

**MĪR 'ALĪ SHĪR NAWĀ'Ī**, Nizām al-Dīn 'Alī Shīr, later called Mīr 'Alī Shīr or 'Alī Shīr Beg, with the pen-name (*takhallus*) of Nawā'ī (844-906/1441-1501), outstanding 9th/15th century Čaghātāy poet and important Central Asian cultural and political figure of the reign of the Timūrid sultān Husayn Bāykarā (873-911/1469-1506 [q.v.]).

He was born in Harāt (Herat) on 17 Ramaḍān 844/9 February 1441, the scion of a cultured Turkic family of Uyghūr *bakhshīs*, hereditary chancellery scribes, who had long been in the service of the Timūrid family. 'Alī Shīr's father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kičkina, also called Kičkina Bakhshī, was in the service of Abū Sa'īd, the grandson of Mirānshāh, as well as of Abū 'l-Kāsim Bābur, Shāhrukh's grandson, and at one time was the governor (*hākim*) of Sabzawār. 'Alī Shīr's maternal grandfather, Bū Sa'īd Čang, had been an *amīr* of Mirza Bāykarā's, the son of 'Umar Shaykh and grandfather of Husayn Bāykarā. Moreover, the family of 'Alī Shīr was intimately connected to that of 'Umar Shaykh by ties of foster-brotherhood (*kūkāltāshī*) and 'Alī Shīr was himself the foster-brother of Husayn Bāykarā. Although he never bore the title *kūkāltāshī*, it was always appended to the name of his brother, Darwīsh 'Alī. Because the families of 'Alī Shīr and Husayn Bāykarā were closely related and the two were almost the same age (Bāykarā being only two years older), they were educated together as children. The fact that 'Alī Shīr received a good education is emphasised by Dawlatshāh and would have been in keeping with the value placed on a universal education by the highly literate Central Asian *bakhshīgīs*.

As a result of the unstable political situation created by the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, 'Alī Shīr's family was forced to flee Harāt until the restoration of order in the early 1450s enabled it to return to Khurāsān. The chronology of 'Alī Shīr's life before he joined Husayn Bāykarā at the time of the latter's accession to power in Harāt in 873/1469 is not entirely clear. His first patron appears to have been Abū 'l-Kāsim Bābur, whose service he entered in Harat together with Husayn Bāykarā sometime before 860/1456. But, as Husayn Bāykarā had earlier been in the service of Abū Sa'īd (with whom he soon fell out of favour, however, and remained on inimical terms), it is possible that 'Alī Shīr, or at least his father, also accompanied Husayn Bāykarā when he entered the service of this Timūrid prince in 858/1454.

'Alī Shīr and Husayn Bāykarā both accompanied Abū 'l-Kāsim Bābur to Mashhad in 860/1456, but after the latter's death in 861/1457, they parted ways for twelve years. Husayn Bāykarā then entered upon a period of *kazāklik* during which he struggled to establish himself politically, while 'Alī Shīr pursued his studies in Mashhad, Harāt and Samarkand. Although the dates of 'Alī Shīr's movements between these cities are not stated explicitly in the sources, it is clear that he studied in Samarkand under Khwādja Faḍl Allāh Abū 'l-Laythī, an expert in *fiqh* and Arabic, for a period of two years. It is however not clear whether he came to Samarkand solely for the purpose of studying or because he was banished from Harāt by Abū Sa'īd, whose service he entered, according to V.V. Bartol'd, sometime after 868/1464. Both Bartol'd and E.É. Bertel's held the view that he was banished, arguing that, in those days, no one left Harāt to study in Samarkand, which had become a provincial town in comparison with the capital (for a refutation of this view, see É.R. Rustamov, *Stranitsy iz biografii Alishera Navoi* ("Pages from the biography of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī"), in *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta*

*narodov Azii*, Moscow, Ixiii [1963], 80-6). It is likely that 'Alī Shīr was in Samarkand on two occasions—the first in 862-3/1458-9 to pursue his studies and the second around 871/1467 after he encountered political troubles at the court of Abū Sa'īd in Harāt. He also appears to have been in Mashhad twice during this period of his life. In Samarkand he was aided by two mentors—Darwīsh Muḥammad Tarikhān, the brother-in-law of Abū Sa'īd, and Aḥmad Hādījī Beg, the powerful governor of the city, who was also a poet with the pen-name Wafā'ī.

After the death of Abū Sa'īd in 873/1468 and Husayn Bāykarā's subsequent seizure of power in Harāt on 10 Ramaḍān 873/24 March 1469, 'Alī Shīr left Samarkand, where he had been in the retinue of Aḥmad Hādījī Beg, in order to enter Husayn Bāykarā's service and, on Bayram 873/14 April 1469, presented him with his famous *kašida* entitled *Hilāliyya*. He remained in the service of Husayn Bāykarā, who ruled Khurāsān from Harāt uninterruptedly for almost forty years (with the exception of the brief interregnum of Shāhrukh's great-grandson, Muḥammad Yādgār, in 875/1470), until his death on 12 Djumādā 1906/3 January 1501. He was buried in Harāt.

Although he held several offices, such as that of keeper of the seal (*muhrdār*), to which he was appointed by Husayn Bāykarā in 873/1469 and from which he soon resigned, 'Alī Shīr tried as a rule to avoid political office. Since he was not a member of one of the paramount Čaghātāy clans that constituted the Timūrid military élite, he was not by birth an *amīr* or beg and he was aware of the precariousness of his position at court compared with that of the hereditary begs on whom Husayn Bāykarā's power depended. He was, however, officially elevated to the rank of *amīr* of the *dūwān-i a'lā* or *Türk dūwānī* (council concerned with matters pertaining to the Timūrids' Turkic subjects and matters of a military nature) by Husayn Bāykarā in 876/1472. In connection with this appointment, he was granted precedence in affixing his seal over that of all other *amīrs* with the sole exception of Muzaḥḥar Barlās, one of Husayn Bāykarā's companions from his *kazāklik* days. In late 894/1488 he asked to be relieved of his position as governor (*hākim*) of Astarābād, to which he had been appointed the previous year (for a refutation of Bartol'd's idea that 'Alī Shīr was banished here by Husayn Bāykarā, see A.A. Semenov, *Vzaimootnosheniya Alishera Navoi i Sultan Khuseyn-Mirzi* ("Relations between 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī and Sultān Husayn Bāykarā"), in *Issledovaniya po istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka. Sbornik v čest' akad. I.A. Orbeli*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 237-49). At the same time, he resigned from the office of *amīr* (*amr-i imārat*) or, as Bābur put it, gave up "military duties" altogether, that is, the duties associated with the title, although he continued to retain the title itself.

The strength of 'Alī Shīr's position at the court of Husayn Bāykarā derived from his personal service to him based on their relationship as foster-brothers, rather than from any official positions held by him. 'Alī Shīr belonged to the inner circle of Husayn Bāykarā's courtiers (*ičkiyān*) and, in his own words, stood closer to the throne than any of the great *amīrs*. The honorific title that was bestowed upon him by Husayn Bāykarā and by which he is referred to in the contemporary sources was *mukarrab-i ḥaḍrat-i sultānī* ("the sultan's intimate"). As a result of his unique position at court, 'Alī Shīr was often entrusted with important matters of state, such as acting as intermediary in the frequent conflicts between Husayn Bāykarā and his sons or governing Harāt in

the *sultān*'s absence. It ought to be noted that 'Alī Shīr was never Ḥusayn Bāykarā's *wazīr* (an error perpetuated in the secondary literature) nor could he have possessed this title, since, in the dual administrative structure of the Tīmūrid government, it was reserved exclusively for officials of the *Sart diwāni* which dealt with non-Turkic, that is, sedentary Iranian matters, such as finance, and its holders were as a rule non-Turks.

'Alī Shīr's primary historical importance lies in his literary activity. He is universally considered as the greatest representative of Čaġhatāy Turkish literature which, thanks to him, reached its apogee in the second half of the 9th/15th century at the court of Ḥusayn Bāykarā in Harāt. He was already regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest poet ever to have written in the Turkish language. Indeed, his family background seemed to predispose him to the poetic art as two of his maternal uncles were poets with the pen-names Kabūlī and Čharībī, as was his cousin, Amīr Ḥaydar, who wrote under the name of Šabūhī.

Despite the fact that Persian had traditionally been regarded as the literary language par excellence in Central Asia since the 4th/10th century, 'Alī Shīr championed the cause of the Čaġhatāy, or Eastern Turkic, literary language (usually referred to by contemporaries simply as *Türkī*) which represented a continuation of such Middle Turkic language as Karākhānid (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries) and Khwārazmian (8th/14th century). He argued that not only could it vie with Persian but that it was also superior to it as a language for poetry. Following the lead of earlier Čaġhatāy poets of the Tīmūrid period, such as Lutfī [q.v.], Sakkākī and Gadā'ī, 'Alī Shīr forged Čaġhatāy into a supple instrument of poetic expression and, in so doing, endowed it with its classical form.

He composed almost thirty works under the pen-name Nawā'ī, trying his hand at all the literary genres practised in his day. His chief models were, by his own admission, the Persian masters, Amīr Khusrav Dihlawī—probably the most admired and widely imitated poet in the late 9th/15th century—Nizāmī, Ḥāfiz and Djāmī. His fame rests mainly on his poetical works which constitute the bulk of his literary output. The most important of these, written in Čaġhatāy, are:

(i) *Khazā'īn al-ma'ānī*, being the final edition of his four *dīwāns*, arranged by him shortly before his death and entitled respectively *Čharā'ib al-siġhar* ('Curiosities of Childhood'), *Nawādir al-šhabāb* ('Marvels of Youth'), *Badā'ī' al-uasā'ī* ('Wonders of Middle Age') and *Fawā'id al-kibar* ('Advantages of Old Age'), corresponding to the four ages of his life, but in fact material in each is not restricted to any particular period. This collection contains mainly *ghazals*, but also some *tuyūġhs*, the Eastern Turkic quatrain with homonymic end-rhyme.

(ii) *Khamsa*, or Quintet, modelled on the *Khamsas* of Nizāmī, Amīr Khusrav and Djāmī, although often with a very different emphasis or interpretation and reflecting his personal ideals, such as his concern with justice. It comprises: (a) *Ḥayrat al-abrār* (completed 888/1483), a didactic *mathnawī* modelled on Nizāmī's *Makḥzan al-asrār*, Amīr Khusrav's *Maṭla' al-anwār* and Djāmī's *Tuḥfat al-abrār*; (b) *Farḥād u Širīn* (completed 889/1484), a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Nizāmī's *Khusrav u Širīn* and Amīr Khusrav's *Širīn u Khusrav*; (c) *Laylī u Madjūn*, a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Nizāmī's and Amīr Khusrav's *mathnawīs* of the same name; (d) *Sab'a-yi sayyār* (completed about 889/1483), a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Nizāmī's

*Haft paykar* and Amīr Khusrav's *Hašt bihišt*; and (e) *Sadd-i Iskandārī* (completed about 890/1485), a didactic *mathnawī* modelled on Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nama* and Amīr Khusrav's *Āyina-yi Iskandārī*.

(iii) *Lisān al-tayr* (completed 904/1498-9), a mystical *mathnawī* based on 'Aṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-tayr* and written under the pen-name Fānī.

Among Nawā'ī's prose works in Čaġhatāy may be mentioned:

(iv) *Madjālis al-nafā'īs* (completed 897/1491-2 but some manuscripts contain information up to 904/1498-9), the first *tadhkira*, or literary historical work, in Turkish and the first that dealt almost exclusively with contemporary poets.

(v) *Muḥākamat al-luġhatayn* (completed 905/1499), a treatise comparing the relative merits of the Persian and Čaġhatāy languages.

(vi) *Mizān al-awzān* (completed after 898/1499), a treatise on the Arab-Persian prosodic system, but also containing information on some characteristically Turkic verse forms.

(vii) *Mahbūb al-kulūb* (completed 906/1500-1), Nawā'ī's final work of a didactic nature written in rhymed prose with verses interspersed, and modelled on Sa'dī's *Gulistan* and Djāmī's *Bahārīstān*.

(viii) *Khamsat al-mulāḥayyirīn* (composed after 898/1492), a prose work interspersed with verses and dedicated to Djāmī.

(ix) *Nasā'im al-maḥabba* (completed 901/1495-6), a translation and expansion of Djāmī's collected biographies of Šūfī saints, entitled *Nafahāt al-uns*.

Nawā'ī also wrote several works in Persian: a *Dīwān* (completed 902/1496) in imitation mainly of Ḥāfiz, in which he used the pen-name Fānī; *Risāla-yi mu'ammā* (completed some time before 898/1492), a treatise on the enigma; and a collection of model letters.

Other works in Čaġhatāy of secondary significance are the biographies of two of Nawā'ī's close companions, *Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān Muḥammad*; two short histories, *Tārīkh-i mulūki 'Adām* and *Tārīkh-i anbiyā' wa ḥukamā'*; *Naẓm al-djāwāhir*, a translation of aphorisms ascribed to 'Alī, entitled *Nathr al-la'ālī*; a verse translation of Djāmī's work, *Čihil ḥadiṭh*; a collection of model letters; and a *Wakfiyya* (completed 886/1481-2).

The impact of Nawā'ī's works on all Turkic peoples and languages cannot be overestimated. He exerted a profound influence not only on later Central Asian authors who wrote in Čaġhatāy up until the beginning of the 20th century, but also on the development of Azeri (especially on the poetry of Fuḍūlī [q.v.] of Baghdād d. 963/1556), Turkmen (the 12th/18th century poet Makḥdūm Kūlī [q.v.]), Uyghur, Tatar and Ottoman Turkish literatures. Ottoman poets continued to write imitations of his poems in Čaġhatāy until the 19th century (see E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx/3 [1976], 157-90). Soviet scholarship, which has termed Čaġhatāy 'Old Uzbek', considers him the founder of literary Uzbek (A. K. Borovkov, *Ališir Navoi kak osnovopoložnik uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazyka* ('"Alī Shīr Nawā'ī as the founder of the literary Uzbek language'), in *Ališir Navoi. Sbornik statey*, ed. Borovkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1946, 92-174). Proof of the tremendous interest in the works of Nawā'ī among not only the Turkic but also the Iranian-speaking peoples are the many specialised dictionaries that were written on the basis of his works, such as Tālī' Īmānī's Čaġhatāy-Persian dictionary, *Badā'ī' al-luġat*, composed during the reign of Ḥusayn Bāykarā (see Borovkov, 'Badā'ī' al-luġat': slovar Tālī' Īmānī geratskogo k sočinenyam

*Alisher Navoi* ("Tālī' Īmānī of Harāt's dictionary to the works of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī"), Moscow 1961), the anonymous Čaghatāy-Ottoman dictionary, *Abushka* (mid-16th century) and Mīrzā Mahdī Khān's Čaghatāy-Persian dictionary, *Sanglakh* (mid-18th century).

Apart from his linguistic and literary contributions, 'Alī Shīr's historical significance also lies in his extensive patronage activities. The fact that, in the second half of the 9th/15th century, almost all literary, artistic and cultural life in the eastern Islamic lands was concentrated in Tīmūrid Harāt was due as much to his personal efforts as a pre-eminent patron as it was to his own artistic example and inspiration. With an interest not only in poetry, but also in music, calligraphy, painting and architecture, he oversaw the activities of virtually all artists and literati in Khurāsān, according to Muḥammad Haydar. Among the many who benefited directly from his financial support were the historians, Mīrkhwānd and Khwāndamīr; the literary historian, Dawlatshāh; the poets, Djāmī, 'Asafī, Sayfī Bukhārī, Hāfīfī and Hilālī; the composers of *mu'ammā* (a favourite genre of his), Husayn Mu'ammā'ī and Muḥammad Badakhshī; and the musicians Shaykhī Nā'ī and Husayn 'Udī. His support of artists of the royal atelier (*kitābkhāna*), such as the painters, Bihzād, Shāh Muzaffar, Kāsim 'Alī and Ḥadjdī Muḥammad (the latter tentatively identified by E. Esin as Siyāh Qalam), and the calligraphers, Sulṭān 'Alī Maṣḥadī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Khāndān, helped make the second half of the 9th/15th century the highpoint of miniature painting and book production in Central Asia and have earned for it the appellation "Tīmūrid Renaissance" in Western scholarship. Many of the finest illuminated manuscripts of the period are in fact of Nawā'ī's works, particularly of his *Khamsa* and *Diwāns*. The tradition of producing richly decorated manuscripts of his works continued until the 19th century in Central Asia (see *Alisher Navoiy asarlariga ishlangan rasmlar XV-XIX asrlar* ("Miniature paintings illustrating the works of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, XV-XIX centuries") [text in Uzbek, Russian and English], comp. Kh. Sulaymon and F. Sulaymonova, Tashkent 1982).

'Alī Shīr's patronage activities included the donation and endowment of about 370 buildings, architectural ensembles and public works in Khurāsān, especially in and around Harāt. Among these was the huge Ikhlaṣiyya complex to the north of the city, which contained a mosque, *madrasa*, *khānqāh*, hospital, bath and 'Alī Shīr's principal residence. Khwāndamīr enumerates about 50 *ribāts* which he donated throughout Khurāsān, about 20 reservoirs (*hawḍ*) in Harāt, 15 bridges, nine public baths, and 14 mosques in Harāt and other cities, such as Isfīzār, Sarakhs and Astarābād. In many cases, pious endowments which he made provided for the maintenance of scholars, students and the poor. He was also involved in restoration work and was responsible for the reconstruction of, among other monuments, the Friday mosque of Harāt which dated back to Ghūrīd times (early 7th/13th century) (see L. Golombek, *The resilience of the Friday mosque: the case of Herat, in Muqarnas*, i [1983], 95-102).

'Alī Shīr's patronage activities were financed from personal sources of revenue derived from landholdings throughout Khurāsān (but particularly in the region north of Harāt) or connected with his appointment as *amīr*, such as the royal mint and royal workshops. Various estimates of his daily income indicate that he was one of the wealthiest men of his time.

Despite a certain idealisation of 'Alī Shīr in the writings of his contemporaries (such as Khwāndamīr's *Makārim al-akhḥāk* and Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*) as well as in the early secondary literature (e.g., F.A. Belin's *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chir Nevai*, in *JA*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, xvii [1861], 175-256), which stress such positive aspects of his character as his integrity, refinement, charitable works, patronage, etc., it is possible from other sources to form a more rounded opinion of him. The single negative character trait which is mentioned by later authors such as Muḥammad Haydar and Bābur is his hypersensitivity, which, coupled with the high moral and artistic standards which he set both for himself and for others, made him a demanding and difficult person. In describing his exclusive literary audiences, Wāṣifī offers a glimpse of this less attractive side of his character, which often manifested itself as impatience or even sarcasm (see A.N. Boldīrev, *Alisher Navoi v rasskazakh sovremennikov* ("Alī Shīr Nawā'ī according to his contemporaries"), in *Alisher Navoi*, ed. Borovkov, 121-52).

In his personal life, 'Alī Shīr maintained an ascetic lifestyle, never marrying or having concubines or children. Although initiated into the Nakshbandiyya order by his spiritual master and lifelong friend, the great Persian poet and mystic, Djāmī, in 881/1476-7, his brand of mysticism was not of the "intoxicated", but rather of the more worldly variety practised by the order as a whole. Much has been made of his purported inclination toward Shī'ism, but there is no evidence that this went beyond reverence for the person of 'Alī, a feature of Central Asian Islam in general.

The complex figure of 'Alī Shīr sparked the popular imagination of many Turkic peoples. Turkmen folktales, for example, depict him as the clever *wazīr*, Mirālī, who always comes to the defence of the poor before his extravagant and misguided sultan, while Uzbek legends revolve around the mysterious reasons for his celibacy. Many of his *ghazals* have become popular Uzbek folk songs and some of his works have been staged as dramatic plays by modern Uzbek playwrights.

*Bibliography:* The chief primary sources for the life of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī are: Khwāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhḥāk*, ed. T. Gandjei, GMS (n.s.) xxvii, [Cambridge] 1979; idem, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333 sh. 1954, iv, 137 ff.; Dawlatshāh, 494-509; 'Abd Allāh Marwārīd, *Sharaf-nāma* (*Staatschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Saraf-nāma des 'Abdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*), ed. and tr. H.R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952, 27b-28a, 43b; Bābur, *The Bābar-nāma*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, GMS, i, Leiden 1905, 170b-171b; Wāṣifī, *Badāyi' al-wakāyi'*, ed. A.N. Boldīrev, Moscow 1961, i, 484-632; Muḥammad Haydar, *Tārīkh-i rashīdī* (still unpublished, but the biographical section of Husayn Baykārā's reign, which was not included by E. Denison Ross in his English translation, is extracted in *Iktibās az Tārīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. M. Shafī', in *Oriental College Magazine*, x/3 [1934], 155-7); Sām Mīrzā, *Tuhfa-yi sāmī*, ed. W. Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314 sh./1936, 179-81; Fakhrī Harawī, *Latā'if-nāma* (in *The Majalis-un-Nafa'is*, "Galaxy Poets", of Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī: *Two 16th century Persian translations*, ed. A.A. Hekmat, Tehran 1223 sh./1945), 133-6. Manuscripts of Nawā'ī's works abound in libraries throughout the world, particularly in Istanbul, London, Paris, Leningrad and Tashkent. For references to descriptions of major collections, see J. Eckmann, *Die tschagataische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 352-3. In the Soviet Union alone there are over a

thousand manuscripts (based mainly on the count made by Kh. Sulaymon[ov]), the great majority of which are of the *Dīwāns* and *Khamsa*. For a description not mentioned by Eckmann, see *Alisher Navoiy asarlarining ŪzSSR fanlar akademiyasi sharhshunoslik-instituti tūplamidagi kŭlŕzmalari* ("Manuscripts of the works of 'Alĭ Shĭr Nawā'ĭ in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R."), comp. K.M. Munirov and A. Nasĭrov, Tashkent 1970.

There are a great many published editions of Nawā'ĭ's works, and the secondary literature on him is voluminous, particularly in Soviet scholarship. The following bibliographical works may be consulted: A.A. Semenov, *Materiali k bibliografičeskomu ukazatelju pečatnikh proizvedeniy Alishera Navoi i literaturi o nem* ("Materials for a bibliography of the published works of 'Alĭ Shĭr Nawā'ĭ and the secondary literature on him"), Tashkent 1940; Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 352-7; E.D. Svidina, *Alisher Navoi. Biobibliografiya (1917-1966 gg.)*, Tashkent 1968; B.V. Lunin, *Istoriya, kul'tura i iskusstvo vremeni timuridov v sovetskoy literature* ("The history, culture and art of the Timurid period in Soviet secondary literature"), in *Obščestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, viii-ix (1969), 108-13. The most complete published edition of his works is *Alisher Navoi, Asarlar* (in Cyrillic characters), 15 vols., Tashkent 1963-8. For a complete Russian translation, see *Alisher Navoi, Sočineniya*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1968-70. The main secondary works (in addition to those mentioned in the text) are the monographs by V.V. Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir i političeskaya žizn'* ("Mir 'Alĭ Shĭr and political life") in his *Sočineniya*, ii/2, Moscow 1964, 197-260 (originally publ. 1928; German tr. W. Hinz, *Herat unter Hussein Baiqara dem Timuriden*, Leipzig 1938; English tr. V. and T. Minorsky, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72); E.É. Bertel's, *Izbrannĭe trudy*, iv: *Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 13-206 (originally publ. 1948); Agāh Sirri Levend, *Ali Šir Nevai*, 4 vols., Ankara 1965-8 (contains transcriptions of some of his works in Latin characters). The most valuable collections of articles are: *Mir-Ali-Shir. Sbornik k pyatsotletiju so dnja ročdeniya* ("Collection of articles on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his birth"), ed. V.V. Bartol'd, Leningrad 1928 (see in particular the article by Bertel's, *Nevai i 'Attar*); "Rodonačal'nik uzbekskoy literatury. Sbornik statey ob Alishere Navoi ("The Founder of Uzbek literature"), Tashkent 1940 [see the interesting article by M. Sal'e, "Kniga blagorodnikh kačestu" i ee avtor ("The Makārim al-akhlaq and its author")]; *Alisher Navoi. Sbornik statey*, ed. A.K. Borovkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1946 [see the articles by Bertel's, *Navoi i Nizami*, 68-91; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Čerti obščestvennoy i kul'turnoy žizni epochi Alishera Navoi* ("Features of the social and cultural life of the era of 'Alĭ Shĭr Nawā'ĭ"), 5-30, which contains information on building activity; and A. Belenitskiy, *Istoričeskaya topografiya Gerata XV v.* ("The historical topography of 15th century Herat"), 175-202, based on information from Khwāndamīr's *Khulāsat al-akhbār*; and *Velikiy uzbekskiy poet. Sbornik statey* ("The great Uzbek poet") ed. M.T. Aybek, Tashkent 1948 (contains a critique of Belenitskiy's article mentioned above, by M.E. Masson, *K istoričeskoj topografii gerata XV veka*, 120-45).

For works of a more general nature, see A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ali Šir*, in *IA*, i, 349-57 (but note that all source references are to an unpublished collec-

tion of extracts made by Togan himself); Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 304-402; A. Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, tr. I. Mélikoff, Paris 1968, 118-35. Most of the recent work has been done in the Uzbek S.S.R. Of note is *Adabiy meros* ("Literary heritage"), a publication (since 1968) of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences (articles in Uzbek with brief English summaries). For a recent article in English, see M.E. Subtelny, *'Alĭ Shĭr Nawā'ĭ, bakhshĭ and beg*, in *Eucharisterion. Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his sixtieth birthday* [= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, iii-iv (1979-80)], pt. 2, 797-807. (M.E. SUBTELNY)

**MĪR AMĀN** [see AMĀN, MĪR].

**MĪR BABAR 'ALĪ** [see ANĪS].

**MĪR DĀMĀD ASTARĀBĀDĪ** [see AL-DĀMĀD].

**MĪR DJA'FAR** [see DJA'FAR, MĪR].

**MĪR DJUMLA**, MUHAMMAD SA'ĪD, prominent minister and military commander in 11th/17th century Muslim India, first in the service of the Kuṭb-Shāhī ruler of Golkondā 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad [see KUṬB-SHĀHĪS] and then in that of the Mughals Shāh Džahān and Awrangzīb [q.v.], died in 1073/1663.

Stemming originally from Persia, he was at the outset a diamond merchant and accumulated a vast private fortune in the Carnatic, the region around Madras, from these dealings and from Hindu temple treasures, having his own private army of 5,000 cavalymen and using European help and expertise for his artillery. But after the defeat of the Kuṭb-Shāh at Golkondā in Rabi' II 1066/February 1656 at the hands of the prince Awrangzīb, viceroy of the Deccan, MĪR DJUMLA went over to the Mughals, who honoured him and gave him the title of Mu'azzam Khān. He commanded the Mughal troops against the 'Adil-Shāhīs [q.v.] of Bidjāpur in Muḥarram 1067/November 1656, and then in Shawwāl 1070/June 1660 became governor of Bengal, campaigning against the rājās of Kačh Bihār (Cooch Behar) and Assam [q.v.] immediately on appointment and in the period Džumādā I-Radjab 1072/January-March 1662, the latter campaign culminating in the capture of the Āhom rājā of Assam's capital of Garhgāon. But the rainy season and outbreaks of disease in his army compelled him to return to Bengal, and he himself died of dysentery in spring 1073/1663 at Khidrpur just before reaching Dacca, leaving behind him a reputation of having been the greatest general of his age.

*Bibliography*: Awrangābadī, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii, 530-55; H. Blochmann, in *JASB*, xl, 51; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 199; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, London 1889, 588-613; *Camb. hist. of India*. iv. *The Mughul period*, 207-9, 234-5; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb, mainly based on Persian sources*, Calcutta 1912-24, i, 216-28, 345-6, 351 ff., ii, 242-5, 252-82, 287; iii, 156-85; A.T. Roy, *History of Bengal, Mughal period (1526-1765 A.D.)*, Calcutta 1968, 137-8, 164-9, 243-55; Sarkar, *The history of Bengal, Muslim period 1200-1757*, Patna 1973, 339-50; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*. vii. *The Mughal empire*, Bombay 1974, 210-11, 227-8, 475-7, 515, 517, 520; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility (1574-1658)*, Dihli 1985, index s.v. MĪR MUHAMMAD SA'ĪD, MU'AZZAM KHAN, MĪR JUMLA.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN [— C.E. BOSWORTH])

**MĪR GHULĀM ḤASAN** [see ḤASAN, MĪR GHULĀM].

**MĪR KĀSIM 'ALĪ**, Indo-Muslim commander and *Nawwāb* [q.v.] of Bengal 1760-4, died in 1777.