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The Timurid Lyceum

Kaleidoscopes of Historicism and Hagiography on the Timurid Legacy in Oriental and Occidental Sources: Malfuzat-i-Timuri, Ali Yezdi, Ibn 'Arabshāh, Edgar Allan Poe, Christopher Marlowe, George Frideric Handel, Antinio Vivaldi and Justin Marozzi

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Prologue

The Titans built towers of glory. Others adore or demonize them. If they demonize, they call them towers of terror or heartless iconoclasm or mindless acts of bellicose killing, pillaging and plundering. But subjectivity has to be accounted for its wandering proclamations, hence the call for a methodological objectivity when one is set to analyze and reanalyze the course of events that shaped particular phases of human history. The arbitrary judgments often stems from some methodological confusions that lead to bewildered inferences that obscure the scenic visibility of the historic truth. No one can isolate the towers of glory or the towers of terror from the political, social, psycho-sociological, military and strategic grounds which invariably imprint their compulsions and capabilities on the historic course of the historic events. Any judgment of the historic events regardless of the ethical subjective corollaries must not disassociate itself from the actual relativity of the iconoclast wartime ethics and armada codes, for what is boon for one is a ban for the other. Again, the sociological analysis of any political or military phenomenon while hard-selling the stereotyped versions would awfully jeopardize its proportionate pedagogy of reference and inference. While talking about the Timurid lyceum and starting from the great Emir Timur Sahib Qiran or Gorgan (1370-1405) whose conquests and rule spanned over three continents (India, Asia and Europe) and allegedly claimed lives of an estimated 16 million peoples[1] and erected pyramids

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[1] Major Davy, *Political and Military Institutes of Tamerlane*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1972, p. 35.

of thousands of human skulls in Isphahan, Aleoopo, Damascus and Delhi, but who sings:

"I am the scourge of God chosen
To chastise you, since no one
Knows the remedy of your sir
Iniquity except me. You are
Wicked but I am more wicked
Than you, so be silent."

One should be guarded against the possible intrusion of hammering subjectivity in view of the disproportionate accounts of some history books where the task of rescuing the historicity from stereotypes or hagiography gets toughened and delicate and full of methodological dangers. The Timurid legacy is not merely a legacy of kill, plunder, loot and molest. Its patronage of arts and crafts can hardly be debated. The way Samarqand emerged on the map of the civilization in central Asia can not be seen in a monolithic method to address and redress. The bloody, more bloody and the most bloody civilian victimization during the campaigns of conquest recorded in human history and the acts of sheer barbarity sometimes stemmed from a coordinated strategy of combining combatants with the noncombatants. One need not dig the pages of remote history to develop a better grasp of the fact. Even modern day monarchs of illegitimate power and proximity indulge into the same. Notwithstanding the legitimacy of the coordinated wartime strategy of the intentional targeting of noncombatants which might be analyzed according to theory of *Appetite for Conquest*[2] or the nationally emphasized theory of the *Military Necessity* sans any personal or political or religious objectives[3], the arguments might seem intuitively plausible in view of the case studies and first-hand narratives. Timur's use of civilian victimization as a wartime strategy as well as account for variations in his policy during particular campaigns of conquest stands in harmony with the top-down organizational structure of his predominantly nomadic warriors prone to wartime civilian targeting, besides the fact that the integration of punishment and denial tactics into Timur's general fighting strategy led the conqueror to victimize civilians as a tool for deterrence, coercion, and above all, fear, and the due is a synthesis of the Mongolic warlike temperament and the wrong notion of the fight against those deemed infidel in religion. The first-hand accounts of Timur in his *Tuzk* or *Malfuzaat* and those

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[2] Jonathon Hodge, *The Conquests of Tamerlane*, New York: Oxford University Press 2001, p. 22.

[3] Ahmed Kazinstan, *Understanding the Legacy of Tamerlane*, New York: Random House 1989, p. 24.

given in the classics such as *Zafarnama* of Ali Yezdi and *Ajaib* of Ibn Arabshah offers empirical insights into the motivations and justifications of his choice to attack or protect civilians in war.

The Line of Chaghatai, Timur and the Magnificent Mughals

One need not penetrated deep into the details of the conquests of Chingiz Khan[4] in order to contextualize his approach aiming at synchronizing the Timurid lyceum, but some insights into the Chagahtai branch of the Mongol dynasty seem to be useful for the historians as well as the commoners. Chingiz Khan had followed an ancient tradition of Mongol Khans to assign his dominions to his for sons who would rule as their father's deputies. The eldest son Juji or Tushinever became supreme Khakan since he died before his father, though his territories (the plains of Kipchak and all the country lying north of the lower course of the Sir Darya or the Sehun or Jaxartes and of the Aral and Caspian Sea, including the valleys of the Volga and the Don extending toward the north beyond the Upper Yaik or Ural River into Western Siberia passed to his son and successor Batu as an appanage direct from Chingiz. Chingiz's second son Chaghatai held the domain the greater part of which lies in Chinese of Eastern Turkistan, Farghana or Khokand and Badakhshan embracing towards the south with Kunduz, Balakh and Khorasan (which, at that time, stretched to beyond Heart, Ghazani and Makran. Such a wide territory was home to a diversity of tribes, languages and modes of life that constituted the flourishing centres of Asian civilizational activities. Eastward of this middle dominion was the territory of Oktai or Ogodai Khan, the third son of Chingiz Khan. That was the original country of the original Mongols with their base in Karakaram. The Oktai and Chaghtai Khans fought with each other especially for Zungaria or the territories lying north of the Tian-Shan, from about Urumtsi on the east to the River Chu on the west and having for its middle line the upper course of Ili River. The energetic but addicted to common vice (like hard drinking) Chaghatai who had a Muslim minister for Transoxiana acted with promptitude in saving his dominion from seditions, like what he did in Bokhara in 1232. Based in his capital Almaligh, he had no leaning towards Islam or the Nestorian

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[4] A general idea could be had in Paul Ratchnevsky, *Cinggis-khan: sein Leben und Wirken*, Weisbaden 1983; Mouradja d'Ohson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (4 vols), La Haye and Amasterdam 1834-35; Harold Lamb, *Genghiz Khan: The Emperor of All Men*, London, Thornton Butterworth 1928; John Man, Gengiz Khan: Life, Death and Resurrection, London: Bantam Press 2004; Rene Grouset, *L'empire des steppes: Attila, Gengiz-Khan, Tamerlan*, Paris: Payot 1976, besides the medieval Arabic and Persian sources.

Christianity both existing in his dominion. He died in 1241 after a reign of fourteen years. Oktai died the same year at Karakaram. Out of sudden, two of the four chief divisions of the Mongol empire lost their sovereigns paving way for disputes among the aspiring successors. Chaghatai was succeeded by his grandson, a minor, Kara Hulaku but the regency rested on his widow Ebuskun in the territories of Turkistan, Transoxiana and the adjacent regions of Kashghar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aksu. Eastern Turkistan was given to the hose of Dughlat that represented purest Mongol descent. Kuyuk, the son and successor of Oktai, attacked Ebuskun and the region witnessed a state of disorder which was managed by a Muslim vizier of Yasu Mangu called Bahauddin. Later days saw the emergence of Organah Khatun (Hulaku's widow), Khakan Mangu, Algu, Mubarak Shah, Borak etc, in the Chaghatai camp, while on the Oktai front Kaidu (the grandson of Oktai) emerged stronger with assistance of his uncle Batu. Borak made common cause with Kaidu and for a time exercised joint sovereignty over Transoxiana. But the patch-up was short lived. Borak proceeded to indemnify himself by invading Khorasan in course of which he destroyed the prosperous city of Zarafshan, finally dying (being poisoned?) in 1270. Now, Kaidu emerged stronger as the dispossessed khans like Mubarak Shah and other chiefs took the oath of allegiance to him, rendering him a more dangerous rival of Kublai. Abaka, the Ilkhan of Persia and his vizier Shamsuddin Juwaini (the author of *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kushai*) who had never forgiven the military expedition of Borak into Khorasan, retaliated with invading Bokhara about 1274. Borak's son Dava possessed himself with Ghazni and made several expeditions into India ravaging the Punjab and Sind and sacking much of Peshawar, Multan, Lahore and Delhi between 1296 and 1301. Dava died in 1306 and was succeeded by a descendent of Chaghatai named Taliku who converted to Islam and consequently put to death by his own officers.[5] It was the turn of Kabak son of Dava to be installed in 1309 who once attacked by Chapar (Kaidu's son) in alliance with several members of the house of Oktai. Chapar was unable to save his dominion because of the in-fightings. His dominion was appropriated by the Chaghtai khans. The Oktai khans like Ali and Danishmanjah had insignificant presence. It was Amir Timur (Tamerlane) who displaced the house of Chaghatai and selected his puppet khans from the Oktai stock.[6] The rise of Timur was the turning point from decadence to power in Transoxiana and a death-blow to the house of Chaghatai.

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[5] For the spread of Islam among the Golden Horde, see Richard Jean, 'La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'Islamisation de la Horde d'Ore', *Revue des etudes* islamiques, vol. 35, 1967, pp. 173-84.

[6] E.E. Oliver, 'The Chaghatai Mughals', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xx, New Series, p. 105.

Amir Timur: The Person, his Passion and the Posterity

Tamerlane (1336-1405) was a celebrated Turko-Mongol conqueror whose victories, characterized by acts of inhuman cruelty, made him the master of the greater part of western Asia. His vast empire disintegrated at his death. Tamerlane (a corruption of the Persian Timur-i Lang, "Timur the Lame") or Emir Timur Gurkan belonged to the Turkized Mongol clan of the Barlas, which had accompanied the Mongol armies westward and had settled in the Kashka Valley to the south of Samarkand, between Shakhrisabz and Karshi. He was born near Shakhrisabz on April 9, 1336. This whole region, the present-day Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, was then part of the Chaghatai khanate, which received its name from its founder, the second son of Genghis Khan, and which included, besides Transoxiana - the countries between the Amu Darya (Oxus) and the Syr Darya - the whole area to the east of the Syr Darya up to the western borders of Mongolia. Things had a historic turn when in 1346/1347 the Chaghatai khan, Kazan, who had his residence at Karshi, was defeated and killed by a tribal leader called Kazaghan, and Transoxiana ceased to be part of the khanate. Kazaghan's death (1358) was followed by a period of anarchy, and Tughluk-Temür, the ruler of the territories beyond the Syr Darya (now known as Moghulistan, "land of the Moguls, or Mongols"), invaded Transoxiana in 1360 and again in 1361 in an attempt to reestablish Chaghatai rule. Tamerlane declared himself Tughluk-Temür's vassal and was made ruler of the Shakhrisyabz-Karshi region. He soon, however, rebelled against the Moguls and formed an alliance with Husain, the grandson of Kazaghan. Together in 1363 they drove Ilyas Khoja, Tughluk-Temür's son, out of Transoxiana; he returned in the following year, having succeeded his father as khan, and inflicted a defeat upon Tamerlane and Husain, but they were able, after his withdrawal, to consolidate their power as joint rulers of the country. They were often on bad terms but with some interruptions maintained an uneasy partnership until 1370, when open war erupted. Besieged at Balkh, Husain was captured and executed, and Tamerlane, now the undisputed master of Transoxiana, took up residence at Samarkand, henceforward his capital city and the base of his operations against eastern and western Asia.

Expansion of Power in East, West and South Asia

Once seated on power as the lord of Samarqand, Tamerlane directed his first campaigns against Khiva and his old enemies, the Moguls; it was not until 1381 that he turned his attention westward, leading an expedition into eastern Iran; further expeditions in subsequent years extended gradually into Iraq, Asia Minor, and Syria. The atrocities committed in the course of these campaigns are

recorded even by his court historian. At Sabzawar, in what is now Afghanistan, Tamerlane directed a tower to be constructed out of live men heaped on top of one another and cemented together with bricks and mortar. To punish a revolt in Isfahan, he ordered a general massacre of the population, and the heads of 70, 000 people were built up into minarets. In 1387 an invasion of Transoxiana by Toktamish, the ruler of the Golden Horde, obliged Tamerlane to interrupt his operations in western Asia, and the repulsion of the invader, followed by expeditions into Moghulistan, was to keep him occupied for the next 4 years. It was not until 1392 that he resumed the conquest of western Asia in what is known as the Five Years' Campaign. After suppressing the Muzaffarid dynasty in Fars (spring 1393), Tamerlane entered present-day Iraq, received the submission of Baghdad, whose Jalayirid ruler, Sultan Ahmad, had fled at his approach,[7] continued northward into eastern Turkey and the Caucasus area, defeated Toktamish in a battle on the Terek (April 1395), and advanced up the Don to capture the Russian town of Yelets, on the border between the Russian principalities and the territory of the Golden Horde.[8]

The campaign ended, in the winter of 1395-1396, with the destruction of the two main centers of the Horde at Astrakhan and New Saray, and Tamerlane returned to Samarkand to prepare for his invasion of India. This, the briefest of his campaigns, lasting less than 6 months, was the occasion of Tamerlane's greatest massacre: the execution in cold blood, before the gates of Delhi, of 100, 000 Hindu prisoners. There followed immediately the so-called Seven Years' Campaign (1399-1403), which brought Tamerlane into conflict with the two most powerful rulers in western Asia, the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey and the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt.[9] Syria, then part of Egypt's territory, was invaded in 1400, Aleppo falling in October of that year and Damascus in March 1401. Tamerlane now turned eastward against Baghdad, which had been reoccupied by Sultan Ahmad's forces and offered stubborn resistance to Tamerlane's attack. It was taken in June 1401, and the slaughter which followed was such that the

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[7] Shirin Bayani, *Tarikh-i-al- Jalayir*, Tehran sh. 1345/1967.

[8] Leo de Hartog, *Russia and the Mongol Yoke: The History of the Russian Principalities and the Golden Horde, 1221-1502*, London: British Academic Press 1996; E.H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, London: Kegal Paul 2002; James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe*, London: Phoenix 2001.

[9] *History of the Ottoman State, Society & Civilization*, 2 vol, ed. E. Insanoğlu, İstanbul: IRCICA 2002; David Ayalon David, 'Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomeno', *Der Islam*, vol. 53, 1976, pp. 196-255; vol. 54, 1977, pp. 1-32.

heads of the dead were piled up into 120 towers.[10] Tamerlane passed the winter of 1401/1402 in the eastern Caucasus before moving westward into Anatolia to deal the final blow to Sultan Bayazid (Bajazet), who was defeated and taken prisoner at the Battle of Ankara (July 20, 1402).[11] The Sultan died while still in captivity, but the story, familiar from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*, that he was transported in an iron cage like a wild beast, is based on a misunderstanding of a phrase in the record of the historian Arabshah. The last action of the campaign was the storming and sacking of Smyrna, then held by the Knights of St. John, who had recaptured it from the Ottoman Turks a half century before. Tamerlane returned from the Seven Years' Campaign by slow stages, reaching Samarkand in August 1404. He set off before the end of the year upon a still more grandiose enterprise, the conquest of China, liberated only some 30 years previously form its Mongol masters. He was, however, taken ill at Otrar, on the eastern bank of the Syr Darya, and died on Feb. 18, 1405.[12]

After Timur's death, his conquests were divided between yow of his sons. Miran Shah (d. 1407) received Iraq, Azarbaijan, Moghan, Shirvan and Georgia while Shah Rukh was left with Khorasan. But his holdings were extended between 1406 and 1417 to Mazandran, Seistan, Transoxiana, Fars, Kirman and those held by Miranshah. Shah Rukh was able to unite his father's empire except Syria and Khuzistan. He also retained a nominal suzerainty over China and India. Shah Rukh's reign (1405-47) was marked by different measures aimed at damage control. This led to restoration of economic prosperity. Heart received a big library and it became center of brilliant artistic and cultural pursuits. The Timurids revived many Seljuk traditions in architecture. Gor-i-Amir in Samarqand is the notable example. The schools of miniature painting flourished in Shiraz, Tabiriz and Heart. The noted artist Behzad (d. *c.* 1525) was among the artists who had gathered in Heart.

After Shah Rukh's death, the Timurid dominion was disturbed by internal intrigues. The Timurid Abu Said had to fight with the Uzbek confederation of Black Sheep (Kara Koyunlu) and White Sheep (Ak Koyunlu) between 1449-69, and with Abu Said being killed in 1469, the Ak Koyunlu ruled unopposed in the

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[10] Le Strange Guy, *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, Cambridge, 1909.

[11] Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: A History of the Osmanlis up to the death of Bayazid I, 1300-1403*, London: Frank Cass & Co. 1968.

[12] See S.A.M. Adshead, *Central Asia in World History*, London: Macmillan 1993; *The Cambridge History of Central Asia*, Cambridge University Press 1990; *The Cambridge History of Iran* Cambridge University Press 1968.

west while the Timurids receded to Khorasan. Timurds' patronage of Persian arts yielded several luminaries in Khorasan. The last great Timurid Husain Bayqarah (1478-1506) had excellent poets like Abdurrahman Jami, painters like Behzad and Shah Muzaffar and historians like Mirkhawand and Khawandmir.[13] The House of Timur finally saw a collapse with the fall of the last Timurid Badiuzzaman to the Uzbek Mohammad Shaibani in 1506. But even that did not prove to be the final blow on the Timurids, for the Timurid ruler of Farghana Zahiruddin Mohammed Babur survived the collapse of the dynasty and established the line of the magnificent Mughals in India in 1526.[14]

Mamai-Tokhtamysh-Timur: the Volga-Ural-Russian episodes

The Kazan Khan Mukhammad Amin laments upon the loss upon the united Muslim lands of the Volga in one of his surviving poems:

> In the year 750 after Hijra,
> A major earthquake shook the earth,
> The Lame man with the mind of an idiot,
> Brought troubles and adversities to every house,
> Many scholars and sheiks became martyrs,
> In the radiant light of Islam.
> The world of Islam fell into pieces,
> And tears were shed in abundance.
> What will he answer in front of Allah,
> If the question will be strongly put to him?
> O my Allah, may Thou present that slave of Thou
> With pain and torture in the hereafter![15]

The prosperous state of the Golden Horde had to witness inextricable turmoil during the mutinous decades of the fourteenth century. The inter-ethnic intrigues in a state struck by Black Death and economic collapse resulting politically in the assassination of Janibek opened doors for two decades of disturbances which eventually brought disintegration. The mutual warfare in almost all parts of the former Ulus Juchi which was never alien to Amir Timur, his one time protégé Khan Tokhtamysh and bitter adversary Emir Mamai optimized the ambitions of those in control of Mawaraannahr. Timur looked

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[13] Maria Eva Subtelny, *The Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid Sultan Husain Baiqara and it's Political Significance*, Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University 1979.

[14] L.F. Rushbrook-Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century: A Summary Account of the Political Career of Zahir-u-ddin Muhammed, Surnamed Babur*, London: Longmans 1918.

[15] See Ravil Bukharaev, Islam in Russia- The Four Seasons, New York: St. Martin's Press 2000, p. 176.

toward freeing Central Asia from the Golden Horde which was spilt by local wars into two major parts, Eastern of White and Blue Horde and Western of Golden Horde proper. The non-Genghisid Emir Mamai who had a considerable force of Lithuanian, Russian and Genoese fighters effectively ruled over the Western part on behalf of the lesser known khans. The Eastern part under Khans Urus Mohammed and later Tokhtamysh was eager to dominate the entire Golden Horde Empire. In 1380 Mamai was defeated by the troops of Prince Damitry Donskoy on the Hulikovo battlefield. It was a personal blow to Mamai who escaped to his seat in Crimea. But finally he was beaten up by the troops of Tokhtamysh and assassinated him in the Genoese port of Kaffa on the Crimean coast of the Black Sea. By the end of the fourteenth century, the allies-turned foes Timur and Tokhtamysh vied for geo-political dominance over the well known commercial routes of the lower Volga and Khwarizm and for the ultimate supremacy in the Ulus Juchi was was resolutely won over by Timur. This resulted into a virtual end of the Golden Horde as a state that now turned into a conglomerate of self-ruling khanates and principalities (Astrakhan was the most prominent with Timur-Kutlug son of Urus Mohammed) The lands of Volga Bulgaria were devastated by the clashes of Timur and Tokhtamysh. The political and economic troubles caused influx of peoples from Volga Bulgaria towards north and in 1438-41 Kazan became a powerful centre of Khanate comprising half of the lands of the former Volga Bulgaria. The Tokhtamysh-Timur war was fought in the 1380s and early 1390s between Tokhtamysh, khan of the Golden Horde and the Turkic warlord and conqueror Timur, in the areas of the Caucasus Mountains, Turkistan and southern Russia. Zafarnama gives account of the initial friendship between Timur and Tokhtamysh and Timur's help to overthrow Urus Khan.[16] It also gives accounts of Timur's expedition aimed at punishing Tokhtamysh after the initial phase of friendship had expired and hostilities had resumed.[17]

The battle between the two Turkic rulers played a key role in the decline of the Turkic power in southern Russia. In the late 1370s and early 1380s, Timur helped Tokhtamysh to assume supreme power in the White Horde against his (Tokhtamysh's) uncle Urus Khan. After this he united the White and Blue Hordes, forming the Golden Horde, and launched a massive military punitive campaign against the Russian principalities between 1381 and 1382, restoring

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[16] Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, Vol. II, pp. 203-209, 212-215.

[17] *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 522-526, 538-540; Beatrice Forbes Manz, 'The Duel of Temor and Tokhtamish Over the Restitution of the Mongol Empire', *Materials of the International Scientific Conference: 'Temur and his Place in World History'*, 23-26 October 1996, Tashkent 1996.

the turko (tartar) mongol power in Russia after the defeat in the Battle of Kulikovo. The Golden Horde, after a period of anarchy between early 1360s and late 1370s, passed for a briefly reestablishing as a dominant regional power, defeating Lithuania in Poltava around 1383. But Tokhtamysh had territorial ambitions in Persia and Central Asia, and on account of this he turned against his old ally, Timur. After the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335, the last ruler of the Ilkhanid Dynasty, there was a power vacuum in Persia. So in 1383 Timur could start his military conquest of that country. In 1385 he captured Herat, Khorasan and all of eastern Persia. In the same year Tokhtamysh raided Azerbaijan and northwestern Iran. The city of Tabriz was plundered and Tokhtamysh could retire with a rich booty. Between 1389 and 1391, the two started fighting, with the Battle of the Kondurcha River awarding victory to Timur. But Tokhtamysh recovered his position and in the spring of 1395 raided the Timurid territory of Shirvan. Timur then promoted a new attack, reconquering the area and raiding the Golden Horde's territories. He decisively routed Tokhtamysh in the Battle of the Terek river on April 15, 1395. In the same year Timur also plundered Sarai, Ukek, Majar, Azaq and burnt Astrakhan. After his resouding defeat in the Battle of the Terek River, Tokhtamysh was deposed and replaced by Edigu, fleeing to the Ukrainian steppes and asking for help from Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania. The two combined their forces in the Battle of the Vorskla River in 1399, but were defeat and annihilated by khan Temur Qutlugh and Edigu, two of Tamerlane's generals. Around 1406 Tokhtamysh was killed in Siberia by Edigu's men; in turn, Edigu would be slain thirteen years later by one of Tokhtamysh's sons. The Golden Horde never recovered from this war. In the middle of the 15th century, it fragmented in smaller khanates: the Kazan khanate, Nogai Horde, Qasim Khanate, Crimean Khanate and Astrakhan Khanate. Thus Turkic power in Russia was weakened and in 1480 the Eastern yoke over Russia, a reminder of the bloody Mongol conquest, was definitely shaken in the Great standing on the Ugra River. The last remnant of the Golden Horde was destroyed by the Crimean Khanate in 1502, and the khanates that arose after the Golden Horde's fragmentation were annexed by Muscovite Russia between the 1550s and early 17th century, except the Crimean Khanate which survived until 1783, under Ottoman protection.

Timur had inflicted large scale terror and misery upon the peoples of Volga region. E. Brezikov writes in his *The Great Timur*:

Tamerlane proved to be immensely cruel in regard to urban centres. In the Volga region, from Astrakhan to Bolgar, all cities were flattered and their inhabitants were massacred. For the cities and the urban culture of Volga

region, the pogroms of Tamerlain hadmore tragic consequences than the Mongol invasion. If, after the Mongols almost all of the Volga region cities were restored, after the slaughter of Tamerlain they were turned into ruins and became the arena for the struggle of the nomadic warlords. Tamerlain, in the course of the whole year (1395) plundered and destroyed the cities with cruelty characteristic of him and without any mercy which is particularly true in regard of the cities of the central region of the Golden Horde, i.e. the Volga region. In some Volga Tatar sources, the destruction of the, for instance, Bulgar cities by Tamerlain is perceived as the punishment for being oblivious of God. Apparently, the merciless fanatical massacre of their inhabitants by Timur's warriors can be explained as reprisal for religious tolerance. Indeed in the Volga Tatar cities there stood besides mosques also Orthodox Christian and Catholoc temples. Tamerlain's son Miranshah, for example, upon capturing the city of Azak, put to death the entire Muslim population of that city. [18]

The Timurid off-shoot in India

The Chaghtai-Turkic prince Babur (reigned 1526-30) who had descended from the Turkic Timur's line on his father's side and from Chaghtai Khan son of Chingiz Khan on his mother's side, headed toward India after being ousted from his ancestral domain in Central Asia. Once based at Kabul, Babur controlled Punjab and in 1526 he routed the forces of Ibrahim Lodi at the first battle of Panipat. The Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga of Mewar was overwhelmed next year. The Afghans of Bihar and Utter Paradesh under Sher Shah Suri were beaten up in 1529, and at his death in 1530 Babur's dominion included territories from Indus River to the West of Bihar and Himalyas to Gawalior. Babur's son Humayun (reigned 1530-40) lost control of his dominion to Afghan rebels, but Humayun's son Akbar (reigned 1556-1605) delivered final blow to the Hindu usurper Hemu at the second battle of Panipat (1556) and established the great Mughal empire of Hindustan. At Akbar's death in 1605, the Mughal empire had extended in include territories from Afghanistan to the Bay of Bengal, Gijarat and Deccan. Akbar's son Jahangir (reigned 1605-27) remained a successful ruler, but it was his son Shahjahan (reigned 1628-58) who is known for building the artistic India: Taj Mahal, the Great Mosque of Delhi, etc. Shahjahan was succeeded by Aurangzeb (reigned 1658-1707) who annexed the Muslim dominions of Bijapur and Golkonda, but his anti-Hindu policies had

[18] Quoted by Ravil Bhukaraev, *Islam in Russia- the Four Seasons*, p. 174.

earned him powerful opponents among Marathas, Sikhs and Rajputs.[19] The later Mughals (Muhammed Shah 1719-48, Bahadur Shah Zafar II, reigned 1837-57) could not stand against the disruptive invasion of India by the British and the last Mughal Bahadur Shah Zafar was exiled to Yangon by the British after his involvement in the infamous mutiny of 1857.

The legacy of the Mughals reflects a wide array of patronage of Mulsim arts and crafts showing strong Persian leanings. The Forts of Agra and Delhi, the Taj Mahal, the great Mosque of Delhi with its Buland Darwaza (the Victory Gate), the tomb of Humayun in Delhi, of Akbar in Sikandra near Agra, etc, besides the noted Mughal carpet, Mughal glass and Mughal painting represent the masterpieces of arts and architecture in India. Mughal painting represented in *Tutinama* (Tales of a Parrot) available with the Clevland (Ohio) Museum of Art bears strong imprints of the Safavid School of Persian painting. Persian artists like Mir Syed Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad invited by Humayun to come to India. Akbar's court had the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* in miniature painting with 1400 illustrations of an unusually large size (22 by 28 inches) out of which 200 are preserved in the Austrian Museum of Applied Art in Vienna. *Akbarnama* is preserved with its illustrations in the Victoria and albert Museum, London. Other masterpieces like *kalila wa dimna*, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, *Ramznama* (the Persian name for the Indian epic Mahabharata) and Divan of Khawaja Hafiz Shirazi depict the zenith of Mughal painting. Ahmad Mi'mar, Abul Hasan, Bishandas, Ustad Mansur, etc were the buzz words for art in the Mughal India.[20]

The Annalists and Chroniclers: Timur Portrayed

One can hardly lament any dearth of original sources on the dominions of Central Asia which has been the center of warlike iconoclast ambitions of many a rulers in the Middle Ages. We have plenty of sources on the days of Chingiz Khan and the hordes of his tribesmen. Medieval and modern historians have

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[19] Niccolao Manucci, *The General History of the Mogol Empire: The History of Tamerlane the Great, Emperor of the Mogols and Tartars and his Successors: Concluding the Life of the late Emperor Orangzeb*, London 1722.

[20] See Price major David, *Chronological Retrospect or Memoirs of the Principal Events of Muhammadan History, from the death of Arabiab Legislator to the Accession of the Emperor Akbar and the Establishment of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan*, London 1811-21; Sir George Dunbar, *A History of India From the earliest Times to 1939*, London: Nicholson and Watson, 1949; Sir Henry Miers Elliot, *The History of India asTold by It's own Historians*, London: Trunbner & Co 1872; Mohammed Qasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of Mohammedan Power in India*, transleted John Briggs, London: Longman 1829; Ali ad-Din Ghiyath, *Diary of Temur's Campaign in India*, Tashkent 2000.

dealt with the uncouth and uncivilized aspects of the Chaghtai, Oktai and the Timurid dominions along with a few Turkic gravitational poles which have been central to all things medieval in Central Asia, Volga-Ural, Asia Minor and the Indian Sub-continent. But the sources never failed to account for the vigorous and consistent nature of their dominions which combined between urban civic organization and tribal disorganization. Their legacy y of their chiefs for their inability to gain permanency for themselves is often clubbed as that of repletion of intercourse with civilized nations because of the hegemony of an intensified psyche of indiscriminate tyranny. The times of Timur and Ulugh Beg were extremely stormy, having none of the steadying influences of the Mongols. The spread of Islam among Mongols and their warlords visible strongly in the priestly sanctions and superstitious reverence had hardly contributed positively toward checking the plundering expeditions and large scale slavery carried under the meritorious banner of fighting the infidels.

There are the first hand accounts of several Western emissaries and envoys traversing Asia. Plano Carpini and Rubruk passed safely from Ural to the northern confines of Mongolia. There were Europeans in the courts of the Khakans. Polos moved from Mediterranean to Persian Gulf to China carrying with them all of their wares in security.[21] Friars like Odoric of Pordenone, John of Marignolli, William of Modena and their companions traveled safely with their baggage and message. Friar Nicholas the Bishop of Cambulu (Khan Baligh) in Almaligh and the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez Clavijo from Henry III of Spain to the court of Timur which reached Samarqand in 1404 or about one year before Timur's death are well known sources of Western narratives about Central Asia. Tamerlane's correspondence with Charles VI is another example in this respect.[22]

As regards Oriental sources, the Muslim annalists have substantially devoted attention to Central Asia and the Mughul Khanates. Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi in his *Zafarnama* proved to be a chronicler of Timur's campaigns in Moghulistan. Mirza Mohammed Haider Dughlat's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* based his narrative on the authority of Yazdi. But the real significance of Mirza Haider lies in his account

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[21] Goncalo Argote de Molina, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan e Itinerario y Enarracion del Viaje, y relación de la Embaxda que Ruy Goncalez de Clavijo le hizo, por mandado del muy poderoso Senor Rey Henrique el Tercero de castilla*, Seville, 1582; *Sacy*, Silvestre de, *Memoire sur une correspondence inedited de Tamerlan avec Charles VI – Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Tome Sixieme*, Paris 1822.

[22] Mirza Mohammed Haider Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, translated into English N. Denison Ross, New Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House 1986; Also see E.A. Polyakova, 'Timur as Described by the Fifteenth Century Court Historiographers', *Iranian Studies*, XXI, nos. 1-2, 1988.

of the period subsequent to the accounts furnished by Yazdi or from the early years of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth.[23]

Timur's Own Words: *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* or *Tuzk-i-Timuri*

The autobiographical memoir of the Emperor Tímúr, written in the Chaghatáí Turkí language, is known as Malfuzat-i-Timuri or Tuzk-i-Timuri. It was translated into Persian by Abú Tálib Husainí, and dedicated to the Mughal Emperor Sháh Jahán, who began to reign in A.D. 1628. In the brief preface to his translation, Abú Tálib states that he found the original Turkí work in the library of Ja'far, Hákim of Yaman, and that it consisted of a history of Tímúr, from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age. The reticence of Abú Tálib as to the authenticity of the original work, and the strangeness of the place for the discovery of a MS. in a Turkí language, have given rise to the suspicion that there was no such work, and that Abú Tálib made the statement to give greater authority to a production of his own. Major Davy, who first brought the work to notice, argued against this supposition, grounding his opinion on the internal evidence of the work itself, and on the improbability of an author resorting to "an artifice which could tend only to diminish his fame and his profit." The probability is that Abú Tálib knew nothing more of the work than what he learned from its own pages, and that when he had turned these into Persian he had nothing to add. Tímúr's descendants seem to have had a partiality for writing their own memoirs, as in the instances of Bábar and Jahángír; and others, who did not profess to be their own biographers, provided for a record of their lives and actions being written. This family predilection is of itself something in favour of the authenticity of the work.

The Chapter First of the Memoir of Timur focuses on the twelve rules which were practiced constantly by Timur. Timur says:

. Be it known to my fortunate Children, to my intelligent Ministers, to my faithful and zealous Nobles, that Almighty God, on account of the Twelve following Rules, which I have constantly practiced, hath conferred greatness on me and hath made me the Shepherded of this flock, and hath assisted me by his celestial aid that I have attained the high pre-eminence of Sovereignty[24]

The Twelve Rules are: Having taken in hand the scale of Justice, Administering strict justice to mankind and endeavouring to discriminate between truth and falsehood, paying obedience to the orders of God and

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[23] *Malfuzat-i-Timury*, p. 4.

[24] *Ibid*, p. 6.

respecting his holy laws, compassion on mankind and conferring benefits to all, always giving affairs of religion precedence over worldly affairs, always speaking truth and performing religious and secular duties, always performing what he promised to any person and never deviating from his agreement, considering himself as the Treasurer of the property of God, considering obedience to God as consisting in submission to his prophet, giving currency to the faith of Islam through all of his dominions, giving free admission to Syeds, to the learned and to the prelates of religion and constantly associating himself with them to hear anecdotes of sacred and profane history, and asking the blessing of the Hermits and protecting the Anchorets and the Dervishes (pp.4-6). 'For I had heard that when God elects a person to the governance of a country and places his hands the reins of authority over mankind in order that he may rule them with justice, if he conducts himself with equity and propriety, his kingdom endures, but if on the contrary he is guilty of injustice and tyranny and commits unlawful actions, the Lord renders him childless and takes away his Dominion and Sovereignty to give them to another. Wherefore in order to preserve my Sovereignty I took justice in one and Equity in the other hand and by the light of these two lamps I kept the palace of Royalty illuminated. As I heard that just Kings are the Shadow of God and that the best King is he who imitates the disposition of the Lord, in forgiving sinners, I followed the examples of those just Kings and forgive my enemies.'[25]

The fact of its being a genuine work, produced under the supervision of Tímúr himself, can however be proved upon more certain evidence. Only thirty years after Tímúr's death, Sharafu-d dín Yazdí wrote his celebrated *Zafar-náma*, or Book of Victory, to commemorate the exploits of Tímúr, and in his preface he details the sources from which his work was drawn, and the auspices under which it was written. To establish the veracity and authority of his history, he first describes, in the following words, the way in which a record of the events of Tímúr's reign was kept at the Court of that Emperor.

The third recommendation (of this my work, named *Zafar-náma*) is its truthfulness—the exactness and verity of the accounts and descriptions of the various events of Tímúr's life, both at home and abroad. Men of the highest character for learning, knowledge, and goodness, Aighúr officers and Persian secretaries, were in attendance at the Court of Tímúr, and a staff of them under the orders of the Emperor wrote down an account of everything that occurred. The movements, actions and sayings of Tímúr, the various incidents and affairs

[25] Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, edited Muhammad Abbasi, Shirkat-i-Sihami Chap-i-Rangeen, n.d., vol. I, p. 19.

of State, of religion, and the ministers, were all recorded and written down with the greatest care. The most stringent commands were given that every event should be recorded exactly as it occurred, without any modification either in excess or diminution. This rule was to be particularly observed in matters of personal bearing and courage, without fear or favour of any one, and most especially in respect of the valour and prowess of the Emperor himself. The learned and eloquent writers having recorded the facts, their compositions were polished and finished off in verse and prose. From time to time these writings were brought into the royal presence and were read to the Emperor, so as to insure confidence by the impress of his approval. In this way the records of the various incidents and actions of the life of Tímúr, whether recounted in Turkí verse or Persian prose, were revised and finally recorded in prose and verse. Besides this, some of the officers of the Court wrote down the incidents of the reign of Tímúr, and took the greatest pains to ascertain the truth of what they recorded. Accomplished writers then moulded these productions into Turkí verse and Persian prose.[26]

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[26] The *Tuzúkát* or Institutes were translated into English by Major Davy, and published under the editorship of Professor White, at Oxford, in 1783, and this work was turned into French by M. Langlès, and published in 1787. The *Malfúzát* or Memoirs, as far as the forty-first year of Tímúr's age, were translated into English by Major Stewart, and were published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1830. The MS. used by Major Davy and Major Stewart was imperfect, ending abruptly with the forty-first year of Tímúr's age. This MS. is now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which library also possesses another imperfect copy. There is a similar defective copy in the library of the East India Office; Sir H. Elliot also procured a defective copy in India, and there are several in the British Museum. These, in all probability, were derived directly or indirectly from one MS. But the British Museum has lately secured a perfect copy from the library of the late General Hamilton, which bears the marks of having once belonged to the Royal Library at Lucknow. Besides the Version of Abú Tálib, there is another, the work of Muhammad Afzal Bukhárí. The author of this later version tells us in his preface that when Amír Abú Tálib's translation had been read by the Emperor Shah Jahán, it was found to contain errors and mistakes. Its statements occasionally differed from those of the *Zafar-náma* and other histories; and while omitting events recorded in the *Zafar-náma*, it added others of which no notice had been taken in that work. For these reasons he goes on to say:—"In the year 1047 of the Hijra, and tenth of his Majesty Sháh Jahán's reign (A.D. 1637),. the royal orders were issued to me, the meanest of the servants of the Imperial Court (Muhammad Afzal Bukhárí), to read and revise this book from beginning to end, and to assimilate it with the *Zafar-náma*, of the correctness of which no intelligent person can have a doubt, and compare it with some other trustworthy histories; to omit some things which the translator had inserted, and to insert some occurrences which he had omitted; also to translate the Turkí and Arabic sentences into Persian, and to correct several dates, which do not agree with the *Zafar-náma*. . . . (The author) has exerted himself as much as possible in revising and correcting the said translation, and has thrown out all the unauthenticated passages which Abú Tálib had inserted. He has inserted several passages that

Sharafu-d dín then goes on to relate how his own royal patron Ibráhím, grandson of Tímúr, took the greatest interest in the composition of the *Zafar-náma* how he procured from all parts of his dominions copies of the works relating to the life of Tímúr, in prose and verse, in Turkí and in Persian; how he supplied him with men learned in Persian and Turkí as assistants; how reference was made to surviving actors in the events recorded; how he wrote letters in all directions to settle discrepancies in the MSS., and how he had the work read to him in the rough draft and in the finished state.

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have been omitted by that translator, and he has thereby made the book conform with the *Zafar-náma*." Major Stewart observes that "It appears in Dow's History of Hindustán that Muhammad Afzal was the name of the Emperor Sháh Jahán's preceptor, and so he was probably the person employed to revise this work, but he has not complied with his promise of translating all the Turkí passages, although a native of Bukhárá, where that language was well understood." So the *Zafar-náma* was based upon the Turkí memoirs of Tímúr translated by Abú Tálib into Persian, and Muhammad Afzal was afterwards employed to bring these memoirs more completely into accord with the *Zafar-náma*, which was founded upon them. The alterations of Abú Tálib's work are, however, made to appear greater and more important than they actually are. Major Stewart, after the translation of his fragment of Abú Tálib's work, received two copies of Muhammad Afzal's, and he says in his Appendix: "I have minutely compared them with Colonel Davy's MS. as far as it extends, and find that the only additions they contain are extracts from Sharafu-d dín's history, an explanation of some particulars omitted in the Memoirs, and an attempt to prove that Tímúr was of the *Sunní* sect, although there is the strongest evidence that he was a very bigoted *Shí'a*." The editor of this work has made a comparison, though not a minute one, of the text of the following extracts as given in the MS. of Abú Tálib in the British Museum, and in one of Muhammad Afzal's belonging to Sir H. Elliot, and he has found no greater differences between them than might be expected in two MSS. of the same work. So far as regards the portion relating to India the works are identically the same. The concluding sentences differ slightly in the two works, but in both Tímúr is made to record his own death. Muhammad Afzal, the later writer, makes him briefly say, "I arrived at the village of Atrár. and died;" but Abú Tálib is more specific, saying, "At night, on the 17th of the month of Sha'bán (March 19, 1405 A.D.), calling upon the name of God, I lost my senses, and resigned my pure soul to the Almighty and Holy Creator" (and pure it was if blood could make it pure!). Major Stewart has noticed this apparent record by Tímúr of his own death, and shows that it ought not to stamp the work as a forgery. In the fourth clause of his Testament Tímúr says, "I desire that this my Testament, and whatever I shall say to the last moment of my existence, shall be written in my Memoirs as if proceeding from my own mouth." This instruction has only been carried a trifle too far. The narrative given in this work of Tímúr's expedition to India has been closely followed by Mirkhond in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, used by Price in his *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*. Two MSS. of Muhammad Afzal's work have been used for the following extracts. One belonging to the Nawáb of Jhajjar, and a copy of a portion of the work made for Sir H. Elliot from a MS. belonging to the Raja of Balamgarh. Up to page 421 the translation is the production of Mr. C. E. Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service; the remainder has been prepared by the Editor.]

So the basis of Sharafu-d dín's history was a work or works written under the direction or with the approval of Tímúr, and a comparison of the *Zafar-náma* with the *Malfúzát* proves the one to be a mere reproduction of the other. The events recorded and their succession are identical and leave no doubt upon the mind that Sharafu-d dín translated or wrote over again in an ornate style that history which had been compiled under Tímúr's direction. Like Oriental writers in general, he half conceals the true origin of his book, and so exaggerates the magnitude and importance of his own labours, but the only difference observable in the two works is, that one is the production of a skilful and accomplished writer, the other the work of a plain, laborious, and minute chronicler of events. With all the rhetoric and flourishes of the *Zafar-náma*, the narrative is shorter than that of the detailed and verbose biography.[27]

Timur was meticulously planned his expeditions. The he foresaw and analyzed the minute strategic and logistic necessities before any expeditions and had a very clear view of what he wanted and what would incur in its pursuit.[28] In line with the medieval religious fervor or camouflage or pretending, he championed himself as the Ghazi of Islam. The following sentences from his *Tuzk* well-testify the thesis:

The History of my expedition against Hindustan

About this time there arose in my heart the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels, and to become a *ghází*; for it had reached my ears that the slayer of infidels is a *ghází*, and if he is slain he becomes a martyr. It was on this account that I formed this resolution, but I was undetermined in my mind whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of China or against the infidels and polytheists of India. In this matter I sought an omen from the Kurán, and the verse I opened upon was this, "O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers, and treat them with severity."

My great officers told me that the inhabitants of Hindustán were infidels and unbelievers. In obedience to the order of Almighty God I determined on an expedition against them, and I issued orders to the *amírs* of mature years, and the leaders in war, to come before me, and when they had come together I questioned the assembly as to whether I should invade Hindustán or China, and said to them, "By the order of God and the Prophet it is incumbent upon me to make war upon these infidels and polytheists." Throwing themselves upon their

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[27] Nicolle David, *The Age of tamerlane: Warfare in the Middle Ages c. 1350-1500*, London: Osprey 2001; C.W.S. Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle* Ages AD 378-1515, Oxford: Blackwell 1885.

[28] *Zafarnama*, vol. II, p. 21.

knees they all wished me good fortune. I demanded of the warrior chieftains whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of Hindustán or China. At first they repeated fables and wise sayings, and then said, in the country of Hindustán there are four defences, and if any one invading this extensive country breaks down these four defences, he becomes the conqueror of Hindustán.[29]

To achieve his goal of invading India, Timur analyzed the geographic, military and civil defences of India. He had a clear view of what India had of defence lines. He know that The first defence consists of five large rivers, which flow from the mountains of Kashmír, and these rivers unite in their course, and passing through the country of Sind, flow into the Arabian Sea, and it is not possible to cross them without boats and bridges. The second defence consists of woods and forests and trees, which, interweaving stem with stem and branch with branch, render it very difficult to penetrate into that country. The third defence is the soldiery, and landholders, and princes, and Rájas of that country, who inhabit fastnesses in those forests, and live there like wild beasts. The fourth defence consists of the elephants, for the rulers of that country in the day of battle equipping elephants in mail, put them in the van of their army, and place great confidence in them, and they have trained them to such a pitch that, lifting with their trunks a horse with his rider, and whirling him in the air, they will dash him on the ground. He knew the past accounts of invasions such as that of Mahmud Ghaznavi whose 17 invasions had robbed India of its countless valuables. Timur was told by some nobles that that Sultán Mahmúd Subuk-tigín conquered the country of Hindustán with 30,000 horse, and established his own servants as rulers of that region, and carried off many thousand loads of gold and silver and jewels from that country, besides subjecting it to a regular tribute. They argued that the Armir was never inferior to Sultán Mahmúd, and he with 100,000 valiant Tátár horsemen who wait at the stirrup of our *amír* if determines upon this expedition Almighty God will give him victory, and he will become a *ghází* and *mujáhid* before God, and we shall be attendants on an *amír* who is a *ghází*, and the army will be contented and the treasury rich and well filled, and with the gold of Hindustán our *amír* will become a conqueror of the world and famous among the kings of earth.. At this time the prince Sháh Rukh said: "India is an extensive country; whatever Sultán conquers it becomes supreme over the four quarters of the globe; if, under the conduct of our *amír*, we conquer India, we shall become rulers over the seven climes." He then said:

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[29] Major Charles Stewart, tr., *Malfuzat Timury or Autobiographical Memoirs of the Mughal Emperor Timur*, London 1830, pages from the chapter on his invasion of India.

"I have seen in the history of Persia that, in the time of the Persian Sultáns, the King of India was called Dáráí, with all honour and glory. On account of his dignity he bore no other name; and the Emperor of Rome was called *Cæsar*, and the Sultán of Persia was called *Kisra*, and the Sultán of the Tátárs, *Khákán*, and the Emperor of China, *Faghfúr*; but the King of Írán and Túrán bore the title of *Sháhinsháh*, and the orders of the *Sháhinsháh* were always paramount over the princes and *Rájás* of Hindustán, and praise be to God that we are at this time *Sháhinsháh* of Írán and Túrán, and it would be a pity that we should not be supreme over the country of Hindustán." Timur was excessively pleased with these words of Prince Sháh Rukh. Then the Prince Muhammad Sultán said: "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels, and in it there are seventeen mines of gold and silver, diamond and ruby and emerald and tin and iron and steel and copper and quicksilver, etc., and of the plants which grow there are those fit for making wearing apparel, and aromatic plants, and the sugar cane, and it is a country which is always green and verdant, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful. Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists and infidels and idolaters and worshipers of the sun, by the order of God and his prophet, it is right for us to conquer them. Timur was informed about the whole amount of the revenue of India is six *arbs*; now each *arb* is a 100 *krors*, and each *kror* is a 100 *lacs*, and each *lac* is a 100,000 *miskáls* of silver. Some of the nobles said, "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India, but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions, and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." The *amírs* of regiments (*kushúnát*) were disturbed at these words, but Timur said to them, "My object in the invasion of Hindustán is to lead an expedition against the infidels that, according to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family be the blessing and peace of God), we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *gházís* and *mujáhids* before God." They gave an unwilling consent, but Timur placed no reliance upon them. At this time the wise men of Islám came before the master, and a conversation began about the propriety of a war against infidels and polytheists; they gave it as their opinion that it is the duty of the Sultán of Islám, and all the people who profess that "there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah," for the sake of preserving their religion and strengthening their law, to exert their utmost endeavour for the suppression of the enemies of their faith. And it is the duty of every Muslim and true believer to use his utmost exertions in obedience to his ruler. When the

edifying words of the wise men reached the ears of the nobles, all their hearts were set upon a holy war in Hindustán, and throwing themselves on their knees, they repeated the Chapter of Victory. When Timur girded up his loins for the expedition, he wrote to Hazrat Shaikh Zainu-d dín to the effect that I had determined on a religious expedition to Hindustán. He wrote in the margin of Timur's letter: "Be it known to Abú-l Gházi Tímúr (whom may God assist) that great prosperity in this world and the next will result to you from this undertaking, and you will go and return in safety." He also sent him a large sword which he made his sceptre.

It is usually agreed upon between the historians that Amir Timur was less interested in establsihing an Empire combining between Volg-Ural, the Mammulk lands of Syria and the Tughlaq territories of India. It is evident from many occasions when Timur said that offering of obedience, submission and tribute would avert his invasions. 'If the rulers of Hindustán come before me with tribute I will not interfere with their lives, property, or kingdoms; but if they are negligent in proffering obedience and submission, I will put forth my strength for the conquest of the kingdoms of India. At all events, if they set any value upon their lives, property, and reputation, they will pay me a yearly tribute, and if not, they shall hear of my arrival with my powerful armies. Farewell.' But that did not happen in India, since when the ambassador reached the presence of Sárang at Multán, he was treated with great respect and consideration; but in reply to his letter, Sárang said, 'It is difficult to take an empire like a bride to your bosom without trouble and difficulty and the clashing of swords. The desire of your prince is to take this kingdom with its rich revenue. Well, let him wrest it from us by force of arms if he be able. I have numerous armies and formidable elephants, and am quite prepared for war.' With these words he dismissed the ambassador. But when this unsatisfactory answer was brought back to me, I issued immediate orders for the armies to assemble from all quarters, together with such of the nobles as were in my province, such as Amír Sáikal Kandahári, and other *amírs*,. and soldiers. Thus Timur got ready for the invasion of Hindustán, and *the holy war was waged against the infidels of Hindustán.*

It is not necessary to give full details of Timur's invasion of Indian territories from Multan to Delhi, Meerut and Jammu. The most important is the logic he adheres to with regard to the inhabitants of India, especially Delhi, that says that it was the land of heretics, idolators infidels and non-believers! The command of war against the Muslim Tughlaqs was given to his generals like Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, Prince Rustam, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, Sultán

Mahmúd Khán, Prince Khalíl Sultán, Prince Sultán Husain and Amír Jahán Sháh. Timur himself kept the great *túmáns*, the *túmáns* of *San-sír* under his direction. On the 22nd of Rabi'u-l awwal he arrived and encamped at the fort of the village of Aspandí. 'In answer to my enquiries about this place I found that Sámána was distant seven *kos*. The people of Sámána, and Kaithal, and Aspandí are all heretics, idolaters, infidels, and misbelievers.. They had now set fire to their houses and had fled with their children, and property, and effects, towards Dehlí, so that the whole country was deserted. Next day, the 23rd of the month, I started from the fort of Aspandí, and after marching six *kos* arrived at the village of Tughlik-púr. I encamped opposite the fort bearing that name. The people of the fort on hearing of the approach of my army, had abandoned it, and had dispersed over the country. From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *sanawí* (fire-worshipers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods. One is called Yazdán, and whatever they have of good they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of they consider Ahriman to be the author of. These misbelievers do not know that whatsoever there is of good or evil comes from God, and that man is the mere instrument of its execution. I ordered the houses of these heretics to be fired, and their fort and buildings to be razed to the ground. On the following day, the 24th of the month, I marched to Pánipat, where I encamped. I there found that in obedience to orders received from the ruler of Dehlí the people had deserted all their dwellings and had taken flight. When the soldiers entered the fort they reported to me that they had found a large store of wheat amounting to some thousand *mans*. I ordered it to be weighed to ascertain the real weight, and then to be distributed among the soldiers. When it was weighed it was found to amount to 10,000 *mans* of the great weight (*sang-i kalán*), or 160,000 of the legal standard (*sang-i shara'*). On the following day I marched from Pánipat six *kos*, and encamped on the banks of a river which is on the road. I marched from this place on Friday, the 26th of the month, and I gave orders that the officers and soldiers of my army should put on their armour, and that every man should keep in his proper regiment and place in perfect readiness. We reached a village called Kánhí-gazín and there encamped. I issued my commands that on the morrow, the 28th of the month, a force of cavalry should proceed on a plundering excursion against the palace of Jahán-numá, a fine building erected by Sultán Fíroz Sháh on the top of a hill by the banks of the Jumna, which is one of the large rivers of Hindustán. Their orders were to plunder and destroy and to kill every one whom they met. Next day, in obedience to my commands, the division marched and proceeded to the palace of Jahán-numá, which is situated five miles from Dehlí. They

plundered every village and place they came to, killed the men, and carried off all the valuables and cattle, securing a great booty. They then returned, bringing with them a number of Hindu prisoners, both male and female. On the 29th I again marched and reached the river Jumna. On the other side of the river I descried a fort, and upon making inquiry about it, I was informed that it consisted of a town and fort, called Loní and that it was held by an officer named Maimún as *kotwál* on behalf of Sultán Mahmúd. I determined to take that fort at once, and as pasture was scant where I was, on the same day I crossed the river Jumna. I sent Amír Jahán Sháh and Amír Sháh Malik and Amír Allah-dád to besiege the fort of Loní, and I pitched my camp opposite to the fort. They invested the fort which was under the command of the *kotwál* named Maimún. He made preparations for resistance. At this time a holy *shaikh* who dwelt in the town came out very wisely and waited upon me. Although the *shaikh* was greatly honoured by the people, still, they would not listen to his advice, but determined to fight rather than surrender to me. These people were Hindus and belonged to the faction of Mallú Khán. They despised the counsels of the venerable father and resolved to resist. When I was informed of it, I ordered all the *amírs* and soldiers to assemble and invest the fort. They accordingly gathered with alacrity round the fort, and in the course of one watch of the day they carried the place. It was situated in a *doáb* between two rivers, one the Jumna, the other the Halín, the latter being a large canal which was cut from the river Kalíní and brought to Fírozábád, and there connected with the Jumna by Sultán Fíroz Sháh. Many of the *Rájpúts* placed their wives and children in their houses and burned them, then they rushed to the battle and were killed. Other men of the garrison fought and were slain, and a great many were taken prisoners. Next day I gave orders that the Musulmán prisoners should be separated and saved, but that the infidels should all be despatched to hell with the proselyting sword. I also ordered that the houses of the *saiyids, shaikhs,* and learned Musulmáns should be preserved, but that all the other houses should be plundered and the fort destroyed. It was done as I directed and a great booty was obtained. When my heart was satisfied with the conquest of Loní, I rode away from thence on the 1st Rabi'u-l ákhir to examine the fords of the Jumna, and proceeded along the bank of the river. When I came opposite the palace Jahán-numá, I found some places where the river was passable. At the time of mid-day prayer, I returned to the camp. I gave orders to the princes and *amírs*, and then held a council about the attack upon Dehlí and the operations against Sultán Mahmúd...It now occurred to me that I would cross over the Jumna with a small party of horse to examine the palace of Jahán-numá, and to reconnoitre the ground on which a battle might be fought. So I

took an escort of 700 horsemen clad in armour and went off. I sent on 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí and Junaid Bur-uldaí as an advance guard. Crossing the Jumna I reached Jahán-numá and inspected the whole building, and I discovered a plain fit for a battle-field. 'Alí Sultán and Junaíd, my advance-guard, each brought in a man belonging to the van-guard of the enemy. 'Alí Sultán's prisoner was named Muhammad Salaf. When I had interrogated him about the matters of Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán, I ordered him to be put to death as an augury of good. My scouts now brought me information that Mallú Khán with 4,000 horsemen in armour, 5,000 infantry, and twenty-seven fierce war elephants fully accoutered, had come out of the gardens of the city and had drawn up his array. I left Ṣaiyid Khwájah and Mubashar Bahádur with 300 brave Turk horsemen on gray horses (*sufaid sawár i Turk*) in the Jahán-numá and withdrew towards my camp. Mallú Khán advanced boldly towards Jahán-numá and Saiyid Khwájah and Mubashar went forth to meet him. A conflict ensued, and my men fought valiantly. Immediately I heard of the action I sent Súnjak Bahádur and Amír Alláh-dád with two regiments (*kushún*) to their support. As soon as practicable, they assailed the enemy with arrows and then charged them. At the second and third charge the enemy was defeated and fled towards Dehlí in disorder. Many fell under the swords and arrows of my men. When the men fled, an extraordinary incident occurred: one of the great war elephants, called Bengálís, fell down and died. When I heard of it I declared it to be a good omen. My victorious troops pursued the enemy to the vicinity of the city, and then returned to present themselves at my tent. I congratulated them on their victory and praised their conduct. Next day, Friday the 3rd of the month, I left the fort of Loní and marched to a position opposite to Jahán-numá where I encamped. The officers who had been sent out foraging brought in large quantities of grain and spoil.'

Timur's first wrath on the civilians of Delhi was a massacre of 100,000 Ḥindus. In Timur's own words, "at this Court Amír Jahán Sháh and Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and other *amírs* of experience, brought to my notice that, from the time of entering Hindustán up to the present time, we had taken more than 100,000 infidels and Hindus prisoners, and that they were all in my camp. On the previous day, when the enemy's forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength. I asked their advice about the prisoners, and they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the

rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islám at liberty. In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword. When I heard these words I found them in accordance with the rules of war, and I directly gave my command for the *Tawáchís* to proclaim throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the *gházís* of Islám, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain. Mauláná Násiru-d dín 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives. After the whole of the vile idolaters had been sent to hell, I gave orders that one man out of every ten should be told off to guard the property, and cattle and horses,. which had been captured in the invasion; all the other soldiers were to march with me. At the time of mid-day prayer the signal was given for the march, and I proceeded to the spot selected for crossing the Jumna, and there encamped. The astrologers who accompanied the army consulted their books and almanacs as to the time propitious for battle, and they represented that the aspects of the stars made a short delay advisable. In all matters, small and great, I placed my reliance on the favour and kindness of God, and I knew that victory and conquest, defeat and flight, are each ordained by Him, so I placed no reliance on the words of the astrologers and star-gazers, but besought the giver of victory to favour my arms. I did not wish the war to be of long continuance; so as soon as night was over and morning came, I arose to my devotions. I said the morning prayers in the congregation, and I repeated my private prayers, then I took the holy book, which I always carried with me, and sought a *fál.* on the subject of the war. The verse which appeared was one in the chapter of the Bee.. I immediately sought the interpretation of this verse from those who were present, and they replied that the manifest meaning of it was . . . I received this *fál* as a propitious indication, and acted in full reliance on its command and on the favour of God. The whole of Sultán Mahmúd's army was defeated; part was slain, and part had found refuge in the fort, and I, exalted with victory, marched towards the fort. When I reached its gates I carefully reconnoitred its towers and walls, and then returned to the side of the *Hauz-i kháss.* This is a reservoir, which was constructed by Sultán Fíroz Sháh, and is faced all round with stone and cement (*gach*). Each side of that reservoir is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings placed around it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year. The tomb of Sultán Fíroz Sháh stands on its bank. When I had pitched my

camp here, the princes and *amírs* and *nuyáns*, and all the generals and officers, came to wait upon me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations on this great victory. I embraced the princes and *amírs*, and I praised them all for their exertions and courage which I myself had seen. When I recounted the favours and mercies I had received from the Almighty, my excellent sons, the brave and renowned *amírs*, who served under me, and the great and glorious victories I had achieved, my heart melted, and the tears burst from eyes. I cast myself upon the ground and poured forth my thanksgivings to the All-beneficent. All who were present raised their voices in prayer, and in wishes for the continuance of my prosperity and the prolongation of my reign."

The City of Delhi was sacked, and *many of the infidel inhabitants were slaughtered.* 'On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; *ashrafís, tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Aláí coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the *saiyids*, the *'ulamá*, and the other Musulmáns, the whole city was sacked. The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city. On the following day, Sunday, it was brought to my knowledge that a great number of infidel Hindus had assembled in the *Masjid-i jámi'* of Old Dehlí, carrying with them arms and provisions, and were preparing to defend themselves. Some of my people who had gone that way on business were wounded by them. I immediately ordered Amír Sháh Malik and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí to take a party of men and proceed to clear the house of God from infidels and idolaters. They accordingly attacked these infidels and put them to death. Old Dehlí then was plundered. It was followed or preceeded by immence rejoicing by Timur's fighters. Before the sack of Delhi, what happened is recorded in Tuzk: "When the preparations for holding a court in Dehlí were complete I gave orders for the princes, the *amírs*, the *núyáns*, and other of my officers, and the *saiyids*, the *'ulamá*, the *shaikhs*, and all the principal men of the city to attend my Court. When they had all arrived I entered and took my

seat upon the throne. The Turk and Tájik musicians and singers began to play and sing. Wine (*sharáb*) and sharbat, and sweetmeats, and all kinds of bread and meat were served; I bestowed rich robes, and caps, and girdles, and swords, and daggers, and horses, etc., etc., upon the princes, and *amírs* and other leading men of my army, especially upon those braves who had distinguished themselves by deeds of valour under my own observation. To some I gave regiments and raised their dignity. Upon the *saiyids* and *'ulamá* of the city I bestowed robes and presents. I ordered my secretaries to draw up despatches announcing my victories in Hindustán, and to circulate them with all speed throughout my dominions. And I ordered my revenue officers to make provision for collecting the ransom-money assessed upon the city, excepting the *saiyids*, *'ulamá*, and *shaikhs*. The collectors proceeded about their work, and I remained in the same quarters for several days, holding courts, giving feasts, and partaking of pleasure and enjoyment.'

After sacking Delhi or any city of the Muslim world, Timur usually 'ordered that all the artisans and clever mechanics, who were masters of their respective crafts, should be picked out from among the prisoners and set aside, and accordingly some thousands of craftsmen were selected to await my command. All these I distributed among the princes and *amírs* who were present, or who were engaged officially in other parts of my dominions. I had determined to build a *Masjid-i jámi'* in Samarkand, the seat of my empire, which should be without a rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stonemasons should be set apart for my own especial service. By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehlí, by name Sírí, Jahán-panáh, and Old Dehlí, had been plundered. The *khutba* of my sovereignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable.'[30]

The *Zafarnama* of Sharafuddin Yazdi

The *Zafarnama* or "The Book of Victory" by Mauláná Sharafu-d dín 'Alí Yazdí, who died A.D. 1446. This work, which Mirkhond declares to surpass everything that had up to his time enlightened the world in the department of history, is a very partial biography of Tímúr, written A.D. 1424. It is interspersed with fables, and is well known to the Orientalists of Europe by the accurate

[30] *Histoire de Tímúr Bec*, 4 vol., 12 mo., Paris 1722.

French translation of M. Petis de la Croix[31], which is one of Gibbon's chief sources respecting this hero. The translation of M. Petis de la Croix does not contain the second and third parts of the *Zafar-náma*, nor does it contain the supplement of the original written by Táju-d dín Salmání, who continued the history to the time of Sháh Rukh, A.D. 1410; and as the *Zafar-náma* does not commence till the twenty-fifth year of Tímúr's age, the translation is by no means to be considered a complete biography, more especially as it is an abridged rather than a full version of the original. The French version was translated into English by J. Darby in 1723. There is also an Italian translation by Bradutti.

The *Zafar-náma* is based upon *Malfúzát-i Tímúrí*, the so-called autobiography of Amir Timur, and so far as the expedition to India is concerned, it is merely a polished reproduction of that work. This fact may be seen on a comparison of the following Extracts with those which precede this from the *Malfúzát-i Tímúrí*. So identical are they that the Extracts which follow might be dispensed with. But the *Zafar-náma* enjoys such a high reputation, and has been so largely used and quoted as an authority by writers, both in the East and in Europe, that it cannot be passed over in a comprehensive work like the present.

According to Daulatshah Samarqandi, the author had begun compiling *Zafarnama* at an old age. He had spent four years in completing his work which is seen as a masterpiece of literature.[32] For Ahmad Amin Razi, Yazdi was a noted scholar of Iran who enshrined literary craftsmanship in his book.[33] According to

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[31] See Daulatshah Samarqandi, *Tzakirat al-Shu'ra*, Leiden, p. 379.

[32] Ahmad Amin Razi, *Tazkira Haft Iqlim*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 173-174.

[33] *Tarikh –i- Yazd*, Yazd, 1317 A.H., p. 285) [The translation has been made by the editor, and he has had the use of four MSS. belonging to the Library of the India Office. In one of these (No. 985), the work has been stripped of much of its florid and redundant ornament—in fact, it has been subjected to a treatment closely resembling that which Petis de la Croix found to be necessary in making his French translation. This abridged MS. does not appear to give any account of the writer by whom it was prepared, but the following extract of a letter to Sir H. Elliot from the late Professor Duncan Forbes in all probability refers to this same work. "Another curiosity (in the British Museum) connected with Tímúr is a very plain and sensible paraphrase of the *Zafar-náma*, done, by command of Jahángír, by 'Abdu-s Sattár Kásim in the city of Ájmír, A.H. 1024 (1617 A.D.). The doer of the thing says very sensibly in his introduction that Yazdí's book is very flowery and pedantic, written in the *'ibárat-i munshiyána*, which we may felicitously translate the Jedediah Cleishbotham style, which he, 'Abdu-s Sattár aforesaid, improves marvellously by leaving out all Arabic and Persian verses that are not to the point, and enriching the narrative from other sources." The editor has, in general followed this MS., but he has constantly referred

Ahmad b. Husain b. Ali al-Katib, *Zafarnama* is a referred book of impeccable authority on the Timurid rule which is characterized by unique literary taste.[34]

The *Zafarnama* starts with a poem in Persian by Yazdi himself dedicated to the acts and states of *Hazrat Sahib Qirani*, i.e. Amir Timur, followed by another poem of considerable length (78 stanzas) on his points of glorification.[35] In fact, the whole book running into 588+544=1133 pages consists of an enormous amount of poems or verses praising the Amir in a way or the other. All of his military expeditions that hardly avoided loot and plunder deserve to be justified on different grounds the last of which might be religious: repressing the infidels and defending the grandeur of Islam. Though the book is written in Persian, the author uses Arabic language on several occasions. His glorification of Timur in Arabic language could be seen in this passage that depicts him to be the flag-bearer of justice and a phenomenon of divine grace:[36]

هو السلطان الأعظم المطاع و الخاقان الأعدل الأكمل الواجب الإتباع رافع رايات الخلافة بالعدل و الإحسان راقم آيات الرحمة و الرأفة على صحائف الأمكنة و الأزمان آية الله بين البرايا المجتهد في إعلاء كلمته العليا مفيض النعم الظاهرة و الباطنة الموعود بلسان النبوة في المأ ة الثامنة مشيد مبانى الشرع المبين ظل الله في الأرضين بأوفر الحظ من عناية الإله الرحمن معين الحق و السلطنة و الدنيا و الدين أبو النصر شاه رخ بهادر سلطان خلد الله سبحانه ملكه و خلافته و سلطانه

The bitter fact that Timur's soldiers hardly discriminated between the believers and the non-believers hardly disturbs the author or compels him to reconsider his approach. This is evident in all the pages he writes concerning Timur's expeditions.

Take the example of Rimur's invasion of India, Yazdi writes: Tímúr, the invincible and world-conquering, had given to Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír the provinces of Kunduz, Bakalán, Kábul, Ghazní, and Kandahár, with all their dependencies as far as the confines of India. The prince accordingly took possession of these territories, and ruled with justice and liberality. Under the orders of the Emperor he collected the troops of his provinces, and marched

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to the other copies, and has occasionally introduced from them names and passages which seemed worthy of notice.].

[34] *Zafarnama*, vol. I, pp. 3-7

[35] *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 13

[36] *Ibid*, vol. II, pp. 21-134

forth to conquer other countries with a large army and valiant chiefs. He plundered the Aghánís of the Koh-i Sulaimán, and crossing the river Indus he took the town of Uch by storm. From thence he marched to Multán and laid siege to it. Multán at that time was governed by Sárang, elder brother of Mallú Khán. After the death of Sultán Fíroz Sháh these two brothers raised his grandson Sultán Mahmúd to the throne, and seized upon the government of Hindustán. Mallú remained at Dehlí in attendance on the Sultán, and Sárang had taken possession of Multán. The prince's forces having invested Multán, they every day made two vigorous assaults. The intelligence of these proceedings being carried to Tímúr was the cause of his going to Hindustán. Just at that time he had resolved to assemble forces from all his dominions, and to march against China with the intent of destroying the idol temples, and of raising mosques in their places. He had previously heard that the standards of the faith of Islám had been raised in Dehlí and other places, and that its profession of faith was impressed upon the coins, but that the country in general was polluted by the inhabitants being infidels and idolaters. Impelled by the desire of waging a religious war, he resolved to march against Multán and Dehlí. He consulted with his nobles and chiefs, and they concurred in the propriety of making the invasion. In the month of Rajab, 800 H. (March 1398 A.D.), nearly corresponding to the year of the Leopard, he began his march towards Hindustán, with an army as numerous as the leaves of the trees. When he arrived at Indaráb, the chiefs of that country came and cast themselves at his feet, saying that they were Musulmáns, and that the infidel Kators and Siyah-poshes exacted sums of money every year as tribute from them; and in default of payment, the infidels slew the men, and made their women and children prisoners. Their statements kindled the anger of the emperor, and he resolved to suppress these infidels. . . . He arrived at Kháwak, and ordered the fort of that place, which was in ruins, to be repaired. The soldiers and many of the *amírs* left their horses there, and ascended the mountain of Kator on foot. . . . The infidels of this country are tall, stout, and vigorous. They generally go about naked. Their chiefs are called 'Udá and 'Udáshú.. They have a very peculiar language, different from Persian, Turki, and Hindí. Most of them know no language but their own. If men of the neighbourhood had not mixed with them, and learned their language so as to be able to interpret, no one would know anything about this language. . . . After three days' continuous fighting Tímúr's troops prevailed, and the enemy sued for quarter. Tímúr sent to them Ák Sultán, proposing that if they would surrender and become Musulmáns, he would spare their lives and property, and confirm them in the possession of their country. When they were informed of these terms by means of interpreters they, on the fourth day, hastened with Ák

Sultán to the court of Tímúr, made their profession of the faith, and with tears offered excuses for their conduct. They declared themselves to be his slaves, and ready to obey his commands. Tímúr, in his kingly generosity, gave them robes and dismissed them. When night came on, these black-hearted renegades made an attack upon Amír Sháh Malik. Some few of them, wounded and maimed, escaped, but 150 of them were taken prisoners, and were dispatched to hell with the sword. The whole army of Islám then ascended the mountain and put all the men to the sword, and carried off the women and children. On the summit of the mountain pyramids were built with the heads of these infidels, who had never bowed their heads in adoration of God. An account of the victory was engraved upon stone, with the date of the month Ramazán 800 H., together with the date used in the locality.. When the princes and *amírs* of the army who had under the imperial command marched by different routes, had all joined the imperial standards, every officer of the right and left wing was ordered to his own post. The Princes Pír Muhammad, Rustam, and Sulaimán Sháh with several *amírs*, were placed over the right. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, the Princes Khalíl Sultán, and Sultán Husain with *amírs* were in command of the left. In the centre were the *túmáns* of Allah-dád, of 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, and of other *amírs*. A march of six standard *farsakhs* and two miles towards Dehlí was made. On the 22nd they arrived at the fort of Asandí, seven *kos* from Kaital. The inhabitants of Sámána, Kaital, and Asandí who were mostly fire-worshippers, burned their houses and fled to Delhí, so that none of them were met with. On the 23rd they marched from Asandí and arrived at the fort of Tughlikpúr, six *kos* distant. The infidels of this place belonged to the religion of the Magi (*sanawíya*) whose eyes had never been enlightened with the rays of the true religion. In the belief of these people there are two gods, one called Yazdán the other Ahriman whom they typify by light and darkness. They suppose all good to proceed from the one and all evil from the other. The people of this place who were also called *Sálún*, had left it empty and fled. The soldiers set fire to the place and reduced it to ashes...On the 24th the army arrived at the town of Panipat, a distance of twelve *kos* from Tughlikpúr. The inhabitants of this place also had taken flight and not a soul was found there. In the fort there was a store of wheat more than 10,000 heavy *mans* in weight or 160,000 of the legal or standard *man*. This was given to the soldiers. On the 25th Tímúr marched six *kos* from that place and encamped on the river of Panipat. On the 26th the *amírs* put on their armour ready for battle. On the 27th the order was given for the generals of the right wing to proceed to Jahán-numáí, a building erected by Fíroz Sháh on a hill two *farsakhs* from Dehlí. The river Jumna runs at the foot of this hill. They accordingly ravaged the country from the village of Kanhí-gazín

to Jahán-numáí. The people were killed or made prisoners and great booty was carried off to the camp...On the 29th Tímúr passed the Jumna near the village of Palla and marched towards the fort of Loní which is in a great pasture country. This fort is situated in the *doáb* between the rivers Jumna and Halín. The latter is a large canal which Sultán Sháh brought from the river Kálíní, and it joins the river Jumna near Fírozábád. Amír Jahán Sháh, Amír Sháh Malik, and Amír Alláh-dád under Tímúr's orders, advanced to the foot of the hill of Jahán-numá. Maimun Maishúm the commandant of the fort, unmindful of Tímúr's strength, would not capitulate, but prepared to offer resistance. As soon as Tímúr approached, a wise and venerable old man came out and surrendered, but the other inhabitants who were *gabrs* and servants of Mallú Khán in their folly and presumption resolved to defend the place. The soldiers were immediately ordered to invest the fort and to take it by mining the walls. They accordingly commenced sapping in various places, and towards evening they took it. The *gabrs* had previously set fire to their houses in the fort and had burnt them with their wives and children. Tímúr remained outside of the fort that night. On the last day of Rabí'ul-awwal he gave orders that such of the servants of Naukar Khán and of the inhabitants of the place as were Muhammadans should be set aside, and that all the rest, *gabrs* and infidels, should be passed under the sword of Islám. All the inhabitants of the place were plundered except the *saiyids* who had been glorified with the light of the faith. The fort was burnt and laid waste...On the 1st Rabi'u-l ákhír, Tímúr mounted his horse and leaving the fort of Loní he went forth to reconnoitre. He proceeded to the river Jumna near Jahán-numáí, and carefully examined the fords. He then returned to the camp, and as Dehlí was near he held a council with the princes and nobles as to the manner of besieging it. The decision arrived at was that plenty of grain and fodder should first be provided for the supply of the army and that then the siege should be entered upon. In pursuance of this plan Amír Sulaimán Sháh, Amír Jahán Sháh, and others were sent out to plunder the environs of Dehlí and bring in corn. On the following day he determined to pay a visit to the palace of Jahán-numáí. He set out with 700 men clad in armour, and passing the river Jumna he carefully examined the palace. Fíroz Sháh had given to the place the name of Jahán-numáí by inspiration as it was to become illustrious by the visit of the Sovereign of the world. After inspecting the place he looked around to discover the ground most suitable for a battle-field. 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí and Junaid Búr-uldai who had marched with the advance-guard now returned; the former brought in Muhammad Salaf, and the latter another person as prisoners. After questioning them Muhammad Salaf was put to death. At this juncture Mallú Khán was descried with 4,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, and twenty-seven

elephants issuing from the groves near the city. They drew near, and Tímúr passed over the river to his camp. The advance-guard of the army, 300 men, under the command of Saiyid Khwája and Mubáshar met and attacked them, leading them to the side of the river where a warm conflict took place. Tímúr ordered Súnjak Bahádur and Alláh-dád to support Saiyid Khwája. They crossed the river with the utmost celerity, and joining their comrades they attacked the enemy with showers of arrows. When the enemy saw the boldness and vigour of their assailants, they could not hold their ground, but broke and fled at the first charge. Saiyid Khwája pursued and killed many of them. In the flight a war elephant fell down and died; an incident from which wise men drew an augury of victory.. On the 3rd Rabí'u-s sání Tímúr marched from Jahán-numái, and pitched his camp to the eastward of Loní. All the princes and *amírs* who had been engaged in different expeditions assembled here under the royal banner [*and Tímúr harangued them on the operations of war*]. On the same day Amír Jahán Sháh and other *amírs* represented to Tímúr that from the time he crossed the Indus a hundred thousand Hindu prisoners, more or less, had been taken, and that these *gabrs* and idol-worshippers were kept in the camp. It was to be feared that in the day of battle with the forces of Dehlí they might join the enemy. This opinion was confirmed by the joy which the prisoners had exhibited when Mallú Khán marched against the imperial forces at Jahán-numái. Tímúr considered the point, and deeming the advice of his officers to be wise, he gave orders for all the Hindu prisoners to be put to death. Every one who neglected to comply with this command was to be executed, and his wives, children, and goods were to become the property of the informer. In pursuance of this order 100,000 infidel Hindus were put to the sword. Mauláná Násiru-d dín, a most distinguished ecclesiastic, had fifteen Hindus in his train, and he who had never caused a sheep to be slaughtered was obliged to have these fifteen Hindus killed. Tímúr also issued an order that one man out of every ten should be left in camp to guard the wives and children of the prisoners, and the captured cattle. On the same day Tímúr resolved upon marching to Dehlí, and setting off after mid-day prayer he encamped on the banks of the Jumna. The astrologers and soothsayers disputed with each other as to whether the stars and presages were favourable. Tímúr placed no reliance on their predictions, but put his trust in God, without whose pleasure nothing happens. Next morning, after prayers, he took the holy book and opened it for a *fál*. The verse which came out was favourable to his enterprize. Trusting in this omen he crossed the river Jumna, and encamped on the other side on the 5th Rabi'u-s sání. The soldiers by way of precaution intrenched their camp, which was near a little hill called Pushta-bihálí, and they fenced it in with branches of trees and palisades.

In front of the ditch they fastened buffalos together by their feet and necks, and inside the fence they raised pent-houses (*khamhá*). On the 7th Rabi'u-s sání Tímúr settled the array of his army. Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, Amír Yádgár Birlás, and others, were placed over the right wing. Prince Sultán Husain, Prince Khalíl Sultán, Amír Jahán Sháh, and others, had command of the left wing. The van-guard was placed under the command of Prince Rustam, Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, and others. Tímúr himself commanded the centre. In this order, full of spirits and courage, the soldiers marched to the battle field. The enemy also came out in battle array. The centre was under Sultán Mahmúd, grandson of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, and Mallú Khán. The right was commanded by Taghí Khán, Mír Alí Hauja, and others, and the left by Malik Mu'ínu-d dín, Malik Hání, and others. The enemy's army consisted of 12,000 veteran horsemen and 40,000 infantry, with all the appliances of war. Thus they advanced to the field of battle. The enemy's great reliance was on his enormous war elephants, 120 in number. They were covered with armour, and on their backs was a kind of litter or cage, in which cross-bow men and discus throwers were concealed. Sharp poisoned points were fastened firmly to their tusks. Rocket-men (*takhsh-afgan*) and grenade-throwers (*ra'd-andáz*) marched by their sides. Although the army of Tímúr was weak compared with this Indian army, still his soldiers did not rate their enemy very highly. But although they had fought in many a battle, and overthrown many an enemy, they had never before encountered elephants. They had heard by report that the bodies of these elephants were so hard that no weapon would pierce them; that they could tear up strong trees with the wind (*bád*) of their trunks; that they could knock down strong houses with the pressure of their sides; and that in battle they could lift horse and horseman from the ground with their dragon-like trunk and raise them in the air. Exaggerations like these had raised apprehensions in the hearts of the soldiers. When Tímúr proceeded to appoint the places for the various officers of the Court, he, in his princely kindness, asked the learned doctors of the Law who accompanied the army in this invasion where he should place them. They, terrified with the stories they had heard of the elephants, answered: "In the same place as the ladies and women." When Tímúr perceived this terror and alarm of his followers, to allay their fears he directed that they should fix palisades, and dig a trench in front of the army. In front of these he ordered buffalos to be placed side by side, and fastened firmly together by the neck and feet with leather thongs. He had strong iron claws made and given to the infantry, who were ordered to throw them on the ground in front of the elephants. Maulána Shahábu-d dín Jámí has celebrated these devices in one of his odes. Heaven was always favourable to Tímúr, and now gave him success

without using any of these stratagems. He had on horseback ascended an eminence between the two armies, and examined all around. When he saw the opposing forces he alighted from his horse, and turning the face of supplication to heaven he offered his prayers, and begged for victory over his enemy. It was not long before a sign was given of the acceptance of this prayer. While Tímúr was offering his prayer to heaven, it came into the minds of Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, and the other officers in command of the van-guard, that if Tímúr sent reinforcement to the right wing and to the advance guard it would be a sure presage of victory. When Tímúr had finished his prayer, he sent Sultán 'Ali Tawáchí and others from the centre to the support of the right wing, and another party to the support of the van-guard. These movements cheered up the spirits and strengthened the courage of the men. They drew their swords and rushed fearlessly on the enemy. The elephants of mighty form and craven spirit ran off, and Tímúr thus obtained the victory. The soldiers of India fought bravely for their lives, but the frail insect cannot contend with the raging wind, nor the feeble deer against the fierce lion, so they were compelled to take to flight. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, Mallú Khán, and those who fled with them, entered the city and closed the gates. Prince Khalíl Sultán, of the right wing, notwithstanding his youth, attacked one of the monster elephants, cut down his driver, and led the animal, as a husbandman drives a buffalo in the plough, to Tímúr. When by the favour of God the enemy was defeated and put to flight, Tímúr advanced to the gate of Dehlí. He carefully examined the walls and bastions of that noble city, and then returned to the *Hauz-i Kháss*. This is a reservoir constructed by Sultán Fíroz Sháh, so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by the rain in the rainy season, and the people of Dehlí obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Fíroz Sháh is by its side. Tímúr encamped there and the princes and nobles and officers waited upon him and offered congratulations upon the victory. They then praised the bravery and reported the valiant exploits performed by the princes and officers. Tímúr on hearing these reports was moved to tears, and gave thanks to God who had distinguished him above other monarchs by granting him such valiant sons and such faithful servants. . . .After their defeat, Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán went to Dehlí and repented of the course they had pursued and of the rashness they had displayed. But repentance after a disaster is of no avail. No resource but flight was left. So in the darkness of the night Sultán Mahmúd left the city by the gate of Hauz-rání and Mallú Khán by the Baraka gate, both of which are to the south of the Jahán-panáh. They fled into the desert. When Tímúr was informed of their flight he sent Amír Sa'íd and other officers in pursuit of them. These officers captured many fugitives and

secured a large booty. They also made prisoners of Mallú Khán's sons, Saif Khán entitled Malik Sharfu-d dín, and Khudá-dád. On the same evening orders were given to Allah-dád and other officers to take possession of the gates of the city and to prevent the escape of any one. On the 8th Rabi'u-s sání, Tímúr hoisted his victorious flag on the walls of Dehlí. He then went to the gate of the *maidán* and took his seat in the *'Ídgáh*. This gate is one of the gates of Jahán-panáh and opens towards the *Hauz-i Kháss*. There he held his court; and the *saiyids*, the *kázís*, the nobles and the great men who were in the city, hastened to pay their homage to him. Fazlu-llah Balkhí, deputy of Mallú Khán, with all the officers of the *díwán*, proceeded to make their submission. The *saiyids*, the *'ulamá*, and the *shaikhs* sought for protection through the intervention of the princes and officers. Prince Pír Muhammad, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, Amír Jahán Sháh, and others interceded for them in due season, and gained their object. The standard of victory was raised and drums were beaten and music played to proclaim the conquest to the skies. A poet also wrote some lines containing the date of the victory,—8th Rabi'u-s sání, 801 (Dec. 17th, 1398). The elephants and rhinoceroses were brought forth with their trappings and paraded before the emperor. The elephants all in token of submission bowed their heads to the ground and raised a cry altogether as if they were asking for quarter. There were 120 war elephants captured, and on the return home of the army some were sent to different parts of the empire for the use of the princes, and the others were sent to Samarkand. . . . Maulána Násiru-d dín was ordered to go with other learned doctors and great men into the mosque on the Sabbath, and proclaim the name of the Sáhib-kirán Amír Tímúr Gúrgán in the *khutba*, in the same way as the name of Fíroz Sháh and other Sultáns had been proclaimed. . . .On the 16th of the month a number of soldiers collected at the gate of Dehlí and derided the inhabitants. When Tímúr heard of this he directed some of the *amírs* to put a stop to it. But it was the divine pleasure to ruin the city and to punish the inhabitants, and that was brought about in this way. The wife of Jahán Malik 'Aghá and other ladies went into the city to see the palace of the Thousand Columns (*Hazár-sutún*), which Malik Jauná had built in the Jahán-panáh. The officers of the Treasury had also gone there to collect the ransom money. Several thousand soldiers, with orders for grain and sugar, had proceeded to the city. An order had been issued for the officers to arrest every nobleman who had fought against Tímúr and had fled to the city, and in execution of this order they were scattered about the city. When parties and bands of soldiers were going about the city, numbers of Hindus and *gabrs* in the cities of Dehlí, Sírí, Jahán-panáh, and Old Dehlí, seeing the violence of the soldiers,. took up arms and assaulted them. Many of the infidels set fire to their goods and effects, and threw

themselves, their wives and children, into the flames. The soldiers grew more eager for plunder and destruction. Notwithstanding the boldness and the struggles of the Hindus, the officers in charge kept the gates closed, and would not allow any more soldiers to enter the city, lest it should be sacked. But on that Friday night there were about 15,000 men in the city who were engaged from early eve till morning in plundering and burning the houses. In many places the impure infidel *gabrs* made resistance. In the morning the soldiers who were outside, being unable to control themselves, went to the city and raised a great disturbance. On that Sunday, the 17th of the month, the whole placed was pillaged, and several palaces in Jahán-panáh and Sírí were destroyed. On the 18th the like plundering went on. Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves, and some brought as many as fifty or a hundred men, women, and children as slaves out of the city. The other plunder and spoils were immense, gems and jewels of all sorts, rubies, diamonds, stuffs and fabrics of all kinds, vases and vessels of gold and silver, sums of money in *'ala'í tankas*, and other coins beyond all computation. Most of the women who were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and legs and valuable rings upon their toes. Medicines and perfumes and unguents, and the like, of these no one took any notice. On the 19th of the month Old Dehlí was thought of, for many infidel Hindus had fled thither and taken refuge in the great mosque, where they prepared to defend themselves. Amír Sháh Malik and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, with 500 trusty men, proceeded against them, and falling upon them with the sword despatched them to hell. High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. On the same day all Old Dehlí was plundered. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners. For several days in succession the prisoners were brought out of the city, and every *amír* of a *túmán* or *kushún* took a party of them under his command. Several thousand craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Tímúr some were divided among the princes, *amírs*, and *ághás* who had assisted in the conquest, and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Tímúr had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i jami'* in Samarkand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone-masons should be reserved for that pious work...The valley of Kúpila is situated at the foot of a mountain by which the river Ganges passes. Fifteen *kos* higher up there is a stone in the form of a cow, and the water of the river flows out of the mouth of that cow. The infidels of India worship this cow, and come hither from all quarters, from distances even of a year's journey, to visit it. They bring here and cast into the river the ashes of their dead whose corpses have been

burned, believing this to be the means of salvation. They throw gold and silver into the river; they go down alive into the river, bathe their feet, sprinkle water on their heads, and have their heads and beards shaved. This they consider to be an act of devotion, just as the Muhammadans consider the pilgrimage to Mecca a pious work.. In this valley there was a large concourse of Hindus, having great riches in cattle and movables, so Tímúr resolved to attack them. On the 5th Jumáda-l awwal he set his army in motion towards Kúpila. It was the will of Heaven that these infidels should perish, so in the pride of their numbers and strength they awaited his approach, and had the temerity to resolve upon resistance. At the rising of the sun our army reached the valley. The right wing was under the command of Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and the left under some renowned leaders. Amír Sháh Malik and other officers with the centre began the attack. When the cries of our men and the noise of our drums reached them, the courage of the infidels failed. In their terror they fled for refuge to the mountains, but they were pursued and many were slain. A few who, half-dead, escaped the slaughter, were scattered abroad. All their property and goods became the spoil of the victors.The country having thus been cleansed from the pollution of infidels, the army returned back on the same day and recrossed the Ganges. Then Tímúr returned thanks for his victories, after which he mounted his horse and marched five *kos* down the river and there encamped. When Dehlí and its territories had been purged from the foul pollution of *gabrs* and idolaters, Tímúr formed the resolve of returning home. On the 6th Jumáda-l awwal, 801 H., he departed from the banks of the Ganges. Orders were issued for the march, and for the *tawáchís* to bring up the heavy baggage. On the 6th a march of six *kos* was made, and then a halt was called; the baggage in this march being four *kos* in the rear. At this stage Tímúr learned that in the valleys of the Siwálik mountains there was collected a large number of Hindus ready for battle. Tímúr then gave orders that the troops in charge of the baggage should march to these mountains. He himself having marched rapidly, encamped in the hills of Siwálik. In this march Prince Khalíl Sultán and Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín came up from the baggage and joined Tímúr. . . . On the same day an order was issued that Amír Jahán Sháh, one of the officers of the left wing, who had been absent for a week in a raid upon the upper parts of the Jumna, should come in and take part in the operations against the infidels. In compliance with this order he hastened to the royal camp....On the last day of Jumáda-l ákhir, Tímúr set out in advance of his army towards Samarkand. He marched twenty *kos* down the river Dandána to the village of Sambast, belonging to the Júd mountains. On the 1st Rajab he proceeded to the vicinity of the fort of Barúja, and there halted; but on the same day, in the afternoon, he

mounted his horse and entered the desert called Chol-i Jalálí. Making all possible speed, he came out of the desert in the evening, and encamped by the side of a pool (*maghák*) which still retained some of the waters of the rainy season. This place is three *kos* distant from Barúja. On the 2nd Rajab, at breakfast time, he reached the river Sind. The officers who had been appointed to guard the way from Naghaz to Bánú had built a bridge with tripod trestles over the river. Tímúr passed over this bridge, and rested on the bank of the river till noon. Amír Allah-dád was left in charge of the bridge, to keep it for the transit of the baggage and the army coming up behind. In the afternoon Tímúr marched ten *kos*, and then encamped, and marching again on the 4th he made a day's journey to Bánú."[37]

What makes Ibn Arab Shah a bitter critic of the Gorkan?

Ibn Arab Shah (Ahmad ibn Muhamed ibn Abdullah al-Hanafi al-Ajmi al-Ansari al-Dimashqi), the author of *Ajaib al-Maqdur fi Akhbar-i-Timur*, is a staunch critic of Timur. He, unlike the officially patronized approach of Yazdi, represents the opposite view on Timur. The opening sentences from the prelude of his history after the customary paragraph of Allah's praise and blessings on the Prophet well-embody the methodology Ibn Arab Shah adopts while dealing with the Timurid history. His sentences go as in the following:[38]

"أما بعد، فلما كان في التواريخ عبرة لمن اعتبر و تنبيه لمن افتكر، و إعلام أن قاطن الدنيا على سفر، و إحضار لصورة من مضى و غبر، و كيف قدر و اقتدر و نهى و أمر و بنى و عمر و ختل و ختر و غلب و قهر و كسر و جبر و جمع و إدخر، و تكبر و فخر، و كيف عبس و بسر و ضحك و استبشر، و تقلب في أطواره من الطفولية إلى الكبر، إلى أن قلبته أيدي الغير و إخطفته و هو آمن مما يكون مخاليب القضاء و القدر، فخالط ما صفا من عيشة الكدر و تنغص حتى ذهب عنه ما حلا و مر، إن في ذلك لعبرة لمن اعتبر و تذكرة لمن ادكر و تبصرة لمن استبصر، و كان من أعجب القضايا بل من أعظم البلايا الفتنة التى يحار فيها اللبيب و يدهش في دجى حندسها الفطن الأريب و يسفه فيها الحليم و يذل فيها العزيز و يهان الكريم قصة تيمور رأس الفساق الأعرج الدجال الذى أقام الفتنة شرقا و غربا على ساق،

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[37] Ibn Arab Shah, *Ajaib al-Maqdur fi Akhbar-i-Timur*, pp. 3-4

[38] *Ibid*, pp. 7-8

أقبلت الدنيا الدنية عليه فتولى و سعى في الأرض و أهلك الحرث و النسل و تيمم حين عمته النجاسة صعيد الأرض فغسل بسيف الطغيان كل أغر محجل فتحققت نجاسته بهذا الغسل، أردت أن أذكر منها ما رأيته و أقص في ذلك ما رويته إذ كانت إحدى الكبر و أم العبر و الداهية التى لا يرضى القضاء في وصفها بهذا القدر، والله أسأله إلهام الصدق وسلوك طريق الحق..."

Ibn Arab Shah adopts the way usually seen with the historians and biographers in the Middle Ages in general classification of the contents. The first *fasl* or chapter is dedicated to Timur's genealological line. He is Timur, or Taimur or Tamur that means iron in the Turkish, son of Targhai b. Abghai. He was born in a village known as Khwaja Ilghar in the commission of Kyss, a town in Mawaraannahar. The author, after describing different views about the family line and profession of Timur (including the view that he belonged to a family of shepherds and himself a wandering robber who formed a crime syndicate comprising of forty bandits like Abbas, Jahan Shah, Qumari, Sulaimanshah, Idkotaimur, Jaku and Saifuddin, and focusing upon how Timur was blessed by a group of Sufi saints led by Shaikh Shamsuddin al-Fakhuri, besides Timur's virtuosity of horse-breeding,[39] gives the correct historic version that his father Targhai was an officer with Sultan Hussain of Balkh and in-charge of one hundred horse men. When Timur dominated over Mawarannahar outsmarting all of his adversaries, he fortified himself tactfully with marrying daughters of Kings, hence himself being named Gorkan which means son-in-law. Sultan Husain had four grand viziers hailing from the four most prominent Turkic tribes of Erlat, Jelabir, Kaujin and Berlas. To this fourth Timur belonged. According to Abu Abdullah Muhammed b. Muhammed al-Bukhari, the master of Ibn Arab Shah, Timur managed to kill Sultan Husain in 771. From that time up to his death in 807, Timur dictated as a ruler. This happens to be 36 years. After doing all the wrongs in Mawarannahar, Timur and his band of unlawful robbers crossed the Jehoun River and pillaged and plundered Khurasan and Sijistan. He subjugated the walled city of Nakhshab (historically known for Shaikh Abu Turab Nakhshabi) and the states of Balkhshan, Khwarzam, Sejistan, Sabziwar, Iraq al-Ajam (of Shah Mansur) and Isphahan.[40] Ibn Arab Shah adopts the same style of describing the atrocities committed by Timur in

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[39] *Ibid*, pp. 9-71.

[40] *Ibid*, pp. 81-82.

all of his expeditions in Iraq al-Arab (held by Sultan Ahmad of Baghdad),[41] Mosul, Diyarbaker, Raha, Mardin[42] and his retiring to Samarqand. Timur after returning to his base in Sanarqand had expeditions against the peoples of Tartaristan and Volga-Ural with Tokhtamysh Khan. Ibn Arab Shah speaks very high about the Tatars. He says: [43]

كانت بلادا بالتتار خاصة و بأنواع المواشى و قبائل الترك غاصة محفوظة الأطراف معمورة الأكناف فسيحة الأرجاء صحيحة الماء و الهواء ، حشمها رجالة, و جنودها نبالة، أفصح الأتراك لهجة، و أزكاهم مهجة، و أجملهم جبهة، و أكملهم بهجة، و نساءهم شموس، و رجالهم بدور، و ملوكهم روس، و أغنياءهم صدور، لا زور فيهم و لا تدليس، و لا مكر بينهم و لا تلبيس، دأبهم الترحال على العجل مع أمان لا يدانيه وجل، مدنها قليلة, و مراحلها طويلة ... و أما اليوم فليس بتلك الأماكن من خوارزم إلى قريم من تلك الأمم و الحشم متحرك و لا ساكن، و ليس فيها من أنيس إلا اليعافير و العيس

Ibn Arab Shah gives some accounts of the city of Dasht and its ruler Sultan Barakah Khan who had embraced Islam. Barakah Khan's court and subsequently the courts of Uzbek and Janibek Khans were flooded by a large number scholars and saintly figures such as Qutubuddin Razi, Sa'duddin Taftazani, Syed Jalaluddin (the well known commentator on the *Hajibiyah*) and others who belonged to Hanafi and Shafi'I schools of Muslim jurisprudence. They were followed by Hafizuddin al-Bazzazi, Ahmad al-Khujandi and others. Sarai had become a centre of knowledge and a mine of fortunes.[44] In Ibn Arab Shah's words:[45]

فصارت سراى بواسطة هولاء السادات مجمع العلم و معدن السعادات، و اجتمع فيها من العلماء و الفضلاء و الأدباء و الظرفاء و من كل صاحب فضيلة و خصلة نبيلة جميلة ما لم يجتمع في سواها و لا في جامع مصر و لا قراها، و بين بنيان سراى و خراب ما بها من الأمكنة ثلاث و ستون سنة

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[41] *Ibid*, pp. 83-107.
[42] *Ibid*, pp. 114-115
[43] *Ibid*, pp. 116-117.
[44] *Ibid*, p. 117.
[45] *Ibid*, pp. 118-123.

The peoples of Dasht were caught unawares by the warriors of Timur who had embarked upon punishing Tokhtamysh Khan. Ibn Arab Shah's portrayal of the Timurid march and sufferings of the peoples in Volga-Ural region is graphic and poetic. He says:[46]

فوصل تيمور إلى تلك الدارة بالعساكر الجرارة بل بالبحار الزخارة ذوى السهام الطيارة و السيوف البتارة و الرماح الخطارة و الأسود الهصارة و النمور الكرارة ...و التفت الأقران بالأقران، و امتدت الأعناق للضراب و شرعت النحور للطعان و اكفهرت الوجوه و أغبرت و كشرت ذئاب الضرابْ و أمرت، و تهارشت نمور الشرور و اسبطرت ، و تعانشت أسود الجنود و إزبأرت، و اكتست بريش النبال الجلود فاقشعرت، و هوت جباه الجباه و رءوس الرؤس في محراب الحرب للسجود فخرت و ثار الغبار و قام القتال و خاض بحار الدماء كل خاص و عام ...حتى غدت الأرض ستا و السماوات كالبحار ثمانيا و استمر هذا اللدد و الخصام نحوا من ثلاثة أيام ، ثم انجلى الغبار عن إنهزام جيش توقتاميش و ولى الأدبار ...و انتشرت جنود تيمور في ممالك الدشت و استعرت، و استولى على قبائلها و أتى على ضبط أواخرها و أوائلها, و احتوى على الناطق فمازه و على الصامت فحازه، و جمع الغنائم و فرق المغانم و أباح التهب و الأسر و أذاع القهر و القسر، و أطفأ فتائلهم و أكفأ مقاولهم، و غير الأوضاع و حمل ما استطاع من الأموال و الأسرى و المتاع, و وصلت طراشته إلى أزاق و هدم سراى و سرابحوق و حاجى ترخان و تلك الآفاق ...

[The both armies when they came in sight one of the other were kindled and mingling with each other became hot with the fire of war, and they joined battle and necks were extended for sword-blows and throats outstretched for spear-thrusts and faces were drawn with sternness and flouted with dust. The wolves of war set their teeth and fierce leopards mingled and charged and the lions of the armies rushed upon each other and men's skins bristled, clad with the

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[46] Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1998, p. 124.

feathers of arrows, and the bows of the leaders drooped and the heads of the captains bent in the devotion of war and fell forward. The dust was thickened and stood black and the leaders and common soldiers alike plunged into seas of blood. The arrows became in the darkness of black dust like stars placed to destroy the Prince of Satan, while swords glittering like fulminating stars in clouds of dust rushed on kings and sultans, nor did the horses of death cease to pass through and resolve race against the squadrons which charged straight ahead or the dust of hooves to be borne into the air or the blood of swords to flow over the plain, until the earth was rent and the heavens like the eight seas and this struggle and conflict lasted about three days. Finally Tokhtamish was defeated and Timur's arrays covered all of the Dasht. He dominated over the tribes of Dasht capturing all be it silent of speaking. He gathered the booties and distributed lavishly on his soldiers and permitted plunder, slavery and coercion putting an end to all of their energies. He put a final change on their conditions, carrying away all that he could. His soldiers sacked Saray, Sarbhuk, Haji Tarkha and the frontiers...]

No wonder, the Timurid repression that ravaged the Syrians with pyramids of skulls in Aleppo and torching the city Damascus including its grand Umayyid Mosque inflicted such injuries on Arabs like Ibn Arab Shah incapable of healing even after generations.

Timur's Occidental Image

Tamerlane has been a noted subject of European scholarship and fantasy. Besides scholarly accounts of Amir's campaigns and conquests, we have a number of literary projections of the Amir in poetry, prose and fiction. In poetry, we have Edgar Allan Poe's *Tamerlane* which was published in the 1827 in a collection known as *Tamerlane and Other Poems*. That collection, with only 50 copies printed, was not credited with the author's real name but by "A Bostonian." The poem's original version was 403 lines but trimmed down to 223 lines for its inclusion in *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*. The epic depicts Tamerlane ignoring the young love he has for a peasant in order to achieve power. On his deathbed, he regrets this decision to create "a kingdom [in exchange] for a broken-heart." The peasant is named Ada in most of Poe's original version of the poem, though it is removed and re-added throughout its

many revised versions.[47] The main themes of "Tamerlane" are independence and pride, as well as loss and exile.[48]

Here is the poem:

Kind solace in a dying hour!
Such, father, is not (now) my theme-
I will not madly deem that power
Of Earth may shrive me of the sin
Unearthly pride hath revell'd in-
I have no time to dote or dream:
You call it hope- that fire of fire!
It is but agony of desire:
If I can hope- Oh God! I can-
Its fount is holier- more divine-
I would not call thee fool, old man,
But such is not a gift of thine.
Know thou the secret of a spirit
Bow'd from its wild pride into shame.
O yearning heart! I did inherit
Thy withering portion with the fame,
The searing glory which hath shone
Amid the jewels of my throne,
Halo of Hell! and with a pain
Not Hell shall make me fear again-
O craving heart, for the lost flowers
And sunshine of my summer hours!
The undying voice of that dead time,
With its interminable chime,
Rings, in the spirit of a spell,
Upon thy emptiness- a knell.
I have not always been as now:
The fever'd diadem on my brow
I claim'd and won usurpingly-
Hath not the same fierce heirdom given
Rome to the Caesar- this to me?
The heritage of a kingly mind,
And a proud spirit which hath striven
Triumphantly with human kind.
On mountain soil I first drew life:

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[47] *Ibid*, p. 122; Daniel Hoffman, *Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1972, p. 27.

[48] Retrieved from http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Tamerlane, 26.09.2008

The mists of the Taglay have shed
Nightly their dews upon my head,
And, I believe, the winged strife
And tumult of the headlong air
Have nestled in my very hair.
So late from Heaven- that dew- it fell
(Mid dreams of an unholy night)
Upon me with the touch of Hell,
While the red flashing of the light
From clouds that hung, like banners, o'er,
Appeared to my half-closing eye
The pageantry of monarchy,
And the deep trumpet-thunder's roar
Came hurriedly upon me, telling
Of human battle, where my voice,
My own voice, silly child!- was swelling
(O! how my spirit would rejoice,
And leap within me at the cry)
The battle-cry of Victory!
The rain came down upon my head
Unshelter'd- and the heavy wind
Rendered me mad and deaf and blind.
It was but man, I thought, who shed
Laurels upon me: and the rush-
The torrent of the chilly air
Gurgled within my ear the crush
Of empires- with the captive's prayer-
The hum of suitors- and the tone
Of flattery 'round a sovereign's throne.
My passions, from that hapless hour,
Usurp'd a tyranny which men
Have deem'd, since I have reach'd to power,
My innate nature- be it so:
But father, there liv'd one who, then,
Then- in my boyhood- when their fire
Burn'd with a still intenser glow,
(For passion must, with youth, expire)
E'en then who knew this iron heart
In woman's weakness had a part.
I have no words- alas!- to tell
The loveliness of loving well!
Nor would I now attempt to trace

The more than beauty of a face
Whose lineaments, upon my mind,
Are- shadows on th' unstable wind:
Thus I remember having dwelt
Some page of early lore upon,
With loitering eye, till I have felt
The letters- with their meaning- melt
To fantasies- with none.
O, she was worthy of all love!
Love- as in infancy was mine-
'Twas such as angel minds above
Might envy; her young heart the shrine
On which my every hope and thought
Were incense- then a goodly gift,
For they were childish and upright-
Pure- as her young example taught:
Why did I leave it, and, adrift,
Trust to the fire within, for light?
We grew in age- and love- together,
Roaming the forest, and the wild;
My breast her shield in wintry weather-
And when the friendly sunshine smil'd,
And she would mark the opening skies,
I saw no Heaven- but in her eyes.
Young Love's first lesson is- the heart:
For 'mid that sunshine, and those smiles,
When, from our little cares apart,
And laughing at her girlish wiles,
I'd throw me on her throbbing breast,
And pour my spirit out in tears-
There was no need to speak the rest-
No need to quiet any fears
Of her- who ask'd no reason why,
But turn'd on me her quiet eye!
Yet more than worthy of the love
My spirit struggled with, and strove,
When, on the mountain peak, alone,
Ambition lent it a new tone-
I had no being- but in thee:
The world, and all it did contain
In the earth- the air- the sea-
Its joy- its little lot of pain

That was new pleasure- the ideal,
Dim vanities of dreams by night-
And dimmer nothings which were real-
(Shadows- and a more shadowy light!)
Parted upon their misty wings,
And, so, confusedly, became
Thine image, and- a name- a name!
Two separate- yet most intimate things.
I was ambitious- have you known
The passion, father? You have not:
A cottager, I mark'd a throne
Of half the world as all my own,
And murmur'd at such lowly lot-
But, just like any other dream,
Upon the vapour of the dew
My own had past, did not the beam
Of beauty which did while it thro'
The minute- the hour- the day- oppress
My mind with double loveliness.
We walk'd together on the crown
Of a high mountain which look'd down
Afar from its proud natural towers
Of rock and forest, on the hills-
The dwindled hills! begirt with bowers,
And shouting with a thousand rills.
I spoke to her of power and pride,
But mystically- in such guise
That she might deem it nought beside
The moment's converse; in her eyes
I read, perhaps too carelessly-
A mingled feeling with my own-
The flush on her bright cheek, to me
Seem'd to become a queenly throne
Too well that I should let it be
Light in the wilderness alone.
I wrapp'd myself in grandeur then,
And donn'd a visionary crown-
Yet it was not that Fantasy
Had thrown her mantle over me-
But that, among the rabble- men,
Lion ambition is chained down-
And crouches to a keeper's hand-

Not so in deserts where the grand-
The wild- the terrible conspire
With their own breath to fan his fire.
Look 'round thee now on Samarcand!
Is not she queen of Earth? her pride
Above all cities? in her hand
Their destinies? in all beside
Of glory which the world hath known
Stands she not nobly and alone?
Falling- her veriest stepping-stone
Shall form the pedestal of a throne-
And who her sovereign? Timour- he
Whom the astonished people saw
Striding o'er empires haughtily
A diadem'd outlaw!
O, human love! thou spirit given
On Earth, of all we hope in Heaven!
Which fall'st into the soul like rain
Upon the Siroc-wither'd plain,
And, failing in thy power to bless,
But leav'st the heart a wilderness!
Idea! which bindest life around
With music of so strange a sound,
And beauty of so wild a birth-
Farewell! for I have won the Earth.
When Hope, the eagle that tower'd, could see
No cliff beyond him in the sky,
His pinions were bent droopingly-
And homeward turn'd his soften'd eye.
'Twas sunset: when the sun will part
There comes a sullenness of heart
To him who still would look upon
The glory of the summer sun.
That soul will hate the ev'ning mist,
So often lovely, and will list
To the sound of the coming darkness (known
To those whose spirits hearken) as one
Who, in a dream of night, would fly
But cannot from a danger nigh.
What tho' the moon- the white moon
Shed all the splendour of her noon,
Her smile is chilly, and her beam,

In that time of dreariness, will seem
(So like you gather in your breath)
A portrait taken after death.
And boyhood is a summer sun
Whose waning is the dreariest one-
For all we live to know is known,
And all we seek to keep hath flown-
Let life, then, as the day-flower, fall
With the noon-day beauty- which is all.
I reach'd my home- my home no more
For all had flown who made it so.
I pass'd from out its mossy door,
And, tho' my tread was soft and low,
A voice came from the threshold stone
Of one whom I had earlier known-
O, I defy thee, Hell, to show
On beds of fire that burn below,
A humbler heart- a deeper woe.
Father, I firmly do believe-
I know- for Death, who comes for me
From regions of the blest afar,
Where there is nothing to deceive,
Hath left his iron gate ajar,
And rays of truth you cannot see
Are flashing thro' Eternity-
I do believe that Eblis hath
A snare in every human path-
Else how, when in the holy grove
I wandered of the idol, Love,
Who daily scents his snowy wings
With incense of burnt offerings
From the most unpolluted things,
Whose pleasant bowers are yet so riven
Above with trellis'd rays from Heaven,
No mote may shun- no tiniest fly-
The lightning of his eagle eye-
How was it that Ambition crept,
Unseen, amid the revels there,

Till growing bold, he laughed and leapt
In the tangles of Love's very hair?[49]

Handel's *Tamerlano*

Tamerlano Tamerlane (HWV 18) is an opera in three acts, with music by George Frideric Handel to an Italian text by Nicola Francesco Haym, adapted from Agostin Piovene's *Tamerlano* together with another libretto entitled *Bajazet* after Nicholas Pradon's *Tamerlan, ou La Mort de Bajazet*. One of Handel's major works, he composed it in the space of 20 days in July 1724, in a year in which two more great operas were composed by him: *Giulio Cesare* and *Rodelinda*. Eve Meyer has noted how the role of Bajazet was one of the first major tenor roles in opera, as well as the place of the opera in the contemporary fashion for Turkish culture (*turquerie*).[50] It was first performed at the King's Theatre, London on 31 October 1724, around the time the annual Tamerlane plays were performed (4th-5th November). There were 12 performances and it was repeated on 13 November 1731. The opera then received a production in Hamburg with the recitative in German and the arias in Italian.[51] The first modern production was in Karlsruhe on 7 September 1924. The defeated Ottoman Emperor Bajazet is brought in chains to the court of Tamerlano. Tamerlano has ordered Andronico to remove the chains, but Bajazet is mistrustful of this action. Bajazet adds that the only reason he does not commit suicide is his love for his daughter, Asteria. Tamerlano arrives and orders Andronico to try and obtain Bajazet and Asteria's compliance, with a reward of the Greek throne, marriage with Irene, and freedom for Bajazet. Andronico is troubled, as he brought his love Asteria to try and soften Tamerlano, only to see Tamerlano fall in love with her. Tamerlano tells Asteria of his intentions and the offer to Andronico, which makes her angry at Andronico's seeming betrayal. Bajazet declines Tamerlano's offer, and furthermore is angry at his daughter's seeming meekness at Tamerlano's demands. However, once alone, Asteria says that despite Andronico's apparent treachery, her feelings for him have not changed. Irene arrives to learn that she is no longer to marry Tamerlano, but instead Andronico. Andronico tells her that she can still change the outcome if

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[49] Eve R. Meyer, "Turquerie and Eighteenth-Century Music", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 7 (4) Summer 1974, pp. 474-488.

[50] J. Merill Knapp, "Handel's *Tamerlano*: The Creation of an Opera", *The Musical Quarterly*, LVI (3), July, 1970, pp. 405–430. doi: 1 0.1093/mq/LVI 3, p. 405, Retrieved on 2007-11-04.

[51] Gustav Kobbé, *The Definitive Kobbé's Book of Opera*, Ed. The Earl of Harewood, ist American ed. New York: G.P. Putnam's and Sons 1987 p. 40.

she pretends to be a confidante of Irene's and to take issue with Tamerlano. She agrees to do this plan while he bemoans his current situation. Tamerlano tells Andronico of Asteria's acceptance of his marriage proposal, and that the two planned weddings, of Tamerlano to Asteria and of Andronico to Irene, will happen soon. Tamerlano and Asteria sing contrasting arias at the situation. Asteria pretends to tell Andronico that she is about to marry Tamerlano, but through a misunderstanding, Andronico is left dejected at the thought. Meanwhile, Leone brings the disguised Irene to Tamerlano, where she pleads Irene's case. Tamerlano hears her with composure. When Irene and Asteria are alone, Asteria shows sympathy towards Irene and speaks of her own feelings. Irene finds hope in this revelation, while Leone 'comments only on love's irresistible power for good or evil.[52]

Bajazet is outraged at his daughter's impending marriage to Tamerlano and swears to stop this, while Andronico is furious and resolves to have his vengeance on Tamerlano before he kills himself. Asteria is secretly preparing to kill Tamerlano in the meantime. However, Bajazet manages to stall the wedding, and also avoids being humiliated by Tamerlano when he is stopped. Asteria makes a move to the dais, only for her father to stop her. She then pulls out a dagger, saying that it would have been her present to Tamerlano. After a trio between Tamerlano, Bajazet, and Asteria, Tamerlano orders the death of Bajazet and Asteria. However, Asteria protests that she has never been unfaithful and gets agreement from Bajazet, Andronico, and Irene, which gives her some feeling of happiness. She also feels sad that her plans for assassination failed and that she has lost her chance for happiness. Asteria and Bajazet decide to kill themselves with concealed poison. Alone, Asteria contemplates her oncoming death. Tamerlano makes one last attempt to win Asteria and says that he will even pardon her father. However, Andronico and Asteria declare their love for each other, which enrages Tamerlano and makes him swear his own revenge. Bajazet tries to gain inspiration from their action, while the couple can only find happiness in facing together whatever may come of declaring their mutual love.

Meanwhile, Irene pledges her love to Tamerlano if he returns his own love to her, while Leone hopes that ultimately love will win the day over revenge.

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[52] George L. Geckle, *Tamburlaine and Edward II: Text and Performance*, New Jersey: Humanities Press International 1988; Kuriyama, Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life*, New York: Cornell University Press 2002; Eugene Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden*, New York: Columbia University Press 1967; F.P. Wilson, *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1953.

Tamerlano prepares to humiliate his enemies, and begins by bringing Bajazet and then Asteria before him. Andronico pleads for mercy from Tamerlano. Tamerlano will not listen, and orders Asteria to become his servant, and that she must first serve him wine. Asteria puts the poison from her father into the cup. Irene then reveals her true identity to Tamerlano and the situation of the poisoned cup. Tamerlano then orders Asteria to decide who first to give the cup to, her father or Andronico, before she may bring it to him. Asteria is about to drink from the cup when Andronico hits it out of her hand, which further enrages Tamerlano. He orders Asteria's arrest and confinement in the common seraglio, and that Bajazet will have to see her being shamed. Bajazet, angry at this situation, declares that his spirit will haunt Tamerlano when he has died.

Irene and Tamerlano sing of the happy life that awaits them, after Tamerlano has had his revenge. Leone then reports the arrival of Asteria and Bajazet. Bajazet is surprisingly serene now, but finally reveals that this is because he has taken poison. As he becomes more incoherent, he says goodbye to his daughter and berates Tamerlano, until Andronico and Asteria carry him out of the room. Asteria then returns to ask for death, since Tamerlano can never get what he wants from her. Both Irene and Andronico send after Asteria to try and stop her suicide, while Tamerlano is finally changed by the events he has witnessed as well as by Irene's pleas. He finally pardons Asteria, Andronico, and Bajazet. The opera concludes with a love duet between Tamerlano and Irene, and the chorus sings of love's ability to save light from the dark.

Christopher Marlowe: Tamburlaine (play)

Tamur the conqueror of the world has been a neglected subjected by the European historians, even after the we-preserved and well-received accounts of Marco Polo and Ruy Gonzalez Clavijo. Pietro Pardini' *Life of Temur* (1553) and George Whelston's *English Mirror* (1587) were used by Marlow. It was Marlow's bloodthirsty Tamburlaine that provided the enduring popular image of a magnificent, God-defying oriental despot, fearless in conquest, unforgiving in triumph, yet simultaneously capable of scaling the poetic heights with his beautiful lover Zenocrate. Marlow's play (described as 'a hideous moral spoonerism: Giant the Jack Killer' that provided plenty of ammunition to the Elizabethan critics (Joseph Hall of Cambridge, Arthur Houston of Dublin, etc) might be guilty of all the usual dramatic sins: exaggeration, historical infelicities, geographical inaccuracies, sensationalism, etc, but it remains a triumph of imaginative genius. Edward Said viewed Marlow's oriental stage of preparing the ground for Christendom's jaundiced view of Islam as 'Other'. 'Marlow's Tamburlaine is one of the most intensely realized warrior heroes of

the stage. Shakespeare's Henry V and Coreolanus seem poorer creatures by comparison', as said by Justin Marozzi.

Tamburlaine the Great in two parts is loosely based on the life of Timur. The play is a milestone in Elizabethan public drama; it marks a turning away from the clumsy language and loose plotting of the earlier Tudor dramatists, and a new interest in fresh and vivid language, memorable action, and intellectual complexity. Along with Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, it may be considered the first popular success of London's public stage. Marlowe, generally considered the greatest of the University Wits, influenced playwrights well into the Jacobean period, and echoes of Tamburlaine's bombast and ambition can be found in English plays all the way to the Puritan closing of the theaters in 1642. The play (in both parts) was entered into the Stationers' Register on August 14, 1590 (as "two comical discourses"). Both parts were published in a single octavo later the same year by the printer Richard Jones. A second edition was issued by Jones in 1592. The plays were next published separately in quarto by the bookseller Edward White, Part 1 in 1605 and Part 2 in 1606.

As regards the plot of the play, it *opens in Persepolis. The Persian emperor, Mycetes, dispatches troops to dispose of Tamburlaine, a Scythian and at that point a nomadic bandit. In the same scene, Mycetes' brother Cosroe plots to overthrow Mycetes and assume the throne. The scene shifts to Scythia, where Tamburlaine is shown capturing, wooing, and winning Zenocrate, the daughter of the Egyptian king. Confronted by Mycetes' soldiers, he persuades first the soldiers and then Cosroe to join him in a fight against Mycetes. Although he promises Cosroe the Persian throne, Tamburlaine reneges on this promise and, after defeating Mycetes, takes personal control of the Persian Empire. Suddenly a powerful figure, Tamburlaine decides to pursue further conquests. A campaign against Turkey yields him the Turkish king Bajazeth and his wife Zabine as captives; he keeps them in a cage and at one point uses Bajazeth as a footstool. After conquering Africa and naming himself emperor of that continent, Tamburlaine sets his eyes on Damascus; this target places the Egyptian soldan, his father-in-law, directly in his path. Zenocrate pleads with her husband to spare her father. He complies, instead making the Sultan a tributary king. The play ends with the wedding of Zenocrate and Tamburlaine, and the crowning of the former as Empress of Persia. In Part 2, Tamburlaine grooms his sons to be conquerors in his wake as he continues to conquer his neighbouring kingdoms. One of his sons, preferring to stay by his mother's side and not risk death, incurs Tamburlaine's wrath. Seeing this son*

as a coward, Tamburlaine kills him in anger after a battle in which he refuses to fight. Finally, while attacking an Islamic nation, he scornfully burns a copy of the Qur'an and claims to be greater than God. Suddenly, Tamburlaine is struck ill and dies, giving his power to his sons, but still aspiring to greatness as he departs life.

The influence of *Tamburlaine* on the drama of the 1590s cannot easily be overstated. The play exemplified, and in some cases created, many of the typical features of high Elizabethan drama: grandiloquent and often beautiful imagery, hyperbolic expression, and strong characters consumed by overwhelming passions. The first recorded comments on the play are negative; a letter written in 1587 relates the story of a child being killed by the accidental discharge of a firearm during a performance, and the next year Robert Greene, in the course of an attack on Marlowe, sneers at "atheistic Tamburlaine" in the epistle to *Perimedes the Blacksmith*. That most playgoers (and playwrights) responded with enthusiasm is amply demonstrated by the proliferation of Asian tyrants and "aspiring minds" in the drama of the 1590s. Marlowe's influence on many characters in Shakespeare's history plays has been noted by, among others, Algernon Swinburne. Stephen Greenblatt considers it likely that among Shakespeare's very first in-London theater-going experiences was *Tamburlaine* and that this experience moved him greatly, inspiring directly early works like the three Henry VI plays.

The play is often linked to Renaissance humanism which idealises the potential of human beings. Tamburlaine's aspiration to immense power raises profound religious questions as he arrogates for himself a role as the "scourge of God" (an epithet originally applied to Attila the Hun). Some readers have linked this stance with the fact that Marlowe was accused of atheism. Others have been more concerned with a supposed anti-Muslim thread of the play, highlighted in a scene in which the main character burns the Qur'an, though Tamburlaine's eventually fatal illness strikes him immediately after this act, suggesting divine retribution.[53]

Antonio Vivaldi: Bajazet (opera)

Bajazet *is a pasticcio. It was a common practice during Vivaldi's time for composers to borrow and adapt arias from other composers with their own works for an opera. Vivaldi himself composed the arias for the good characters (Bajazet, Asteria and Idaspe) and mostly used existing arias from*

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53 Frédéric Delaméa, The Noble Death-Pangs of Vivaldian Opera, *Vivaldi: Bajazet* [CD liner notes], Virgin Classics, 2005.

other composers for the villains (Tamerlano, Irene, Andronico) in this opera. Some of the arias are reused from previous Vivaldi operas. The table below lists the origin of some of the arias used in Bajazet.

The only complete recording of this opera was released by Virgin Classics on May 10, 2005. Fabio Biondi conducts Europa Galante in Brussels for this recording. The singers are:

bass-baritone Ildebrando D'Arcangelo as Bajazet
countertenor David Daniels as Tamerlano
mezzo-soprano Vivica Genaux as Irene
mezzo-soprano Marijana Mijanovic as Asteria
soprano Patrizia Ciofi as Idaspe
mezzo-soprano Elīna Garanča as Andronico

This recording received the award for Best Opera by Midem Classical Awards 2006 and shortlisted for the 48th Annual Grammy Awards 2006. Before this release, excerpts from this opera had been performed by other singers such as Cecilia Bartoli.[54]

Justin Marozzi: Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World

Justin Marozzi's novel *Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (HarperCollins*Publishers*, 2004) combines between history and narrative in a remarkably higher order. The former *Financial Express* foreign correspondent who writes regularly for the *FT, Sunday Telegraph, The Times* and *Spectator* (he had written for *Economist* and broadcasted for BBC World Service and Radio Four) Marozzi had traveled across Central Asia to realize his stunning portrait of a complex emperor like Timur and his vast legacy that he bequeathed, and the portrayal ran into 449 pages well-armed with illustrations and maps. The motivation, partly, behind Justin Marozzi's treatment seems to be the question why the man is so dimly remembered, at least in the west, while also taking a stab at examining why the places that Temur ruled have also fallen into disrepair since his death in the opening years of the 15th century. As such this is far from an ordinary historical biography: part travelogue, part cultural history, this is more of a cook's tour than a standard scholarly treatment. It is problematic to botch a biography of a conqueror who rode his Tatar hordes across Asia, leaving ravaged cities and towering piles of skulls in his wake. Given a person like Timur, a biographer never lacks materials of whatever kinds. The biographer and narrator in Marozzi presents the vast gamut of materials in a consistently haphazard fashion. History aimed at the general reader needs to be

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[54] Charles Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, Bloomington 1985.

presented in as smooth a fashion as possible, because otherwise it's simply too easy to become bogged down in minutiae or extraneous information. *Tamerlane* careens from dry historical recitation to military history to first-person travel memoir at will. Rather than making the transitions between these disparate approaches gel, it essentially prevents the book from gaining any momentum whatsoever by forcing the reader to switch gears every few pages. The ingredients of an interesting book are all present: for instance, when discussing Temur's capitol of Samarkand, Marozzi pulls from a wide variety of sources regarding the architecture and craft of Temur's period through to the present, the city's history from its founding and construction through to the post-Soviet era, and the cultural history of the peoples who live and have lived in the area now known as Uzbekistan. But rather than weave these elements into a more holistic narrative, he lays out these ingredients seemingly at random, presenting a multi-page catalog of architectural detail followed by a few more pages of cultural history followed by a few more pages of his own experiences in the modern-day provinces. To his credit the portions of the book told in the first person are invariably the most interesting: he's an experienced travel writer and his ability to conjure up the feel and mood of distinctly alien cultures is truly uncanny. He has the raconteurs' ability to illustrate a much larger point through specific personal anecdote. It's good that he reproduces lengthy passages from contemporary chronicles, but it's not so good that his general attitude towards historical accuracy is simply to proffer the material with a general grain of salt. Again, were he writing a more general history of the cultural perception of Temur, this would be acceptable, but these portions of the book rub uneasily against the more straightforward historical passages as well as the intermittent travelogue.

Timur may be well-described as "Conqueror of the world"; "Emperor of the Age"; "Unconquered Lord of the Seven Climes", as the legendary emperor of the Tartars had many flamboyant titles and well-deserves them. But why "Sword of Islam"? The man who once became master of Samarqand used his multi-ethnic nomadic and urbanite warriors of Muslims and Christians, Arabs, Turks, Tajiks, Persians, Georgians, Indians and Tartars that ravaged India, Russia, the Ottoman Empire and much of the Middle East of his fellow Musulmans putting death death, destruction and cruelty may hardly be called the Sword of Islam. In fact, Tamerlane was a sword against Islam, but this hasn't stopped many from claiming him as a noble Islamic hero. Even the great ibn Khaldun, the 14th-century world historian and founder of sociology, who actually met him, was fooled by Tamerlane. In reality, he was a master opportunist who used Islam to justify whatever act of megalomania he wished to pursue.

Epilogue:

His eyes might there command wherever stood
City of old or modern fame, the seat
Of mightiest Empire, from the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Timu's throne,
To Paquin of Sanaean Kings; and thence
To Agra and Lahor of great Mugol

(Paradise Lost, Bk. XI)

The Personae of the Turco-Mongol Lord of Samarqand Amir Timur Sahib Qiran Gorkan (1336-1405) in whose building-pursuits the city of Samarkand turned into the Pearl of the East, an example of Paradise on Earth, the self-proclaimed Ghazi of Islam and the patron of Persian aesthetics virtually embodies a confluence of dissimilarities. The distant relative of Genghis Khan through the female line, Timur was not a Mongol himself, but from the Turkic Barlas tribe in Transoxania, now Uzbekistan. His name means 'iron' in Turkish—like Genghis's original name, Temujin. The pejorative suffix 'Lenk' means 'the lame' in Persian—which he was as the result of an arrow wound—but Asian historians call him Amir Timur Gurkan—Lord Timur the Splendid (Son-in-law). Timur's expansionist trajectory began with a three-year struggle to achieve dominance in Transoxania at the end of which in 1370 he proclaimed himself not merely emir of Samarkand but khan of the Chagatai and inheritor of Genghis's Mongol empire. His grandiose claim of being a Ghazi was made into reality in the next decade of armada expeditions alternately defeating rival khanates or assisting them against outsiders, notably the Russians and the Lithuanians who had rebelled against the Golden Horde. His conquests between 1383 and 1399 included the Caucasus, Persia, and Iraq, and turned back twice to deal with the khan of the Golden Horde who invaded first the Caucasus and then Transoxania. Although he never expanded his empire proper further north than Tiflis (Tbilisi) in the Caucasus, his campaigns into the Russian steppe resulted in the defeat of his arch-rival, Toktamish, khan of the Golden Horde, in 1395 and severely weakened Mongol power in that region. At one time, Timur was almost at the gates of Moscow, but he never besieged the city.[55] Timur's engagements with the fighters of the Golden Horde imprinted upon the Persians of Balakh, Isphahan, etc, to miscalculate the Timurid strategy and power and to rise in revolt, thus calling for a sequel of repression starting about 1396 that

[55] Peter Jackson, 'The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate in the Reign of Muhammed Tughlaq (1325-1351)', *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIX, 1-2, 1975, pp. 118-56.

meant nothing but sack, plunder, destruction and hundreds of thousands of human skulls to build his trademark pyramids. For an encore he invaded India in 1398 on the pretext that the Muslim Sultan of Delhi was being too tolerant of his Hindu subjects.[56]

Timur slaughtered one hundred thousand Hindus (Indians?) in Delhi and sacked the city so comprehensively that it took a century to recover. Between 1399 and 1403 Timur laid waste Azerbaijan (a sequel to the Golden Horde invasion) then rode west to defeat the Mamelukes and sack Aleppo, Damascus, and Baghdad, shipping their artisans to Samarkand and killing everyone else. The next target was the Ottoman Bayazid whose army was destroyed near Ankara in 1402 and himself being captured, humiliated and killed. While passing from Turkey, Timur took Smyrna from the Knights of Rhodes. The grim scenario compelled the Sultan of Egypt and the Byzantine Emperor to play safe and submit to the Ghazi and save their territories and subjects from the devastating Timurid onslaught. The European monarchs were genuinely relieved that Timur had so effectively crippled the Turks who were continually threatening their domains. However, they were also aware that this new Asian conqueror could also pose a threat to them. Therefore, they were eager to establish diplomatic contact with the great "Tamburlaine." One of these envoys, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (d. 1412), was sent as an ambassador of the King of Castile. It is from his memoirs, along with those of various Muslim biographers, such as the Persian Ali Sharaf ad-Din and the Arab Ahmad Ibn Arabshah, that we have been able to reconstruct the story of Timur's life. Clavijo was present in Samarkand for the victory celebrations after the defeat of the Ottomans, as the conqueror prepared for what was to be his greatest exploit yet, the conquest of China. Around the time when Timur was beginning his rise to power, in 1368, the Mongol Yuan dynasty had been overthrown and the Ming dynasty had been established. Timur was eager to show the Ming emperor, who looked on him as vassal and had demanded tribute from him, who the true master of Asia was. However, this goal was never to be realized. In 1405, at the outset of his last and greatest campaign, The Ghazi died in Otrar on the Jaxartes River, 250 miles north of Samarkand. His body was embalmed and such was the awe surrounding his name that it lay unmolested in his beautiful mausoleum in Samarkand until Soviet archaeologists opened it in 1941, shortly before the Germans invaded Russia.

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[56] Lisa Golombek, ' From Tamerlane to Taj Mahal', in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Abbas Danishvari, Malibu: Undena 1981.

The empire that Timur had built could not be kept together by his descendants, none of whom shared the same iron will that he had possessed. As had happened with Chingiz Khan's empire, factions soon developed, and vassals on the periphery of the Timurid domains quickly seized their chance to assert their independence. Shortly after Timur's death, little was left of the former empire except for Transoxiana and Afghanistan. However, although the size of the Timurid empire was drastically reduced, his successors went on to usher in the Muslim equivalent of the European Renaissance, centered in the cities of Samarkand and Herat. Two of the Amir's four sons had died before their father: Jahangir (1355-1375) and Umar Shaykh (1355-1394). His second son, Miran Shah (1366-1408), passed away shortly after his father, leaving only the youngest, Shah Rukh (1377-1447) as an heir. In fact, Timur had appointed his grandson, Pir Muhammad to succeed him, but he also died shortly after his grandfather, in 1406. In 1409, Shah Rukh seized power, making Herat his capital. His eldest son, Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) was appointed governor of Samarkand, while his second son, Baysunghur (1399-1433) served as his wazir in the capital. None of these rulers had inherited Timur's passion for conquest, but they did share his interest in building and played a major role as patrons of the arts and sciences.

The Timurid off-shoot in the personae of the Chaghtai-Turkic prince Babur (reigned 1526-30), once the ruler of Farghana, is the founder of Mughal-Timurid rule in India. Babur headed toward India and once based at Kabul, he controlled Punjab. The first battle of Panipat in 1526 enabled him to route the forces of Ibrahim Lodi and next year the Rajput Rana Sanga of Mewar was overwhelmed. He crushed the Afghans of Bihar and Utter Paradesh under Sher Shah Suri in 1529. The successive Mughal rulers include Babur's son Humayun (reigned 1530-40), Humayun's son Akbar (reigned 1556-1605), Akbar's son Jahangir (reigned 1605-27), Jahangir's son Shahjahan (reigned 1628-58), Shajahan's son Aurangzeb (reigned 1658-1707) and later rulers like Mohammed Shah, Shah Alam and Bahadur Shah Zafar. Their legacy is a mix of secularism (Akbar) and hard-line theocratic leanings (Aurangzeb), but all embedded with a patronage of arts and crafts. Taj Mahal, the Grand Mosque of Delhi, *Tutinama*, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, *Ramznama*, *Dastan-i-Amir-Hamza*, etc are the masterpieces to be referred in this respect.[57]

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[57] Thomas W. Lenz and D. Lowry Glen, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth* Century, Los Angeles: County Museum of Art 1989; Lisa Golombek, and Wilber Donald, *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden Brill 1992.

The warlike temperament of the Timurid layceum had patronized music, literature, Persian miniature painting, calligraphy and various scientific pursuits. Ulugh Beg, who ruled over the empire during the two years between his father's death and his own, was one of the greatest astronomers that the world has ever seen. He built a magnificent observatory in Samarkand and the calculations that he made with it gained him fame in Europe as an eminent scholar. Unfortunately, he was murdered in 1449 by his son Abdul Latif, who was alarmed at the secular pursuits of his father. A year after the murder, Abdul Latif also died. In 1452, Abu Sa'id (1424-1469), a grandson of Miran Shah, brought the Timurid domains, still consisting of Transoxiana, Afghanistan and northern Persia, under his control. He was followed by Sultan Hussein Bayqara (1438-1506), a grandson of Umar Shaykh, who began his rule of nearly four decades in 1468. "It was under his beneficient direction that Herat achieved the zenith of its glory as a center of art, literature and scholarship." It was at Husayn's court that the poet Mir Ali Shir Nava'i, who popularized Chagatay, the classical Turkic language, as a literary medium, rose to prominence, along with the miniature painter Bihzad and the poet Jami. But it could hardly be debated that the Ghazi of Islam or the Sword of Islam continued the pursuit of forbidden pleasure and other forms of debauchery, parallel to his aesthetical building of Samarqand. [58]

The Conqueror in Timur was less interested in building a Rome in any part of his dominion. His believed in subjugating the sovereigns and turning them into vassals who were forced to do so or face death and destruction. Virtually it was practically unfeasible for Timur to turn the whole territories he conquered into an administratively organized Empire. Even the differences between Timur's style and Genghis's are instructive. The later trusted his generals to execute the plans he had sketched on the broadest of canvases, communicating with his widely dispersed armies using his system of 'arrow' messengers. Timur exercised much more rigid control, concentrating his armies and leading them in person. This may simply have been a difference in style, or it may have been that Genghis had better lieutenants such as Subedei and Jebe, or both. None of Timur's generals were first-rate commanders in their own right. He was even more meticulous in planning and preparation than Genghis, personally drawing up the requirements for equipment for each soldier and writing detailed regulations for setting up camps. But once a campaign had started he could be impetuous; in 1388 he rode into Baghdad with a small band of followers and

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[58] Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401, from Ibn Khaldun's Autobiography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1952.

personally pursued the sultan out of the kingdom. In 1400 Timur met the great Arab historian Ibn Khaldun outside Damascus in one of the most fascinating encounters in military history. Timur asked him to write a detailed description of Egypt and territories to the west 'in such a manner that when the conqueror read it, it would be as if he were seeing the region'. The historian prudently completed the assignment in a few days, but North Africa was to be spared a visit by a man who would very likely have made the ecological damage done by drought and goat pale by comparison.[59]

Additional to his attention to logistics and intelligence requirements, Timur was also a master of the oriental philosophy of war that emphasizes treachery and sowing dissension among your adversaries. If he made an alliance, it was to make the ally drop his guard, and if he sent an emissary to an enemy camp it was to distribute money and promises (seldom kept) so that the enemy general would be betrayed by his own lieutenants. He was the complete master of every aspect of war in the Mongol style and led from the front in countless battles. A single exquisite city is not much to put in the balance against the fact that he crushed the fragile edifice of civilization everywhere else.[60] The Lord of Samarqand, even if Lord of destruction in the Volga-Ural, West Asia and India, must be remembered as the craftsman of the Pearl of the East in Central Asia for whom Clavijo (and others...) has nothing but praise, no matter what ibn Arab Shah writes.

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[59] Nizamuddin Shami, *Histoire de Tamerlan institulee Zafarnama, par Nizamuddin Sami*, 2 vol., ed. E. Tauer, Prague 1937, 1956; Khwandmir, *A Literal Translation of Haseeb-us-Siyar, Life of Tamerlane*, Parts V, VI, VII and VIII, Bombay: Imperial Press 1900; Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Timur Legacy*, Islamabad: Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1996.