JĀMĪ'S *KHIRAD-NĀMA-I-SIKANDARI* 537

یکي هاد ماغر حواله چکار،
فر ماند از ضعف پيش زکار;
وز ببار پر دراز رفت،
پس تصدع غصن دوش از دختر رفت;
ز شهروش خاست از خان نفی;
وطن ساخت گردو یکي آگید;
پس از مدتی گرد آنجا درگذ
در افتخار غوش خوش ناکه بیکه;
بر آورد فریاد پچاره غوک;
که اي سوره از دست تو کشته سوک;
مکن یکرمان در هلاشم بتاب;
ویام شتاب از هلاشم بتاب;
بینىمن بجز طبعه طبع حوب;
نه در خام نرم به معدع حوب;
تنم نیست جز پوستی ناکوار;
پاى نه قناعت و عطوب خوارا;
بکست کشانی بآزادم;
فرستى بدل مورد عاد;
له بهنگم دو آتیمن سحر و فون;
پیو ماهیا شوه بیون;
در آپ روان پرورش بانت;
ز الهان نعمت خوش بیان;
تن او همراه گوشت سر تو بدم;
از پوست دور استخوان نیز نمی.
Story of the Kite which lent an ear to the Frog’s talk, and in hope of credit let slip the cash from its hand.

"The cycle of heaven now bids me indite
For example the tale of the frog and the kite.
A kite, wont to prey on the birds of the air,
By the weakness of age was reduced to despair.
For soaring its pinions no longer avail;
For hunting the strength of its talons doth fail.
From the depth of its soul bitter wailing arose;
An abode by the shore of a lakelet it chose.
Now when in that place it had dwelt for a spell
On a sudden a frog in its clutches there fell.
The miserable frog made a piteous appeal:
"To woe thou hast turned, my weal!"
"0 haste not to seek my destruction," it cried;
"Turn the steed of intent from my murder aside!
An unsavoury morsel I yield at the best,
Neither sweet to the palate not good to digest.
My body is nothing save ill-flavoured skin:
What eater of meat can find pleasure therein?
Unclose then thy beak, leave me free to depart,
And tidings of gladness convey to my heart!
Then by magic and spells evermore at thy wish
I will guide thee to toothsome and savoury fish,
In the river’s clear streamlets long nurtured and bred,
And with various food-stuffs abundantly fed.
From the head to the tail flesh and fatness alone,
With scarcely a skin and with hardly a bone!
Their bellies like silver, their backs bright of blue,
Their eyes like reflections of stars in the sea.
With silvery scales back and sides are alight
As with God’s starry largesse the heavens by night.
Far better, all persons of taste will agree,
A mouthful of such than a hundred like me."

The kite, by an oath confirmation to seek,
Relaxed its control: the frog fell from its beak;
With one leap it returned to its watery lair.
And the kite once again was the slave of despair.
Its seat in the dust of destruction it took.
Neither frog in its talons nor fish on its hook.
That kite disappointed is like unto me,
Whose soul has been turned from the pathway of glee:
Composure has quitted my heart at the thought
Of finding expression for thoughts so distraught.
In my hands, through my lack of good fortune, I find
Neither graces of speech nor composure of mind.
O cupbearer, come, pass the bowl, I entreat,
And like heaven, I pray thee, the cycle repeat!
That wine I desire which to peace giveth birth,
And frees us from all the defilements of earth.
O minstrel, approach, that the listening lute
At the touch of thy fingers may cease to be mute.
The heart of the heedless shall wake at its cry,
And the message of angels descend from the sky.

As the Salāb ("Septet") of Jāmī was admittedly inspired
by and modelled on the Khamsa ("Quintet") of Nizāmī,
some comparison of their respective styles and
methods may fairly be demanded. As I consider
that in questions of literary taste it is very
difficult for a foreigner to judge, I requested
my Persian colleague, Mīrāz Bihārūz, son of the distinguished
physician and writer Mīrāz Abūl-Fadl of Sāwā, a young
man of great promise and ability, well read in both Arabic
and Persian literature, to write a short essay on this point,
and I here reproduce in English the gist of his opinions.

Jāmī's verses, writes Mīrāz Bihārūz, rival, and perhaps
even excel, those of Nizāmī in poetical form, sweetness and
simplicity, being unlaboured and altogether free from
artificiality; but they fall far short of them in strength
(matānat), poetic imagination and eloquence. To appreciate
and enjoy Nizāmī a profound knowledge of the Persian
language is required, while Jāmī can be read with pleasure
by all, whose greater fame and popularity, especially
in India, Turkey and other lands where Persian literature
is an exotic. Moreover Nizāmī was a man of far-reaching
attainments, not only in the language and history of his
country, but in the sciences, especially the mathematical
sciences, of his time, so that often he cannot be understood
except by a reader similarly gifted. Such an one, however,
will find in him depths and subtleties for which he would
seek in vain in Jāmī's poetry.

In one only of his "Five Poems" does Nizāmī challenge
comparison with his great predecessor Firdawṣī, to wit in
his "Alexander Book" (Sikandar-nāma), which,
likewise in metre and subject-matter, resembles
the corresponding portion of the Shāh-nāma,
but, in the judgement of most critics, falls short of it. But
here Nizāmī was apparently more hampered than Firdawṣī
by the fanaticism of a less tolerant age, as he hints in the
following lines:

jenan va Atesh yarnti shdan gan iran
khāna bāzāye melliāti tarā shirān,
salāmānīr mā ma aw kūr namā ist,
qer ān kūrī melliānī nikāma ast,
nestānī bār sāfāsānā šo bāzā,
khānī yarnti tāmā Amd. ʿāwarā.

"The world was so warmed by Fire-worship
That thou mayst well be ashamed of thy Muhammadanism.
We are Musulmāns, while he is called a Guebre (gabr);
If that be heathenism (gabr), what is Muhammadanism?
Return, 0 Nizāmī, to the tenour of thy tale,
For harsh are the notes of the bird of admonition!"

Jāmī, though a mystic, was essentially an orthodox
Muhammadan, and shows little of the enthusiasm for pre-
Islamic Persia which inspired Firdawṣī, and, in
a lesser degree, Nizāmī. Of his indebtedness
to the latter he makes no secret, and, indeed,
follows his footsteps with extraordinary closeness, though
here and there he introduces topics and dissertations entirely
his own⁴. Not only does he imitate Nizāmī in the titles,
metres and subdivisions of his poems, but even in minute

¹ This matter is discussed at length by Shibli in his Shi'ru'l-'Ājam,
vol. i, pp. 342-356.
² E.g. his curious explanation of and commentary on the letters of
the Bismillāh near the beginning of the Tuhfatul-Āhirār.
personal details. Thus each poet addresses himself and gives advice to a seven-year-old son, the only difference being that while Nizami encourages his son to study Medicine, Jāmi recommends Theology. The parallelism is especially apparent in the sections dealing with the "cause of the versification of the tale" of Laylá and Majnūn in the respective versions of the two poets, but lack of space compels me to omit the illustrations of this given by Mirzā Bihārī in his essay. Such critical comparison of the works of the great Persian poets is very important and has hitherto been too much neglected, but the necessary preliminary work of a historical, biographical and bibliographical character is all that I have been able to attempt in this and the preceding volumes on the literary history of Persia.

Of Jāmi's lyric poetry, embodied, as already mentioned in three separate Diwāns, it is impossible to give an adequate account in this volume, which has already exceeded in bulk the limits I had assigned to it. In Europe German scholars alone have done much work in this field, notably von Rosenzweig, Rücker and Wickerhauser in his Blutenkrantz. Having regard to the eminence of Jāmi in this field also, and to the abundance of his output, a separate monograph would be required to do adequate justice to the subject, which deserves fuller study not only on account of Jāmi's own merit as a lyric poet, but also by reason of the profound influence which his work extends over 33 years (1844-1876). It began in the Z. f. d. Kunst u. Morgenlandes, vols. v, pp. 281-336, and vi, pp. 189-227; and was continued in the Z. D. M. G., vols. ii, pp. 26-51; iv, pp. 44-61; v, pp. 306-329; vi, pp. 491-504; xxiv, pp. 593-599; xxv, pp. 95-112; xxvi, pp. 461-464; and xxix, pp. 191-198.  

1 See pp. 515-6 supra.
2 Biographische Notizen über Mawlana Abdurrahman Dschamande, Übersetzungsversuche aus seinen Dievans von Vincent Edlem von Rosenzweig (Vienna, 1846). The pages of this volume are, unfortunately, unnumbered.
3 His work extends over 33 years (1844-1876). It began in the Z. f. d. Kunst d. Morgenlandes, vols. v, pp. 281-336, and vi, pp. 189-227; and was continued in the Z. D. M. G., vols. ii, pp. 26-51; iv, pp. 44-61; v, pp. 306-329; vi, pp. 491-504; xxiv, pp. 593-599; xxv, pp. 95-112; xxvi, pp. 461-464; and xxix, pp. 191-198.
4 Leipzig, 1835 and Vienna, 1858.
“O Thou whose Beauty doth appear in all that appeareth, may a thousand holy spirits be Thy sacrifice!

Like the flute I make complaint of my separation from Thee every moment, and this is the more strange since I am not parted from Thee for a single instant. It is Love alone which reveals itself in the two worlds, sometimes through the raiment of the King, and sometimes through the garment of the beggar.

One sound reaches thine ear in two ways; now thou callest it 'Echo' and now 'Voice.'

Arise, O cupbearer, and graciously pour out a draught of that grief-disspelling wine for the sorrow-stricken lovers! Of that special wine which, when it delivers me from myself, leaves in the eye of contemplation naught but God. O Jámi', the road of guidance to God is naught but Love: [this] we tell you, and 'Peace be upon him who followeth right guidance.'

The following is evidently inspired by and modelled on the well-known ode of Háfiz composed in the same metre and rhyme:

(2)

لتي أَصْحَبْتُ زَوْىٌ زَبّيْنَ نِجْدَ وَقَيْلَبْتُ

كِسَّيَ دَوْسَتُ مَيْ أَيْدِيَ آنْ آنَ بَارْيَنَهَا;

وَكَمْ كُرْدَ شَوْقُ وَصِلَ افْزُونَ جَهَ جَعَلَ طَعْنَ أَرْمَجُنَوْنَ;

بَيْوَ دُوْجُ لِيْلِيَ فَنَدَ دُنْبَلَ مَحْسُلَبَا;

دَلَّ مِنْ يَوْزِ مَبْرَأَةَ وَأَفْارَ نُوْدُسَتُ آنَ;

فَكَيْسَ مَكْبُونَ راَمَيْ هَسَّْيَ دَنْبَا سُوَيْ دِلْبَا;

وَسِدَ انْكَ زَرْنَ سَلَٰٰٰٰ وَمِنْ أَضْعَفْ تَنْزِنَا;

فَعَطْتُ يَا صَحَّ رُمْحُي نَحْفَةَ مَيْ وَأَفْلَبَا;

مَيْرَ عَيْ اَبَرْ دَيْدَهِ آنُ حُسُنَتُ بِرْ سَرَ راَهْشًا;

فَخَّتُ وَأَرْوَى سَرَ اَشْيَمُ اَرْبَيْنِ جَنَّيْنِ كُلْيَا;

1 This line is an obvious reminiscence of the opening line of the Mathnawī.

2 It is the first ghazal in the Divān of Háfiz.

(3)

ْطَرِبَ بَأَرٌ وَلَبَ جُوْيَ وَلِبَ جَامِسَتْ اَيْنَاءٌ

سَقَايَا خُيْرٌ كَهَّ يَرَبَّ حَراَسَتْ اَيْنَاءٌ

شَيْخُ دَوْ سَيْفٌ كَمْ هَذَ أَرْضٌ سَيْعٌ

وَوَقَتْ مُبْنِيَةً كَهَّ هَائِلَ بَارَاَسَتْ اَيْنَاءٌ

لَبِّ نَبَأِ كَبْرٌ جَامَ وَنَدَاكَمْ مَنْ هَذَءْ

كَهَّ هَلْ لَبَعْلٌ ثَوْيَا بَأَدَّ حَداَسَتْ اَيْنَاءٌ

سَتَهُ زَلِفٌ سَيَاَنِ تَوْنَهُ تَنَبَّاَهُ مَسَاَطِ

ْهَرْ عَكْجَا مُرَغُ دَلِّي بَسَنَهُ دَمَسَتْ اَيْنَاءٌ;

1 I.e. weeping.
The fair ones are a thousand, but of them all my desire is one; my speech is one, though they cut me into a hundred pieces with the sword.

The assembly of the beautiful is a pleasant meeting-place, but the clime.

If the elder of the monastery is intoxicated with the delights of music, give me the wine-tavern, for here this state endures continually!

Thou didst touch the lip of the goblet with thy lip, and I the drunkard know not which is here thy ruby lip and which the wine.

Not my heart alone is bound in thy black tresses: wherever there is a birdlike heart it is here caught in the snare.

Thou dost draw the sword to divide my heart in twain; lay aside the sword, for here one glance is sufficient.

Do not explain the difficulties of Love to the reasonable; utter not a private matter, for here is a public assembly.

Jâmi is intoxicated with thy love, though he has seen neither wine nor goblet: here is the Banquet of Love; what place is there for wine or goblet?"

This poem bears a great similarity, both in form and ideas, to an ode of unknown authorship of which I printed the opening lines with a verse translation in my Year amongst the Persians. The fourth couplet appears to have been inspired by the well-known Arabic verses of al-Mutanabbi:

The difficulties of Love to the reasonable; utter not a private matter, for here is a public assembly.

For each pace of her advance we desire a different present, but here the knapsack is one.

Where the charming ruby lips of Shân are glowing, rubies and pebbles are alike in the eyes of Farhâd the Tunneler.

It was thou of all the fair ones who didst shatter my name and fame; yea, of a hundred Abrahams the breaker of idols is but one.

Jâmi, close thy mouth from speaking in this garden, for there the song of the nightingale and the shriek of the raven are one!"

"On the day of parting passion wore away my body with sorrow,
while separation effected a divorce between my eyelids and sleep.
[I am only] a spirit permeating [a body] like a splinter [in leanness],
no longer visible when the wind blows the garment away from it.
Thin enough is my body, for indeed I am a man whom thou wouldst
not see if I did not speak to thee."

This is not an isolated instance of the influence of
Arabian poetry on Jâmi’s Persian verse. Thus the line:

"I was of the company of dreg-drainers on that day
When there was [as yet] no trace of the vine or of the vine-planter”

is, as Mîrzâ Bihrúz has pointed out to me, almost certainly inspired by the celebrated couplet of the great Egyptian mystic ‘Umar ibn’l-Fârîd:

"We drained a draught of wine to the memory of the Friend:
We were intoxicated therewith ere ever the Vine was created."

Of the great Persian lyrical poets who preceded Jâmi
in the influence of Sa’dî and Hâfîz is most noticeable; and in the verses sometimes known collectively as the Nay-nâma,” or “Book of the Reed,” he has skilfully imitated the style
and lucidly developed the idea of the Prologue to Jalâl’d-
Dîn Rumi’s great Mystical Mathnawî. To conclude and
epitomize in one sentence this wholly inadequate account
of one who, though I decline to regard him as the last great
classical poet of Persia, was certainly one of the most talented,
versatile and prolific. In Jâmi the mystical and pantheistic
thought of Persia may be said to find its most complete and
vivid expression; while, though he may have been equalled
or even surpassed by others in each of the numerous realms
of literature which he cultivated, no other Persian poet or
writer has been so successful in so many different fields, and
the enthusiastic admiration of his most eminent contemporaries is justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.

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In the following Index where many reference-numbers occur under one
heading the more important are printed in Clarendon type, which is also used
for the first entry under each letter of the alphabet. To save needless repete-
tion, all references to any name common to several persons mentioned in the
text are brought together under one heading, the individuals bearing this name
being arranged either in chronological order, or in order of importance, or in
classes (rulers, men of letters, poets, etc.). The letter b. between two names
stands for Ibn (”Son of...”), and n. after the number of a page indicates a foot-
note. The addition in brackets of a Roman number after a name or book
indicates the century of the Christian era in which the man lived or the book
was written. Prefixes like Abû (”Father of...”) and Ibn (”Son of...”) in
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