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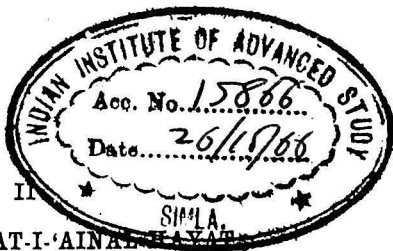
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THE RASHAHAT-I-'AINAL-HAYAT

(TRICKLINGS FROM THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE)

By H. BEVERIDGE

THE *Rashahāt* is a Persian MS. dealing with the Naqshbandī *Khawājās* of Central Asia, and specially with the Samārkand saint Naṣīru-d-dīn 'Ubaid Ullah, commonly known by the epithets Ḥaẓrat Iṣhān and *Khawāja Ahrār*. The work is to some extent an introduction to Mr. Shaw's paper on the *Khawājās* which Mr. Ney Elias published in a Supplement to the JASB. for 1897. That paper treats of a much later period in the history of the *Khawājās* than does the *Rashahāt*, but they agree in tracing their descent from Imām J'afir Ṣādiq and from Ḥusain the grandson of Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup>

The word *Rashahāt* is a chronogram and yields the date A.H. 909 (1503-4), but the MS. contains one or two later dates. Thus Dr. Ethé points out that the I.O. MS. No. 633 has a chronogram which yields 912, and on p. 325 of I.O. MS. No. 634 I find two deaths recorded as occurring in 914. The author of the *Rashahāt* was 'Alī s. Ḥusain al-Wā'iẓ al-Kāshifi al Ṣāfi,<sup>2</sup> so that his father was the well-known writer of the *Anwār Suhaili*

<sup>1</sup> In Reh. Irak's Catalogue of the Mullā Firūz Library, p. 230, a MS. called *Lata'ifu-l-Jarā'if*, or "Anecdotes of Wits", is entered, and is there attributed to Ḥusain Wā'iẓ. But it seems more probable, from the date on it, that it is the work of his son 'Alī. 'Alī is mentioned in the Ḥabīb-Siyar, Bombay ed., ii, 341, where there is also an account of his father the Preacher. 'Alī is there called Fakhr-d-dīn 'Alī, and it is stated that in A.H. 929 (A.D. 1523) he was acting as Preacher, in succession apparently to his father, who had died in A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504-5). 'Alī, says the Ḥabīb, was the author of poems on Maḥmūd of Ghazni and Aẓāz and Laila and Majnūn.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be 'Alī's poetical cognomen. His full name was Fakhr-d-dīn 'Alī.

(Lights of Canopus). In a passage at p. 299<sup>b</sup> of No. 634 the son refers to his father's writings and to Khwājā Ahrār's acquaintance with them. See also 256<sup>b</sup>. The son seems to have inherited his father's liking for composing lengthy books, for No. 634 is a volume nearly 12 inches long and containing 346 folios. 'Alī (who is stated by Dr. Ethé to have died in A.H. 939, or A.D. 1532-3) was a disciple of Khwājā Ahrār, and the chief object of his book was to give a biography of the saint and to record his sayings and his miracles. He is a credulous and heavy writer, but he is laborious and truthful, and he had unique opportunities of which he has taken full advantage.<sup>1</sup> His first meeting with the saint was in the end of A.H. 889 (December, 1484). He met him again in March, 1488, and heard much from him about the Naqshbandī Order, and thought of writing on the subject, but various interruptions prevented him from doing this until sixteen years later (A.H. 909 or 1504).

He divides his book into a discourse (*maqāla*), three parts (*maqṣad*), and a conclusion (*khātama*). Each part, or *maqṣad*, is subdivided into three chapters (*fasl*), and these are still further divided into numerous *rashḥa* or "outpourings".

There is a copy of the work in the British Museum MS. No. 212, and there are three copies in the Indian Office Library. I have examined the B.M. copy, but I have chiefly consulted the I.O. copy 634, which seems an excellent manuscript and is very legibly written. A note at the end of it says that the owner, Mir Ahmad s. 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, collated it with the original (that is, the author's) MS. at Siwistān, on Friday, 7th Rajab, 1041 (January 19, 1632). Siwistān is, I think, the town of

<sup>1</sup> The number of copies of the work in existence shows that it was popular. It was also twice translated into Turkish, and the Persian text has been lithographed at Lucknow by the Newal Kishore Press in 1897.

Sehwān in Sind, I.G. xxii, 162, and Elliot, i, 386, n. 5. On a flyleaf at the end there is a quatrain by Bābā Ṭalīb Kashmīrī (Blochmann, 607), and on another leaf at the beginning there is a statement that one Muḥ. Ism'ā'il s. Mir Muḥ. Loghmān was the owner of the MS. Probably this was the Mir Loghmān Majdavī(?) of the notice in the *Khazīna Asfiyā*, i, 636.

Much of the *Rashahāt* is taken up with *Khwājā Ahrār's* table-talk, and does not seem to be interesting, for it is almost entirely confined to points of Muhammadan theology. Some other biographies are also lengthy. For example, there is a long account<sup>1</sup> of the poet Jāmī, who was a friend and admirer of the saint, and dedicated a poem to him, the *Sabahat-al-Abrār*, which Dr. Rieu translates by "The Rosary of the Righteous".

By far the most generally interesting part of the *Rashahāt* is the account of the saint's dealings with Sultans, and especially of his great feat in stopping three of them from fighting with one another. This account begins at p. 286 of No. 634 of the I.O. Library. It occurs in the first chapter or *fasl* of the third *maqṣad*.

The author begins his account of the *Khwājās* with a genealogical table. It is a spiritual genealogy, and starts with *Khwājā Ahrār's*—or, as he generally styles him, *Ḥazrat Īshān's*—investiture by Yāqūb Charkhī,<sup>2</sup> who was a native of Charkh in the district of Ghazni, Afghanistan. *Ḥazrat Īshān* felt a call to wait upon Yāqūb, and the latter accepted him, for each had dreamed about the other, and gave him his 'cap (*tāqīya*) as a keepsake (pp. 3<sup>b</sup> and 54<sup>a</sup>). Yāqūb had in his turn been invested by *Khwājā Bahāu-d-dīn Naqshbandī*, of whom

<sup>1</sup> Begins at p. 114 of No. 634. Account of his death on p. 142<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> He died and was buried at Hamalghatū or Hamalghanū, in what was then the district of Ḥiṣṣār-Shādmān, the Hissar La Gaie of Reclus's *L'Asie Russe*, p. 500; see MS. 634, pp. 54, 56, and the *Khazīna Asfiyā*, i, 567. The date of death is A.H. 851 (1447-8). Ḥiṣṣār is in Transoxiana and South-East Samarkand. It is now Russian territory.

there is an account in the *'Ain Akbari* (Jarrett<sup>1</sup>, ii, 358). Bahāu-d-din<sup>1</sup> had been invested by Amīr Saiyid Kalāl, and the pedigree so goes on till it ends with Muḥammad, whose daughter Fatima married 'Alī. Perhaps the most famous of the saints mentioned in the table was 'Abdu-l-Khāliq († A.H. 575 = A.D. 1179–80) of Ghajdiwān in Bokhāra, though Khwājā 'Abdullah Barqī, who was the first lieutenant (Khalifa) of Yūsuf Hamadānī, is also mentioned, as likewise is Yūsuf's third lieutenant, Aḥmad Yasavī whose tomb at Yasī, also called Hazrat Turkestan,<sup>2</sup> is a famous place of pilgrimage († A.H. 562 = A.D. 1166–7).

At p. 8 there is an amusing story about a Khwājā called Ḥakīm Ātā, and his wife 'Ambar<sup>3</sup> Ānā. Ḥakīm Ātā, who lived in Kāshghar, was of a swarthy complexion, and one day 'Ambar, who was a lady of high degree, and the daughter of a Chaghatai prince named Borāq Khān, thought to herself, "How nice it would be if the Khwājā were not so dark!" (*sīāh jardā*). Her husband, being a saint, knew what she was thinking, and answered her thought by saying, "A time will soon come when you'll be marrying

<sup>1</sup> p. 43<sup>b</sup> gives the date of his birth as Muḥarram, 718 (March–April, 1318). He is buried on the road from Samarkand to Bokhara (*Travels of Izzat Ullah*, p. 57). It is four or five miles from the city (ib., p. 61). Vambéry visited the shrine on his way to Bokhara (*Story of my Struggles*, Nelson ed., p. 191).

<sup>2</sup> Hazrat Turkestan is a long way to the north of Tāshkend, and is on the road to Orenburg. See Reclus, *L'Asie Russe*, p. 553. The Yasī saint succeeded Khwājā Ḥasan Andāqī, who was the second Khalifa of Yūsuf Hamadānī, while Yasavī was the third. There is an account of the saint in the *Rashahāt*, MS. 634, p. 6<sup>b</sup>. Timur built a grand mosque in his honour. See also the *Khazina Aṣfiyā*, i, 531, the *'Ain Akbari*, Jarrett, iii, 358, and Melioransky's article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 204.

I may here note that Dr. Rieu's statement that Dr. W. Pertsch has given "a full statement of the contents" of the *Rashahāt* in his Gotha Catalogue is rather misleading. Pertsch had only access to a small portion of the work—seventy-three folios—and his account only refers to that portion, and consists chiefly of a list, in Persian, of the contents of the above-mentioned folios.

<sup>3</sup> The name seems to be 'Ambar, or 'Anbar Ānā. Perhaps it means "the lady of musky tresses".

a blacker man than myself." Now there was a Tāshkend saint who was black and thick-lipped, so that people called him Zangī Ātā or Zangī Bāba, i.e. the negro, or African Father. He was the son of a Naqshbandī Khwājā named Tāj Khwājā. According to one account Zangī had a secret call to go to Kāshghar, and went there and served Ḥakīm Ātā. Another story is that he could not go there, and that the only connexion between him and Ḥakīm Ātā was a telepathic one. However, when Ḥakīm Ātā died, Zangī heard of this, and went off to Kāshghar and visited the tomb. Afterwards, when the widow's 'iddat had expired, he sent a confidential messenger to her and asked her to marry him. She was haughty, and said she had no intention of marrying again, and least of all would she marry a black man. Saying this, she turned away from the marriage-broker, and immediately her neck went crooked. When Zangī heard of her refusal he was not disheartened, but sent a second messenger and asked her if she did not remember her husband's prophecy that she would marry a black man? This brought the incident to her recollection, and she at once said she accepted the offer of marriage. No sooner had she said that than her neck became straight. So they married, and had several sons, all of whom became distinguished.

Zangī became a famous saint, and had four disciples, or khalīfas (lieutenants), who apparently, like Wesley, took the world for their parish. It came about in this way. There were four young men named Uzzan Hasan, Saiyid, Ṣadr, and Badr, studying at a college, in Rokhara. As they were reading together one night, all four suddenly felt a call, and next morning left their homes and went off to Turkestan. They came near Tāshkend and saw in the fields a black, thick-lipped man herding buffaloes. This was Zangī. He supported himself by herding the villagers' cattle, and it was said that when he was performing the stated prayers, all the beasts stopped

grazing till he had finished. They went up to him, and noticed with surprise that as they approached, the thorns which had been troubling them fell out of their limbs. He asked them what they were doing in that strange country, and they said they were in quest of knowledge. He offered to instruct them, but one of them, Badr, refused, saying that he was a Saiyid. "Why should he wait upon this black man?" The other three did not reject Zangī's offer, saying to one another, "Perhaps God has put Light into this dark body." One of the number, however, the Saiyid (his proper name was Alḥmad), could make no progress in religious knowledge, and spoke about this to 'Ambar Ānā and asked her to intercede for him with her husband. She agreed, and bade him wrap himself up in a dark mantle and lie at the door till morning. Her husband would come out then to perform his ablutions, and he would stumble against the lad, and perhaps would have compassion on him and put him right. Afterwards she spoke to her husband when they were in bed, and asked him to take pity on Alḥmad, who was a Saiyid and a seeker after knowledge. Zangī smiled and said, "His difficulty is his being a Saiyid, and I know from his thoughts that he objects to me as a black man." However, he said he would see what he could do for him. In the morning he left his room and stumbled over the prostrate Saiyid. The lad took hold of his foot and kissed it, and Zangī received him into favour and he became the second Khalifa.

In a *Rashḥa* at p. 15<sup>b</sup> we have Khwājā 'Abdul Khālīq Ghajdiwānī's eight rules, which are said to constitute the *Tarīqat* or Rule of the Khwājās. They are *hosh dar dam*, *naẓr bar qadam*, *safr dar waṭn*, *khalwat dar ānjuman*, *yād kard*, *bāzgasht*, *nigāh dāsht*, *yād dāsht*. It is added that three more rules were afterwards introduced. The meaning of the eight rules is expounded by the author. Some of them are well known. For

example, *safr dar waṭn*, and *khilwat dar ānjaman* are mentioned by Abul Fazl, and explained in a mystic sense.

There is a short notice of *Khawājā Ahrār* at p. 57, but the full account of his ancestry, etc., begins with the first chapter (*fazl*) of *maqsad* 1 on p. 189<sup>b</sup>. On p. 189 the author mentions that his account of the saint is partly derived from personal knowledge, and partly from the memoirs of Amīr 'Abdalāwal and of Maulāna Muḥ. Qāzī (this is not the Maulāna Qāzī whom Bābur mentions in his *Memoirs*, Erskine, 58, as having been hanged by rebels at Andijan in Ferghāna in March, 1498). The author of the *Salsala al-Arifīn* died in 1516 (see T. Rashidī, 342). The first ancestor mentioned is *Khawājā Muḥammad*, the saint's paternal great-grandfather. He belonged to a Baghdad family, but is said to have migrated to Tāshkend or Shāsh, as it was then called, in company with a saint known as Ḥaẓrat Shaikh. Apparently, this saint was the son of a locksmith known as Qafāl Shāshī. The locksmith son's life is said to have had three phases. First he went to Asia Minor to fight the infidels, then he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and thirdly he resided in Baghdad. There he met in with *Khawājā Ahrār's* paternal grandfather, and the two together migrated with their families to Tāshkend. Ḥaẓrat Shaikh died and is buried in that town.

*Khawājā Ahrār's* father's name was *Khawājā Maḥmūd Shāshī*, and he was s. *Khawājā Shihābu-d-dīn*. He possessed, we are told, an abundant knowledge of the tenets of the Naqshbandī Order, and the saint composed, as a tribute to him, a tract on the *ṭarīqat* of the *Khawājās*. This tract (*risāla*) seems now to have disappeared, except in the form of a versified rendering of it by the Emperor Bābur. According to the *Rashahāt* the saint stated in his preface that his parents (the word is *Walidain*<sup>1</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> It seems to be also *walidain* in No. 634, p. 201<sup>b</sup>, but possibly it is *walidān* and honorific for the father.



B.M. copy, p. 129<sup>a</sup>), from their high opinion of him, requested him to compose for them a treatise which should consist of the sayings of God's people, and be an introduction to the stages (*maqāmāt*) of the Ḥanifi doctrines, and at the same time be simple and practical, and without detailed arguments, and be in accordance with a remark of the Prophet (here an Arabic sentence is quoted). The saint added that it was fitting that he should obey this order, for his first impressions of religion came from his father. The *Rashahāt* adds that the father is reported to have had a strong drawing to religion before the conception of the saint, and for four months before that event practised austerities, reduced his food and drink, and withdrew from promiscuous conversation.

The circumstances under which Bābur versified the saint's tract are recorded in his *Memoirs*, Erskine, p. 388. Bābur calls the treatise the *Risāla Wālidīyā*, but the word *Wālidīyā* is not used in the *Rashahāt*. Bābur's version has been published by Dr. Denison Ross in his edition of the *Rāmpur Diwān* of Bābur. Apparently it is only a partial rendering, and it is a versification and not a translation. Bābur says the measure he adopted was that used by Jāmi in the *Sabahāt al-Abrār*, "The Rosary of the Righteous." That poem will be found in B.M. MS. Add. 7770, fol. 255<sup>b</sup>. Dr. Rieu states that the metre used by Jāmi is that used by Amīr *Khusrāu* in the *Nuh Sipahr*.

*Khawājā Ahrār*'s mother was a daughter of *Khawājā Dāūd* s. Shaikh *Khāwand Ṭāhūr* (MS. 634, p. 193<sup>b</sup>). She gave birth<sup>1</sup> to the saint in the month of *Ramāzān*, 806

<sup>1</sup> The date of birth is given at p. 202 of the *Rashahāt* as *Ramāzān*, 806 (March - April, 1404). He died, according to the same authority (pp. 342-3), on the night of Saturday, the last day of *Rabī'u-l-āwwal*, 895 (February 21, 1490). On Tuesday, 24 *Rabī'u-l-ākhir*, 893 (April 8, 1488), he remarked, it is said, that if he lived 3 years 4 months longer he would be 90 complete. He must have meant 4 months and some days, for 4 months from 24 *Rabī'u-l-ākhir* would only carry him to 24 *Sha'bān*. The *Ḥabīb* says he died in 896, and gives 'Alī Sher's chronogram *Khuld Barīn* (eternal paradise), which yields 896. But if the *Rashahāt* be

(March–April, 1404). It is recorded on the testimony of several of his relatives that the child would not take to his mother's breast until she had been purified, and forty days had elapsed. The saint himself told that when he was a year old they were about to shave his head and have a banquet when the news came of the death of Timur. There was great confusion, and there was no time to eat the food that had been cooked, and they all went out to a hill in the neighbourhood. At this time his family was living in Bāghistān, near Tāshkend. On referring to Beale I find that Timur died (at Otrar) in 807 A.H. (February 18, 1405). On that date the saint was not a twelvemonth old, but no doubt the news would take some time to travel. One of the saint's stories was that when he was a youth he was at the shrine of Shaikh Abū Bakr Qafāl Shāshī, when suddenly he had a vision of Jesus Christ. Jesus was standing, and the boy threw himself at His feet. Jesus raised him up and bade him not be sorrowful, for He would take care of him (*tarbiyat khwāham kard*, "I shall educate you (or rear you)"). The Khwājā told this vision to his friends, and they interpreted it as meaning that he would become a physician.<sup>1</sup> He did not like this interpretation and refused to accept it, and said that Jesus was a proclaimer of life and that the meaning of the vision was that he would have a living heart. After a while his friends agreed that this was the interpretation.

Khwājā Ahrār spent part of his youth, in Herāt and was in great poverty<sup>2</sup> there. Then his maternal uncle

correct, this is one year too much. Khwājā Ahrār, and also his son Yāhīa (John) and two of his grandchildren, are buried in Samarkand (Rashahāt, 634, p. 307<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Jesus being specially celebrated in the East for His healing powers and His raising up of the dead.

<sup>2</sup> He told a story that may remind us of St. Martin of Tours. A beggar asked alms of him, and having nothing else to bestow he took off his turban and gave it to him.

Khwājā Ibrāhīm sent him to Samarkand<sup>n</sup> to study. Afterwards he took to farming, and with the help of a partner he gradually prospered, and eventually acquired great wealth from farming and from trade. He used to send caravans to China. The author of the Rashahāt says (p. 210) that his wealth accumulated beyond calculation. Evidently, like many khwājās and like the Prophet Muḥammad, he was a good business man. The author says that when he visited the saint for the second time he was told that he had more than 1,300 fields, and that he was then buying still more land.

p. 212<sup>b</sup>. The author speaks, from personal observation, of the excellent manners of the Khwājā. He says he never saw him, though he was in attendance on him night and day for four months, and again for eight months, once yawn, or cough, or spit, or sneeze, or sit cross-legged. He also gives the name of an attendant who had been with him for five and thirty years, and had never seen him spit out grape-skins or cherry-stones, or sneeze, or put phlegm out of his mouth! In short, he had never seen him do an ungraceful act. Another witness, Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Qādir, related what he had seen when he came to Samarkand and visited the saint. One evening Mir Mazīd Arghūn came to see the saint at his house in the Kafshir Quarter, and there was a party (*majlis*) at which 'Abdu-l-Qādir was present. After the prayer before sleep, Khwājā Ahrār addressed 'Abdu-l-Qādir and said: "Mir Mazīd is my guest and he proposes to sit up with me to-night. It is proper to show politeness to a guest, and I and some friends will sit up; but you go to your reading and then retire to bed, and, if necessary, I'll see you to-morrow morning." I begged to be allowed to sit up with the party, and he replied that if I felt equal to sitting up he would not prevent me. So I and three others sate up in the saint's company, and from the beginning of night till morning I took part in

the conversation. The saint never moved his knees or made a movement of any kind until it was time for the *tajaddad* prayer. When that was over he came back and sate as before till morning. I, the faqir, though I had the strength of youth, moved my feet every hour, and with difficulty kept sleep away. Mir Mazīd,<sup>1</sup> though he was a flaccid man (*mardī mirtūbī būd*), made little movement and kept off sleep. The saint remained steady till the morning, when he went to say his prayers and perform his ablutions.

p. 269. The first *faṣl* of the third *maqṣad* is an account of the influence which the saint exercised over the Sultans of Central Asia, and is the most valuable part of the book. It begins with his introduction to Abū Sa'id, and tells how that unscrupulous prince defeated and killed 'Abdallah, the grandson of Shāhrukh, and took possession of Samarkand. According to the story the sultan and the saint each saw the other in a dream. Khwājā Ahrār was a great dreamer, and also an inspirer of the dreams of others, and long after this he appeared to Abu Sa'id's grandson, the Emperor Bābur, and told him he would take Samarkand. The saint's assistance to Abū Sa'id is not much to his honour, but it is said that he twice afterwards saved Samarkand from the horrors of capture. Once was in Abu Sa'id's time when Mirza Bābur (not the conqueror of India) attacked the city, and the second time was when Sultan Maḥmūd, a son of Abū Sa'id, came with an army from Hiṣṣār, Shādmān and besieged Samarkand in order to dispossess his elder brother, Sultan Aḥmad. Mirzā Bābur's attack is said to have been foiled by the saint's causing a murrain among his horses; and Sultan Maḥmūd had to retire on account of a typhoon which came from the Qipchāq Desert, and

<sup>1</sup> He is described in Bābur's Memoirs, Erskine, p. 25, as having excellent judgment, but as impudent and voluptuous. He fell in one of Bābur's battles.

scattered the horses and other animals. This, too, was believed to have been caused by the saint.

During this last siege Sultan Aḥmad behaved with weakness and cowardice, and allowed the saint to shut him up in a room in the College till the danger was past. The story is probably true, for his nephew, the Emperor Bābur, says that Aḥmad was a weak and ignorant man, and entirely in the hands of his officers.

The shining point in Khwājā Aḥrār's career is his stopping a great battle between Sultan Aḥmad and his brother 'Umar Shaikh, who was assisted by Aḥmad's brother-in-law Sultan Maḥmūd Khān of Tāshkend. They were all ready to fight, but the saint, in the spirit of the Eastern monk Telemachus, encamped between the armies and forced them, by moral suasion and the reverence paid to his sanctity and lineage, to depart to their homes in peace. The story is true, for it was recorded by Maulāna Muḥammad Qāzī, an eyewitness and a disciple of the saint, and it is also told in the *Ḥabību-s-siyar*, Bombay ed., ii, 200, in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, translation, p. 113, and in the *Rashahāt*, MS. 634, p. 277<sup>b</sup>.

It is there stated on the authority of Maulāna Qāzī, the author of the *Salsala-ul-Ārifīn*, that one day Sultan Aḥmad came to the saint in the Matarid quarter of Samarkand in great agitation and in a supplicating attitude, and with his face covered with perspiration. His news was that his youngest brother, 'Umar Shaikh of Farghāna, had come to Shāhrukhīa to attack him, and had for this purpose leagued himself with his father-in-law Yūnas (Jonah) Khān. Yūnas was not there himself, but had sent his son Sultan Maḥmūd Khān with a large force which, according to the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, amounted to 30,000 men. 'Umār Shaikh, who was the father of the Emperor Bābur, had brought a contingent of 15,000 men. Sultan Aḥmad was about to march to Shāhrukhīa against them, and he had come to beg the saint to accompany him.

The saint agreed to do so, and they went off and encamped for some days at the White Fort (*Āqqūrghān*), which was a dependency of *Shāhrukhia*. But *Khawājā Ahrār* saw no need for remaining shut up there, so he left Sultan *Aḥmad* and went on to *Shāhrukhia* (named after Timur's fourth son, *Mirza Shāhrukh*, and near the Syr River (the Jaxartes)). 'Umar *Shaikh* and Sultan *Maḥmūd Khān* heard of his approach, and went forth to welcome him and took him to *Shāhrukhia*. He argued with them and then sent his disciple to fetch Sultan *Aḥmad* and his troops, and arranged with the two other Sultans that they also should advance with their armies, and that he himself should have a tent (*shāmīāna*) and take up a position between the opposing forces. He waited then for the coming of the Sultans. Sultans *Aḥmad* and *Maḥmūd* soon arrived, but 'Umar *Shaikh* was inclined to be obdurate, and took a long time in coming. Sultan *Aḥmad* was the first to arrive at the tomb, and when he learnt that the other two were coming, he stepped out to welcome them. He and Sultan *Maḥmūd* embraced and entered the tent, and then when 'Umar *Shaikh* came up, his elder brother (*Aḥmad*) met him, and 'Umar took his brother's hand and passed it over his face and wept. Sultan *Aḥmad* then fell upon his neck and kissed him. Both of them wept, and the sight of this made all the company weep, and there was much noise and lamentation. Then the three princes sat down in the centre (*tak*) of the tent, and *Maulānā Qāzī* brought in some refreshment (*ḥaẓr*), and in his agitation and flurry he laid the table-cloth upside down (*dastār-khwān bāz gūna andākhtam*). When they had finished eating, a treaty of peace was made, and *Ḥaẓrat Īshān* (that is, *Khawājā Ahrār*) made Sultan *Aḥmad* give up *Tāshkend* to the *Khān* (i.e. to *Yūnas Khān*). Then *Maulānā Qāzī* wrote out the treaty (*aḥdnāma*), and the *fātiḥa* was recited, and the meeting broke up. So far the *Qāzī*. The author of the *Rashahāt* adds that he heard

from some leading men that when the saint had made the three kings sit down together in the tent, one of those present closed his eyes for a moment, and what he seemed to see was a wide plain, and three camel-colts with their mouths open and ready to tear one another, while the saint was standing between them like a camel-driver, holding the nose-strings tightly twisted round his hands and preventing them from biting one another! All this while the two opposing armies were drawn up near the tent, and the soldiers were in their saddles. All were immensely impressed by the power and courage of the saint, and indeed his act, which was performed in 890 A.H., when he was over 80 years of age, was not unworthy to be compared with the famous self-sacrifice of Telemachus, the Eastern monk celebrated by Gibbon and Tennyson, "The three kings returned, each one to his own army. His Holiness departed in the direction of the river of Khojand and performed his ablutions at the waterside. Turning to me, he said, 'Maulānā Muḥammad can write an account of my deed.' His Holiness the Maulānā says that this was his reason for undertaking the composition of his book, the *Salsalat-ul-Arifīn*" (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, translation, p. 113).

Maulānā Qāzī's remark about the table-cloth reminds me of an incident in Bābur's Memoirs when he had a vision of Khwājā Ubaid Ullah in 1500, and consequently after the saint's death. He tells us (p. 132) that the Khwājā appeared to him and told him that he would soon get Samarkand. During the vision there was the somewhat paltry circumstance of the glorified saint's remarking on a table-cloth having been laid awry. But it is at the same time just such a ludicrous and inappropriate incident as might occur in a dream, and which proves that the dream really happened.<sup>1</sup> Light,

<sup>1</sup> Bābur is said to have had another dream in which a grandson of Khwājā Ahrār played a part. But the passage is spurious, and probably

too, is thrown upon it by Maulānā Qāzī's account of what happened to himself at the meeting of the three kings. Dr. Denison Ross's translation makes him say "in the intensity of my emotion I overturned the table-cloth". But the words of the Persian text are "*faqīr az ghāyīt dihasht dastārkhwānrā wāzgūn andāktam*", and I think they mean he laid the table-cloth upside down, and possibly this is what Dr. Denison Ross's translation intends. It seems to me that this story is the genesis of Bābur's dream. He had probably been reading or thinking of the story of the three kings, and so the badly laid table-cloth came up in his brain. Bābur says that Mullā Bāba appeared as present during the dream, and I suggest that Mullā Bāba probably stands for Maulānā Qāzī, who was a disciple of the saint and his constant attendant.

Khawājā Ahrār had two sons by different wives. The eldest was 'Abdullah Khawājikā. Khawājā Ahrār spoke highly of his literary talents, but said the younger son, Khawājā Yahyā, had more attractive power. So he passed over 'Abdullah, and appointed Yahyā<sup>1</sup> as his successor and as the guardian of his tomb. This gave rise to bad feeling between the brothers and their respective partisans. Khawājā Yahyā was murdered by the Uzbegs, along with

added by Jahāngīr. It occurs in the Memoirs at the end of the year 908 (Mrs. Beveridge's translation, Appendix D in fasc. i). The passage says that Khawājā Ya'qūb, the son of Khawājā Yahyā (John) and grandson of 'Ubaid Ulla, appeared to Bābur when the latter was in great danger. There are several reasons for doubting the genuineness of the passage, which does not occur in the Persian translations. One is that Khawājā Yahyā had no son called Ya'qūb. He had three sons, but two of them were named Zechariah and 'Abdul Bāqī, and were murdered by the Uzbegs in 1500. There was a third son who escaped death, but he was called Muḥammad Āmin and not Ya'qūb (Rashahāt, MS. 634, p. 307<sup>b</sup>). From this B.M. MS. it appears to be uncertain if he did escape. He was told to cross the Oxus as soon as possible, but there is a remark about his being made to join the others, which seems to imply that he was murdered as well as his father and two brothers.

<sup>1</sup> Khawājā Yahyā was also highly admired by the poet Jāmī.



his two sons Khawājā Zechariyah and Khawājā 'Abdul Bāqī. Shaibānī seems<sup>1</sup> to have behaved well to Yaḥiā, sending him a horse that could cover 30 leagues a night, but Yaḥiā said it would be cowardly in him to go off alone and leave his people in Samarkand. So he sent back the horse. Afterwards the Uzbegs, whom Shaibānī either could not or would not control, followed Yaḥiā and killed him and his two sons after they had not gone far from Samarkand. Yaḥiā apparently was going towards Khurāsān and Mecca. A third son of his survived. The murders were committed on 11th Muḥarram, 906 (August 8, 1500). The elder son of Khawājā Aḥrār, 'Abdullah Khawājikā, lived at Farkat, some miles from Tāshkend,

<sup>1</sup> So says MS. No. 634, but the B.M. MS. Or. 212 and the I.O. Library copy No. 633 tell the story differently. They have a long account of the martyrdoms. They say that Sultan 'Alī, the unfortunate son of Sultan Maḥmūd and Zohra, came out of Samarkand and surrendered himself to Shaibānī on 1st Muḥarram, 906 (July 28, 1500), and that Khawājā Yaḥiā and others came out next day. Shaibānī did not behave well to them, and ordered them to be detained and put in chains. Khawājā Yaḥiā wept when he saw chains put on his son Zechariah, and said that Khawājā Aḥrār foresaw the evil fate of his son and grandson when he called the one Yaḥiā (John the Baptist) and the other Zechariah (who was sawn asunder, according to the Muḥammadans). At last Yaḥiā and his family were allowed to go to Persia, but the Uzbegs pursued them, apparently by Shaibānī's orders, and took Yaḥiā and his two sons to a place which is called the Desert of Kārzūn, or perhaps we should read Dasht Khawājikā rozan (the desert called the Khawājikā's window?). Some of the party escaped, and they took the bodies of the martyrs to Qarshī, where they were kept for three months and eventually removed to Khawājā Aḥrār's sepulchre in Samarkand. It was probably the desire to get possession of Khawājā Yaḥiā's wealth, presumably inherited from his father, that led to the murders. All the MSS. mention a place called Tāshkend in connexion with the murders, but evidently this cannot be the well-known city of Tāshkend. That lies a long way to the north-north-east of Samarkand and quite out of the way to Persia, whither Yaḥiā was going. He was travelling to Bokhara via Karmīna, and the Tāshkend mentioned in the texts must be some small place to the west of Samarkand. As P. de Courteille remarks (i, 174, note), Kārzān, where, according to Bābur, the murders took place, is a dependency of Samarkand. It is also mentioned in Yāqūt, iv, 22. (In Bābur's Memoirs it is written Kārdzan.)

and was visited there by Bābur in 1506-7. His father, Khwājā Ahrār, had also lived there at one time.

Doubtless there are many other points of interest in the Rashahāt which I have not mentioned, but I think I have shown that the work is worth studying and even publishing. At 286 the second *faṣl* begins. It gives an account of the miracles performed by the saint. Two instances are mentioned of men devoting themselves to death (becoming *feda*) in order to restore Khwājā Ahrār to health. One is mentioned at 311<sup>b</sup>. The other is at p. 332, and tells how Nūru-d-dīn died for the saint when the latter was suffering from the plague. A large blue lump (*dāna*) passed from Khwājā Ahrār's left side into Nūru-d-dīn's side. This, apparently, was in 884 (1479), and it was the time when the plague first appeared.

P.S.—The I.O. MS. No. 633 of Ethé, p. 261, is even a more legible copy than No. 264, and it is fuller and more correct. It was made by the son of a citizen of Herat in 1577.

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