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RARE
FOR CONSULTATION ONLY

AKBARNAMA

by

ABUL FAZL



CSL

DEDICATION

IN MEMORY OF

J. H. B.

M. T. B.

L. S. B.



PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

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Bilgramī. This is evidently a rough draft and contains several things which do not occur in the MSS. of the finished work. Among them are one or two letters of Humāyūn. I have given an account of this MS. in R.A.S.J. for January 1903, p. 115.

4th September, 1902.

H. BEVERIDGE.



PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

When the Asiatic Society of Bengal did me the honour of inviting me to translate the Akbar-nāma, I replied that I doubted my ability to make a complete translation, and suggested that I might edit the manuscript version by Lieutenant Chalmers. My suggestion was accepted, and I accordingly obtained from the Royal Asiatic Society the loan of the Chalmers' manuscript and permission to print it. I soon found, however, that the translation was too abridged to be made the basis of my work, and that it was necessary to execute a new version. Chalmers' manuscript was of great service to Elphinstone and Count Roer, and it has also been of much use to myself, but there are many gaps in it, and Abul Fazl's language has throughout been greatly compressed. One gap near the beginning extends to over ninety pages of the printed text, and has the effect of omitting the account of Akbar's birth, with the prognostics and horoscopes appertaining thereto, as well as the notices of his ancestors from Adam down to his grandfather (Bābar). The reader may judge of the extent to which abbreviation has been carried, when I state that the Chalmers MS. consists of two thinnish volumes of foolscap, and that the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Persian text occupies three large quartos which aggregate 1,600 pages.

The task of translation has occupied me several years, and the work has not been very congenial, for Abul Fazl is not an author for whom one can feel much sympathy or admiration. He was a great latterer and unhesitatingly suppressed or distorted facts. His style, too, seems—at least to Western eyes—to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly allusive. His one merit—and it is one which he specially claims for himself—is his laboriousness. He was an unwearied worker, and when we blame him and lament his deficiencies we shall do well to consider what a blank our knowledge of Akbar's reign would have been, had not Abul Fazl exerted himself during years of strenuous effort to chronicle events and institutions. His work also has the imperishable merit of being a



record by a contemporary, and by one who had access to information at first hand.

I regret that the work of translation has not devolved upon a better Persian scholar than I am. I have endeavoured to do my best, and I have sought assistance in many quarters. I now desire to express my gratitude to my friends, Maalvi Abdul Haq Abid, the late Mr. J. Beames, Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, Mr. Irvine and Mr. Whinfield, and to the translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, by Professors Blochmann and Colonel Jarrett, and the works of Major Price. I am also indebted for much literary assistance to my elder brother, Mr. David Beveridge. There are, I am sure, many mistakes in my translation and notes, but there would have been many more but for the assistance of my friends. I regret that I have been obliged to make two long lists of Errata and Addenda. In part this has been due to the translations being made in England and printed in India, and in part to increase of knowledge. The translation of the second volume, which carries on the history of Akbar's reign to the middle of the seventeenth year, has been completed by me, and I am about to begin the translation of the third and last volume. The translation has been made from the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the text, but I have consulted many MSS. in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, &c. The Bibliotheca Indica edition is by no means so good as it might have been, for the learned native editors* were destitute of geographical or historical knowledge. Hence they have often made mistakes in the names of persons and places. They have also no explanatory notes. In their preface they are severe upon the Lucknow edition. No doubt that edition has many faults, but it was the first in the field, and it is on the whole a creditable monument of the enterprise of the publisher, Munshi Newal Kishor, and of the liberality of the Maharajah of Patiala. The editor, Maulvī Ṣādiq 'Alī, also deserves honourable mention. He has added numerous notes, and though many of these are trivial, yet there are also many which are really enlightening.

Since completing the translation, I have seen a remarkable MS. of the first volume of the *Akbarnāma* in the possession of Saiyid 'Alī

* It is stated in the Persian preface that nine MSS. and the Lucknow lithograph were used in the preparation of the edition. None of the MSS. was of an early date.



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ERRATA.

Page	2,	note	line 11,	for Manāsabat	read Munāsabat.
"	"	"	"	4 lines from end	read Dīwān.
"	3,	" 2,		Delete the i after Z in Zi kāf and	
				read birūn	for barūn.
"	"	" 3,		read	'alam.
"	7,	" 1,	" 4,	read	کوں kaun.
"	12,	" "	" "	ārāī.	
"	"	" 4,	" 2,	tāq	for tāqt.
"	13,	" 1,	" 1,	shayistagi.	
"	17,	" "	" "	Fandgruben.	
"	"	" 6,		Ādam.	
"	18,	" "	" 5,	rumūz.	
"	20,	" 1,	" 4,	bazmgah.	
"	"	" "	" 5,	naḡar.	

NOTE to p. 7.

Dr. Bloch has kindly pointed out to me that there is an izāfat after *arf* in the second hemistich of the third verse on p. 2 of text, and that the metre requires this. My translation therefore appears to be wrong

honourable mention. He has added numerous notes, many of these are trivial, yet there are also some enlightening.

Since completing the translation, I have seen a review of the first volume of the *Arabian Nights* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

It is stated in the *Review* that the translation is

VERSE.¹

What a Word² was that whose utterance
 Unveiled the eighteen thousand !³
 No feast equals it in intoxicating power ;
 No rival comes nigh it in supremacy.
 It is the initiator in the workshop ;
 It sits enthroned in the palace.
 Whatever reaches the heart of the wise,
 The heart utters to the tongue and the tongue rehearses to
 the ear.
 Its path is from the *adit* to the *exit* of hearts ;
 Expression and audition are its arena.
 In reason's observatory⁴ the tongue and the ear
 Are the rising⁵ and setting of speech's moon.

We cannot reach its sublime foundation by the ladder⁶ of the

terial forms must also be combinations of the elements.

¹ These lines are Faiẓī's and in his *Markabi-adwār* (Centre of Circles) in the canto in praise of Speech. (B. M. Add. No. 7795, 25b. Rieu's Cat. II. 671). The MS. has *bar arbābi-hosh* in the last line in place of *bar raṣadgāhi-hosh*.

² Meaning the word of two letters *kāf* and *nūn*, i.e., *k* and *n*, ك ن, *Kun*, *Fiat*, Be, which God uttered at the Creation. "*Zi kāf wa nūn barūn āward kūnain*." Exordium of *Gulshan-i-rāz*.

³ It is a Muhammadan idea that the number of created species was 18,000. See Badāʾonī II. 320 (Lowe, 330). Also *Akbarnāma* 9, l. 11. Me-ninski s.e. '*alam*, quoting from the Turkish says, "*Deus octodecim millia mundorum creavit*." I cannot find any explanation of the choice of the number 18,000. Perhaps it was adopted as being a multiple of the

mysterious number 9, and 9,000 was doubled to allow for male and female creations.

The *Majma'u-t-tawārīkh* (quoted by Anquetil du Perron, *Zendavesta*, II 352n.), says the first man was called Gilshāh—earth-lord—and that he had a son and daughter named Mesci and Mescianēh, and that after 50 years, they had children. At least this is another instance of the use of the number 18 and perhaps a partial explanation of the "18,000."

⁴ *Raṣadgāh*. Observatories are described in the *Āin* (II, 265) as wonderful buildings with upper and lower windows and placed on elevated spots where mists cannot reach them. See also l.c. 266 where the word *raṣad* is explained.

⁵ Lit. are its east and west.

⁶ Alluding, apparently, to the notion that there are nine heavens one above another.



skies nor can the swift foot of reason plant a step in its nature's mysterious wilderness. Its disposition¹ is fiery, its constitution aerial, its nature earthy but resembling water.² Its fount is the fire-temple of the heart; its culmination, the blissful abode of the atmosphere; it is as water in the flow of its traffic; earth's surface is its place of repose.

Judges of precedence in the ranks of glory, have in consonance with their knowledge and insight, recognized Speech as Commander-in-Chief³ of Truth's army,—nay, as the true son and heir of the mind. They have felt it to be the Archimage⁴ of knowledge, the fire-temple of the heart,—nay, to be the mind's first birth.⁵ Espe-

¹ The reference is to the four elements. MS. No. 564 says that speech is compared to fire, on account of its vehemence; to air, because it is breath; to earth, because its place of utterance is the tongue which belongs to the visible world; and to water, because of its smoothness and mobility.

² آبِ نِماءِ, *ābnumā*, showing water or looking like water. *Āb* also means lustre and Chalmers translates "of liquid purity." But A. F. is evidently thinking of the element of water. See a similar passage in *Āin* No. 4, (Bib. Ind. 13), where gold is compared to each of the four elements. There is a passage in A. F.'s preface to the *Āin* where mankind is divided into four classes, corresponding to the four elements.

³ *Sipah-sālār*, lit: Soldier-Chief; but the description in the *Āin* of the duties and qualifications of the *Sipah-sālār* shows that he was rather a Vizier or Prime Minister. Indeed A. F. begins by calling him the Vicegerent of his Majesty. (Jarrett II, 37).

⁴ *Mūbid mūbidāni-dānīsh*.

⁵ ابو الابی, *abū-l-ābāi*, father of fathers; but the meaning is not that Speech is the forefather or first-parent of mind but that it is the Adam or primeval ancestor engendered by the mind.

The passage from "Judges" to "birth" is a military metaphor, for *sufuf* (ranks) means lines of soldiers and *anjuman* may mean an army. The phrase which I have rendered "true son and heir" is *khalaf-aṣ-ṣidq* or *khalaf ṣidq* and means a successor or perhaps "Vicar worthy of his proto-type." The *tashdid* and article of Text seem unnecessary, Lane 795c.

Chalmers translates, "Those who can appreciate the highest grandeur, have by means of their sense and penetration understood this exalted foundation of the Council Room of Reason to be even the son (the MS. has *sun*—clearly a clerical error) of the sincerity of the heart and the kindred of wisdom have supposed it to be the furnace of the soul or rather the Palladium of the affections of the mind."



cially preëminent is that Speech¹ which is the ornamented argument of the splendid volume; adorned preface of the sublime code, that is, is the praise of the Lord of heaven and earth; panegyric of the Distributor of life and Creator of the body; which is at once ² a stage of exaltation for the beginning and a heart-entrancing ornament for the close; at once caravan-conductor² of the eloquent and prince of eloquence; chamber-lamp of the sitters in darkness; solitude-adorning companion of the recluse; pain-increaser of the lovers of the path of God-seeking; ulcer-plaster of the wounded dwellers in the recess of impatience; cordial for the drinkers of sorrow's bitter tears; embalmer³ of the broken-hearted denizens of the hermitage of silence; marshaller of the brave in the contests of divine love; banquet-lamp of the beloved⁴ ones in the palace of peace; thirst-increaser⁵ of thirsty-lipped inquirers; hunger-increaser

¹ It is difficult to regard all these expressions as referring to speech only and Chalmers has, apparently, considered them as descriptive of the Almighty, for after the words "Creator of the body" (See *infra*) he translates, "He bestows the basis of exaltation to the commencement of eternity." But I think the reference is really to speech and that A. F. is thinking of the *logos*. I learn from the translation of the *Gulshani-rās* of my friend Mr. Whinfield, that Sufis rendered the Neo-Platonic *logos* by the phrase 'aql-i-kull, universal reason. A. F.'s language may be compared with Nizāmi's address to Speech (*sukhān*) at the beginning of the *Makhzan-i-asrār*. The author of the *Ma'āṣir-i-umara* (II. 622) says that A. F. has been called a Nizāmi in prose.

² The force of this antithesis or parallelism is not very clear, but apparently some such distinction as that between the Church militant

and the Church triumphant is intended. While the eloquent are travelling, i.e., marching on as praisers of God—and have not yet attained their goal, speech is their leader and when they have arrived at their resting place, i.e., at perfection—speech becomes their sovereign. Chalmers translates. "He leads the Caravan of the Eloquent and He is the Prince of Oratory."

³ Properly, pissasphalt, or, as Chalmers has it, embalming drug. The word in the text is *moniāi* from which comes our word *mummy*. We might therefore translate, *mummifier*.

⁴ *Ma'shūq mirājān*, perhaps filled with love or excessively loving.

⁵ *Istiqbālshāh* lit. giver of dropsy. Thirst is often an accompaniment of dropsy. Sa'di (*Gulistan* II. Story 33), speaks of a dropsical person as not being satisfied even by the Euphrates, and there is a similar reference in the *Būstān* (III, I. 26) to the condition of a dropsical person,

of hungry-hearted ones in the wilderness of search. Hence it is that wakeful-hearted sages,—with all their tumult of love and restless longing,—have stayed the hand of contemplation at the hem of the divine canopy¹ and with thirsty lips, and blistered feet, and the gulping down of thousands of agitations and cries, have set the seal of silence on their lips and—wisely wrapping the foot of respect in the skirt of humility,—have not attempted what has not been vouchsafed to them from the almonry of destiny.

VERSE.

Letters² and dots are the desert sand in Thy perfect path.

In the universe of Thy wisdom, the city of speech is but some market-booths.³

The warders of jealousy⁴ at Thy door, smite the understanding, With blows of astonishment in front, and strokes of ignorance⁵ from behind.

on the banks of the Nile. The Romans had a similar notion. See Ovid's *Fasti* (l. 1. 215) and Horace's *Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops, Nec silim pellit*,

A. F.'s meaning is that some knowledge of the Divine praise makes one thirst for more. Cf. A. F.'s *Inshā'* where Sharafu-d-dīn of Manīr is called a thirst-implanter. *Istisqā* also means praying for rain, and thus the epithet may mean that God puts a prayer for rain in the mouths of the thirsty, or that he grants their prayer for rain. The epithet following—*jū'afzā*—may mean appetite-increaser.

¹ *Haudaj* (howdah) which also means a camel-litter. It is probably used in this sense in the *Akbarnāma*, l. 14, l. 12 from foot.

² Lit. *points and letters*. By the dots are meant the diacritical points. The lines are Faizī's. See *Āin* I. 236, and Blochmann, 550.

Mr. Blochmann renders the lines, thus;—

"Science is like blinding desert-sand on the road to Thy perfection; "the town of literature is a mere "hamlet, compared with the world "of Thy knowledge. Thy jealousy, "the guard of Thy door, stuns "human thought by a blow in the "face and gives human ignorance a "slap on the nape of the neck."

Chalmers has,—“The Viceroy of “dismay spurns our fancy from Thy “door;—With the blow of stupor “upon its front and the thrust of “ignorance from behind.”

³ *ṛustā*, a market-town or hamlet.

⁴ Or perhaps, *the watchmen of Thy jealousy*. A. F. speaks (42, l. 10) of the Divine jealousy's preserving from public knowledge the true character of Akbar's horoscope.

⁵ The meaning seems to be that the human understanding is



In other words, praise of the incomparable Deity lies outside the field of possibility, and the panegyric of the unequalled God is beyond the field of existence.¹

VERSE.

Wherever discourse² deals with the knowledge of God,
Our thoughts' praise becomes dispraise.
Behold rashness, how it boils over with daring !
Can a drop embrace the ocean ?
Think not that it is even a single letter of the Book,³

encountered by amazement (Cf. Gray's "amazement in his van.") when it attempts to fathom the Divine mysteries and is also buffeted by its own ignorance.

1 اکوان *akwān*.—There is a Hindi word *akwān* signifying calculation but here, *akwān* seems to be the plural of کن *kun*, existence or world.

2 حديث *ḥadīṣ*, which may either mean tradition or simply mention or discourse. It also means new or recent and perhaps the author of the lines wished to take advantage of these meanings. I think the primary meaning here is *talk* or *discourse* for the lines are Faiẓī's and we find him elsewhere using *ḥadīṣ* in the sense of discourse; e.g., *Akbarnāma* III. 687, L 10, where, addressing himself, the poet says, "Faiẓī! keep silent from this discourse!" The lines in our Text occur (but in other order) in the selection from Faiẓī's poems given in the *Akbarnāma*, III, 684, l. 2 and 683, last line.)

Chalmers thus translates the lines :—

"When our traditions could trace the knowledge of God,

"Our most grateful thoughts become ingratitude.

"Behold our arrogance in the ebullition of our daring

"When a drop would clasp the ocean in its embrace,

"Think not any volume contains a letter of it;

"For a letter is but as flax and it is the shining Moon.

"How long wilt thou arrange the harness of thy speech,

"Place thy step here with the offering of helplessness.

3 This difficult couplet receives illustration from the beginning of a letter to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia in the first book of the *Inshā*. There it is said that, if all the dots of our intelligences and all the schedules of our thoughts were combined with the armies of knowledge and troops of sciences, their total would not represent one letter of the Book of Praise, or be one ray of the Sun. And then we are told, in evident allusion to Sa'dī's famous couplet about the leaves of the trees, that the works of creation praise God with a tongueless tongue. It is clear then that the word book (*kitāb*) is used in the above verse, in a mystical sense for the mysterious Record of the Divine Praise.



For the Letter is muslin¹ and the Book moonlight.
How long wilt thou be an embroiderer² of speech ?
Stay thy foot here, with the acknowledgment³ of humility.

So long as there is no link between terrestrials and celestials, and the path of speech between the earthly and the heavenly is closed, what intercourse can there be between the limited and the unlimited, so that an atom of the dust can have any lot in the pure, world-warming Sun ? What goal in the boundless plains of necessity and eternity is possible for a prisoner in the subterraneous vault of accident and modernity ; and what strength can he have to traverse them ? What portion can a bewildered, headless and footless mote⁴ have in the beams of the world-lighting Sun ? It can only be tossed about in the wind. What is a dewdrop to the swelling ocean or to the cloud surcharged with rain ? 'Tis but the vaunt of a parched lip. Pity it were that a mote should discourse about the Illuminator of the assemblage of existences and, though it know him not, and cannot address him, yet should speak of him and search for him !

What connection is there between the dark defile and the courts of light ; between non-entity and absolute being ? The creature may never attain such knowledge of the Creator, as to be able to draw even a few breaths in the rare atmosphere of the praise of His mysteries
3 (*maknūnāt*) or to plant some steps in the field of the comprehension of the wonders⁵ of His store-houses (*makhzūnāt*). How then can he

1 کتان *katān*. The Lucknow editor says *katān* is a kind of cloth that goes to pieces when exposed to the moonlight. Blochmann (94) says (*katān*) "generally translated by linen. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it;—it is muslin." A. F. (*Āin* I. 106.) calls it *katān-i-farangī*, i.e., European *katān*. (See Vullers s. v., and the *Burhānī-qāṭi*.) Apparently *katān* is our word cotton.

2 محمل *mahmil*, means a camel-litter. It is also the term for the cloth which is sent annually from

Egypt, as a covering for the Ka'ba. The lines are Faiẓī's. See *Akbar-nāma* III. 684, l. 6.

3 دست‌اویز *dastāwīz*. This word which Chalmers translates *offering*, is commonly used in India to mean a document, voucher or exhibit.

* The mote is supposed to be in love with the sun. Blochmann 597 n. and 606 n.

5 عجایب *'ajāib* does not occur in the Text after *idrāk*, but it is found in No. 564, in three MSS. of the R. A. S. and in three of the A. S. B. Chalmers' MS. also seems to have had it.



be fit to enter the courts of the Creator's praise? For him who has no right of approach, to speak of the Sultan's privy chamber, is only to be exposed to ridicule and to make himself a public laughing-stock.

VERSE.¹

Though the foot of Speech be long of stride,
Thy curtain-stone² hath shattered it.
Though Speech be fat and lusty,
It is lean³ when it reaches Thy table.

O Thou! Higher than our imaginary⁴ heavens and more exalted than the plane of the elements and than the stars, inasmuch as Thou hast not bestowed on us knowledge of Thy essence and attributes, it is manifest that Thou regardest not thanksgiving as within our powers, and seeing that Thou hast conferred on us mercies which are infinite, it follows that Thou hast not laid upon us the obligation of adequate gratitude!

When I saw that the door of utterance was closed, I perceived that of action open and said to myself in ecstasy;—

"If thou hast not the power of utterance and canst not chaunt "panegyrics, be not cast down, for it is the smooth-tongued and "empty-handed who, by a fraudulent barter, traffic words at the "rate of realities. The praise which is laid upon mankind⁵ as a "duty, by the commands of the Understanding,—that world-obeyed

¹ Both couplets are from the *Makhzanu'l-asrār* of Niẓāmī. See Bland's ed. 3, 142 and 21. 1380. Niẓāmī was a favourite author with Akbar. Blochmann, 104.

² Qu. a stone placed upon the edge of a curtain to prevent its blowing aside. Perhaps simply stone of the threshold.

³ That is, from the length of the journey.

⁴ *Kursī-i-'aqūl ū awhām*. The *kursī* or throne is the crystalline or eighth heaven and below the '*arsh*' which is the empyrean—the ninth heaven or the heaven of heavens. The

kursī is supposed to be God's judgment seat and the author's meaning seems to be that God is higher than any such imaginary throne. Lane (s. v. *kursī*) quotes an authority as saying that the *kursī* is the place of the feet, and s. v. '*arsh*', quotes a saying of Muhammad that the seven heavens and earths, by the side of the *kursī*, are naught but as a ring thrown down in a desert land; and such is the *kursī* with respect to the '*arsh*' (the empyrean.)

⁵ خانوادۃ اعیانی *Khānwāda-i-inkānī* lit. the family of contingent existences.

“sovereign,—is that they make the night-illuminating jewel of
“reason,—one of the bountiful Divine Ruler’s greatest gifts,—into
“a bright lamp, and employ it for sweeping and cleansing the courts
“of their outer and inner man. Should the taskmasters¹ of fate’s
“workshop have attired a son of Adam in the garb of want and
“solitude, let him first of all gird up his loins for self-culture and
“afterward let him endeavour the improvement of others. Should
“they have brought him into a crowd of associations and contacts—
“as may be inevitable in the arrangements of this evil world,—let
“him, if a ruler, prefer the betterment of others to his own; for
“the duty of the shepherd is watching the flock, and the design
“of sovereignty is universal guardianship. If he be a subject,
“let him, first of all, show alacrity in obeying the orders of his
“legitimate ruler,² and then let him cleanse the secret chambers
“of his heart from the dust of heavy-pacing sensuality and nimble-
“footed wrath, so that, by his life and conversation, he be a teacher
“and a testimony³ of the incomparable Giver and Cherisher of his
“outer and inner man.”

When the communing with my heart had proceeded thus far, a resting-stage showed itself afar off to my bewildered mind, and my thoughts were pleasant for a while. My astonished heart was, it is true, saddened by the length and difficulty of the journey, but was cheered by the sound of the machinery of movement,⁴ and by the good tidings of eventual arrival. Suddenly the thoughtful foot of my boding spirit came upon a stone; for the praise of God does not consist in comprehending His perfect attributes and assigning⁴

¹ *Mantazimān*, lit. arrangers or managers.

² *أوامر من له الأمر*, *awāmiru mal-lahu al-āmiru*;—an Arabic phrase signifying the commands of him to whom is command, i.e., who has right to command. See verse of the Koran in the document preserved by Badāoni. (II. 271, l. 9. Lowe 279. Koran, *Sura* IV. 62.)

³ *أهذب ساز راه*, *āhang-i-sāz-i-rāh*. *Āhang* means symphony and also

intention or resolution. Perhaps the expression refers to the tinkling of the camels’ bells. Chalmers has “the sweet-sounding of the instruments of travel.” The meaning appears to be that, though the way is long and difficult, the mind of the pilgrim is cheered by the thought that he is moving on, and will eventually reach his goal.

⁴ Lit. connect them with His court.



them to His Essence; nor is it the reckoning up of His benefits which are without beginning or end, and by dint¹ of these wares of new-fangled² praise, thrusting oneself forward; nor³ should we regard praise as beyond human comprehension and so, stop short of the

¹ *Lit.* alongside or abreast of.

² *حدوث آلود*, *ḥadūṣ-ālūd*, stained with novelty. The text has an *izāfat* between *ḥadūṣ-ālūd* and the following *khudrā* which would, I think, be better away. It is not in No. 564.

³ I read *l̥ yā*, instead of *ū tā*, as this seems to me to make the better sense. It also appears to be the reading adopted by Chalmers. Most texts, however, read *tā*. The Elliot MS. (Bodleian 4a) has *yā* and the Walker MS. (Bodleian 115) had *yā* also but this has been altered into *tā*,—I suppose by the copyist. B.M. MS. Add. No. 6544 has also *yā*. B.M. MS. Add. No. 5610 has *tā*. *Tā* may be right and the meaning be that the result of attempting to number the Divine benefits, *etc.*, is that one finds the calculation beyond one's power and so gives up praise in despair. The translation, in this case, would run thus; "Until" (or "with the result that") "one recognizes that praise is beyond human comprehension and so joins those who have fallen short of the portico of praise." The author's meaning seems to be that for awhile he thought he had come to see what was "the chief end of man," *viz.*, to do his best in the situation in which he might be placed. This cheered him in spite of the path's being long and hard, but suddenly, a fresh difficulty presented itself, for he recognized that the praise of God which per-

haps, we should call Theology and which the author regarded as man's prime care. Cf. the Shorter Catechism—"man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever" did not consist in either of the two following things;

1. Attempting to comprehend the inscrutable.

2. Much speaking about His bounties, hoping thereby to win God's favour and to have glory of men.

Nor again was it right to abandon the study of Theology as beyond our powers, and devote our energies to the improvement of our own miserable selves, even if such endeavour were after moral as well as material advancement. No! true Theology or Divine worship consisted in renouncing the attempt either to fathom the Divine mysteries or to recount His benefits and to take refuge in acknowledgment of our baseness and impotence. The author's view, in short, is that expressed in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, of which perhaps, he may have heard from his friend Aquaviva. These reflections led him to see that he must strive after worshipping God, though in a different fashion from that of the theologians, and eventually he found rest in the discovery that the highest form of Doxology was to record the achievements,—spiritual and temporal—of that Divine master-piece, the

porch of thanksgiving; nor should we style self-culture¹ the recital of the Divine praise, and growing weary-hearted² at the darkness of the road and the distance of the goal, regard such self-deception as a gain, and with abandonment of thanksgiving, set about whatever the cheatery of the hour represent as our true aim.

- 4 Rather the *note* of Praise is to lay this praise-loving, self-adorning, self-auctioning spirit³ on the threshold of service, at the base of supplication and humiliation and to cast it down from the *arch*⁴ of

Emperor Akbar. Unfortunately we may say of Abū-l-faḡl what has been predicated of the poet Young—that he never gets hold of a thought that he does not tear it to pieces.

As the passage is difficult, I give Chalmers' translation below:—

“For the meaning of the giving “praise to the Almighty is neither “that we should inquire into the “qualities of His perfection and then “apply them to His Majesty—nor “that we should reckon up the “endless bounties of Eternity and “then offer up in return for them, “the fabricated wares of our own “commendations; nor should we “suppose them too excellent for “human ken and thus despair of “reaching the portico of gratitude; “nor should we denominate the adornment of ourselves, the recital of “God's praises; nor become sorrowful of heart from the dimness of the “path and the delicacy of the undertaking, and seizing the opportunity “of empty excuses, refrain from “shewing forth His praises by commencing with the evasion which “may appear most plausible for the “purpose. But rather the true “intent of God's praise is this;— “that our grateful soul should place “self-conceit and self-boasting on

“the threshold of obedience at the “footstool of submission and devotion, and thus expel them from the “palace of self-interest; so that our “real helplessness may be decked “with the semblance of piety and our “inward and outward man may be “adorned with humility and poverty “which will thus suit the seemliness “of the breast of our purpose and “tend towards the praise of the “bounteous Creator of the Universe.”
Chalmers' MS. I. 7.)

1 *Khwesh-tan-arā-i-khudrā*. I think this means self-improvement, rather than self-glorification. It refers, as No. 564 remarks, to the endeavours after a better life mentioned above. It may, however, mean self-advancement, i.e., striving to “get on” without thinking of anything higher.

2 *Afgār-khātir*, lit. cripple-hearted, thus keeping up the metaphor of an exhausted wayfarer.

3 *نفس سپاس*, *nafs-i-sipās*. *Nafs* has many meanings but is generally rendered *spirit* or *breath*. Here perhaps, it means something more material and might almost be translated *body*; else how can the author speak of its being flung down, etc.?

4 *طاق*, *tāq*, arch or archway, also alcove. *Tāqi-naẓr* appears to be a



self-consciousness and self-regard, so that its inward poverty may be adorned by outward submissiveness, and its inner and outer nature be decked with humility and lowliness till fitness¹ grace the bosom of purpose and be turned into praise of the Omnipotent Creator.

Now as such wares² of thanksgiving are abundant in the booths of men and are especially plentiful in my own stall, why do I withhold myself from Divine praise and why do I delay to laud the Eternal One? Under any circumstances, it is better for me to escape from this deceiving misery of self-pleasing and to address myself to the heights of lofty thanksgiving.

I was a long time in perplexity, having neither ability to speak nor power to remain silent, when suddenly a door of light was opened by the intellect, that glory of life, and my confused heart found the neck of hope fitted with the noose of resolution. This message came to the ear of guidance, "Artist in Truth's picture-gallery! dost thou not compose a book whose frontispiece thou mayest adorn with praise? Thou art inditing the history of the Lord of time and the terrene (*zamān ū zamān*) and Crown-jewel of monarchs, and praise to God will come into the writing, and thanksgiving to the Almighty be part of the picture! praise of praise is not right; the works of the Artificer are the perfect praise of the pure God and acknowledge³ him with a tongueless tongue."

"They (the works of creation) by conferring this knowledge, grant to the soul-awakened and inwardly-cultured, possession of Light absolute and bring them into the vast shadow of praise which together with its delights, is the highest dignity (*manṣab*) of celestial existences."⁴

poetical phrase for the eye, viz., the arch of sight.

¹ I omit the *izāfat* after *shaiṣtagī*. If this be retained, the translation will be "until" (or "and") "it be fitted to the fitness of the bosom of its purpose."

² *متاع سپاس*, *matā-i-sipās*, merchandise of praise. I suppose that this praise, like the *matā-i-sitūdagī* on the previous page, must mean

words, of which the author had no doubt a great stock.

³ Cf. Addison's hymn.

⁴ *واجب و جوب*, *wajūb-i-wajūd*, necessary existences. The reference is to the glorified spirits of saints and prophets. Cf. a passage in the letter to *Shāh 'Abbās*, already mentioned; *zall mahāmid kibriyā khudāwandī*, the shadow of the laudable qualities of the Almighty.



"Now! it is manifest that no nobler impress or sublimer jewel
"is to be seen in the material world,² than the exalted presence of
"powerful princes who by their holy energy, regulate the outer world
"and knit it together. And assuredly, to make over a world to one
"man and to consign to him the momentous affairs of a universe is
"to incorporate in him the world of reality, or rather to make him its
"soul. Especially if he be a world-adorned seized with the desire
"of inhaling the fragrant breezes of Truth's spring-time and is seated
"on the lofty throne of felicity. Still more if he be the Lord of
"an Age who in addition to these two³ endowments, has a heart
"and mind fed from a hidden fountain. Above all, if he be that
"altar of the pious who by the Divine aid, has risen above these
5 "degrees and has become colourist of the House of Truth, banquet-
"illuminator of the Hall of Realities, confidant of the Presence
"Chamber, intimate of the pure palace of unity, and is by auspicious
"fate seated on the throne of fortune. Sway over the outer and inner
"world and unravelment of knots, both spiritual and temporal, are
"conspicuous in him. Therefore is he the adorning of the imperial
"throne; the uplifter of the banner of God's shadow in our happy
"age; aggregation of the artists of thought and wisdom, or rather
"master-piece of the eternal artificers. With such vast stores of true
"praise in thy keeping, why remainest thou distraught in search?"

On hearing this soul-refreshing message, the morning breeze
of felicity arose; the stock of eternal bliss was collected; the eye
of hope grew bright; the outer world became current coin; the
inner world exulted; the skirt of success fell into my hand; the
wished-for countenance came in sight.

Good God! What a strange mystery it is that in historical

1 The line of thought seems to be, that the works of the Creator are His highest panegyric and that the greatest of these works on earth is a king, consequently the description of a great king is the highest form of Divine praise. Evidently A. F. would not have agreed with Pope as to what was the noblest work of God.

2 عالم عنصر, 'ālam-i-unṣūr, the

elemental world, i.e., the world made up of the four elements. The meaning is that even in the world of matter, there is no gem so precious as a king, much grander than is one who is not only a king but a saint, etc.

3 "Meaning love of truth and good fortune; the latter being considered a virtue of no mean order in the East." (Chalmers MS. n.)



CSL

NOTE.

The following passage was accidentally omitted. It should come in at p. 13, l. 11, at the end of the second paragraph, and immediately after the word "thanksgiving."

"Inasmuch as my aim was lofty, and my intent majestic, my scheming soul could not extricate herself from confusion and set free the word-framing tongue. My constitution would not allow that, like the ignorant and the imitative, I should enter the Praise-Court of the most glorious God by force of words and ejaculations, and be soothed by borrowed metaphor and hackneyed phrase. Nor yet would my effusive zeal permit that I should, after the manner of feeble-souled sages, refrain from searching after Him, or stay my lips from speech concerning him, and thus by a contradictory confession,¹ disparate from one's practice in secular matters, proclaim inability and simultaneously hold one's self forth as a right-thinking utterer of verities."

¹ *Iqrār-i-nāqis*. The meaning seems to be that the same person who excuses himself from praising God by the plea of inability, yet in other matters, for instance in returning

thanks to men, claims to be endowed with eloquence. Chalmers has "a lame conclusion which obtains not in other matters." Perhaps he read *qarān*.



writings, praise of the pure Giver is introduced as an adornment to the book, whereas here, the book is adorned in order to the praise of the Creator. In the pages of secularists, praise comes in as ancillary to the design of the book, but in this glorious history, the design is subservient to the praise. According to the old method, God's praise was effected by utterance; in this new rendezvous on Reason's highway, action is praise. My predecessors relied on speech for God's praise; in this exordium of rare writing, recourse is had to the perfect man¹ who is a God-worshipping king, viz., that Lord of the World who, by virtue of his God-seeking and God-apprehending, has removed the veil from between the external and the internal and has established love between the sections of the recluse and the layman² and has lifted up the curtain from in front³ of the apparent and the real.

Heedlessness which used to travel on the opposite road to discretion, has retraced his steps and become one of wisdom's servants. Formalism⁴ which had left the regions of inquiry and was stirring up tumults, has now thrown inquiry's scarf on his shoulder and become a minister at the shrine. Blind self-worship which had abandoned the worship of God and adopted the worship of the creature, has now got eyes to see with and has come, ashamed and downcast, to the temple of divine worship.

Blear-eyed envy which had megrim⁵ in the head and madness in the brain, and used to strive against the Allwise Lawgiver, has now got wisdom for his guide, and, having become enrolled as one of the pardoned of the shrine of grace,⁶ has been ranked among the helpers of the kingdom. Painful longing—the health, indeed,

¹ *Lit.* lords of abstraction (or nakedness) and masters of connexion.

² Chalmers has, "from between the fleshly and the spiritual" and this may be the meaning, but the expression is "in front of both."

³ *إنسان كامل*, *insān-i-kāmil*. This is a Sufistic phrase and is explained by Jorjānī. (*Notices et Extraits* X. 386, Silvestre de Saçy.) The phrase *perfect man* does not mean simply an impeccable person, in which sense the expression was used, I believe by Whitfield. It rather means the

essence or highest type of humanity. It is also explained as meaning the first intelligence, or,—in Arabic phrase,—the mother of the book. De Saçy says "L'homme parfait est la même chose que la première intelligence." (See also Badāonī, Lowe 266).

⁴ *تقليد*, *taqlīd*, imitation and also hypocrisy and superstition.

⁵ *ماخوليا*, *mākholiyā*, i.e., the Greek *μελαγχολία*.

⁶ *عطية*, *ʿaṭīyat*, gift or beneficence.



of Eternity—from being cripple has become a courier, and appears both as the runner and the winning-post. And why should this not be when we have, in this enlightened age, the chamber-lamp of the universe, the glory of Adam's race, the unveiler of hidden secrets, the revealer of faultless forms? Or how should these things appear strange in the eyes of the far-seeing and wise, when he is (at once) composer (*nāẓim*) of the institutes of sovereignty, distributor¹ of the riches of the servants of God, hairsplitting discernor of microscopic subtleties, the great lapidary and assaymaster?

So long as the spiritual supremacy over the recluse which is called Holiness and the sway over laymen which is called Sovereignty, were distinct, there was strife and confusion among the children
6 of Noah² (mankind). Now that in virtue of his exaltation, foresight, comprehensive wisdom, universal benevolence, pervading discernment and perfect knowledge of God, these two great offices (*manṣab*) which are the guiding thread of the spiritual and temporal worlds, have been conferred on the opener of the hoards of wisdom and claviger of Divine treasures, a small portion at least,—if his holy nature grant the necessary faculty,—may be brought from the ambush of concealment to the asylum of publicity. Knowest thou at all who is this world-girdling luminary and radiant spirit? Or whose august advent has bestowed this grace? 'Tis he who by virtue of his enlightenment and truth, is the world-protecting³

¹ The meaning is not that Akbar was the almoner of God's servants, in which respect he was indeed, according to Badāʾunī, very deficient, but that he revealed spiritual mysteries as well as made rules for temporal administration. The word, *qāsim*, lit. divider, reminds us of St. Paul's phrase "rightly dividing the word of truth." In this group of four epithets, the first and the third relate apparently, to temporal matters and the second and fourth, to spiritual.

² Noah is called by Muhammādans, the second Adam.

³ A. F.'s panegyric on Akbar is

an extraordinary production, according to our western ideas. Probably, however, it was thought very fine by his countrymen. The original is full of *paronomasia* and parallelisms and these, as also the alliterations and cadenced clauses, make the Persian sound much better than the translation. The composition must have cost the author immense labour, though apparently, the task was not entirely his own, for in Faizi's preface to his *Divān* we find the epithets here bestowed on Akbar, from *muqarrab* down to '*ālamjān ū jān ālam*, i.e., for about eight lines of the text, and nearly in the same order.



sovereign of our age, to wit, that Lord (*Shāhanshāh*) of the hosts of sciences,—theatre of God's power,—station of infinite bounties,—unique of the eternal temple,—confidant¹ of the dais of unity,—jewel of the imperial mine,—bezel of God's signet-ring,—glory of the *Gūrgān*² family,—lamp of the tribe of Timur,³—lord of incomparable mystery,—heir of Humāyūn's throne,—origin⁴ of the canons of world-government,—author of universal conquest,—shining forehead of the morning of guidance,—focus⁵ of the sun of holiness,—sublime⁶ concentration of humanity,—heir-apparent of the sun,—anthology of the books of fate and destiny,—protagonist of triumphant armies,—quintessence of the commingling of nights and days,—cream of the progeny of the elements⁷ and the heavenly bodies,—world's eye (sun) of benevolence and bounty,—cheek-mole

In the *Fundgruben des Orients* (II. 271), may be found an interesting experiment, made by Joseph von Hammer, at preserving the oriental cadences in a German translation of the Turkish *Humāyūn-nāma*.

1 مقرب, *muqarrab*, said to be from the same root as *cherub* and to mean, like it, one who is admitted or near to God's presence, but the preferable opinion is that *cherub* is derived from the Chaldæ and means the winged man-bull.

2 *Gūrgān* is said to mean son-in-law or near relation in Mongolian; (Blochmann 460n.) it was a title taken by Timūr to indicate his connection with the house of Cingiz Khān. (Sédillot, "*Materiauz*," 261, and Hyde's preface to Ulugh Beg's Tables, IV.)

Shāh-i-qirān, lord of conjunction;—a name given to Timūr, apparently because the planets (? Jupiter and Venus) were in conjunction at his birth, but Hyde says it merely means *dominus potentiae*. The three

successive epithets are used in order to indicate that Akbar was, first, the glory of the house of Cingiz Khān; second, the lamp of the house of Timur; third, the heir of Humāyūn; and they lead up to a description of what he was in himself.

4 The Bib. Ind. ed. omits this phrase, but it occurs in Lucknow ed. and in No. 564 and is evidently genuine, for otherwise a paronomasia or cadence would be lost. The Persian is مبدع قرانی جهانبانی, *mubdi' qawānīn-i-jahānbānī* and it rhymes with the next clause which is مختار قواعد کشور ستانی, *mukhtari' qawā'id kishwar sitānī*.

5 Lit. eye-pupil.

6 Perhaps, harmonious blend of humanity. Maulvi A. Haq Abīd tells me it may also mean "exalting the offspring of Adam" or "elevating human nature." The original is *garāmī sāz-i-guhar-i-adam*.

7 The elements are called the earthly mothers, and the planets, the heavenly fathers.



of sovereignty and fortune,—back-bone¹ of the frame of the *Khilāfat*,²—bosom-joy of justice and mercy,—brightener (*farāzanda*) of the jewel of fortune and felicity,—exalter (*farāzanda*) of the throne and crown,—connoisseur of the gem of the wise,—appreciator of the pearl of lofty genius,—opening³ the knots of those trammelled in business,—balm of ulcerated hearts,—clear-thoughted stoic,⁴—world-adorning life-giver,—a pictured soul and incarnate reason,—world of life and life of world,—enlightened truth-seer—lover of the way,—truth-chooser,—of discreet gait and constant intelligence,—wakeful occupant of the throne of morning,—sole tenant of light's *adytum*,—illuminating the Presence Chamber,—knowing the boundaries of the paths,—achiever of universal⁵ peace,—site of wondrous gifts,—grandmaster of the grades of sanctity,—initiated in the mysteries of light⁶ and darkness,—theatre of Divine and secular truths,—perceiver of the links between the visible⁷ and invisible worlds,—knowing secrets, spiritual and temporal,—fountain for those athirst for the sweet waters of communion,—goal of the strayed from the path of perfection,—theatre of refined subtleties and exalted sciences,—resting place of infused knowledge and inspired mysteries,—adorn^g the travelling litter⁸ while in his native land,—light of retirement in

¹ *Lit.* strength of the back. It is opposed to the next epithet which refers to the *ṣadr*, breast or bosom.

² *i.e.*, the being God's vicegerent.

³ *i.e.*, solving their difficulties. A. F. applies this phrase to Faiẓī. (*Akbarnāma* III. 673), saying that those who were entangled in intricacies of business, were broken-hearted at Faiẓī's death because there was no longer anyone to explain their difficulties.

⁴ *Ṣāhib-dil*, which is often used to mean a Sufi: *lit.* master of one's heart or passions.

⁵ *Ṣulḥ-i-kull*. The state of being at peace with every one, which A. F. regarded as the perfection of virtue. Cf. Hebrews XII. 14. "Follow after peace with all men."

⁶ The Lucknow editor renders this "day and night;" Chalmers has, "acquainted with the mysteries of good and evil." A similar phrase, *viz.*, *nuktdān-i-ramōz saʿīdī ū sīyāhī*—occurs in the *Inshāʾ*. (Part I, beginning of letter to Ḥakīm Hamām.)

⁷ *ṭāqīdī ū iṭlāqī*, fixity and freedom,—meaning the temporal and spiritual world. *Āin* III. 246. 1.10.

⁸ The Bib. Ind. and Lucknow eds. have *maḥṣal ārāī*, ornament of the assemblage, but No. 564 has *maḥmil*, camel-litter, and so had Chalmers' MS. This epithet and the next are repeated in the *Āin* (III. 249) and are translated by Jarrett (III. 406) "who prepares the litters



society,—apprehending quickly,—retaining long,—giving much, getting little,—pilot of the ship¹ of the universe,—ark¹ of the boundless ocean,—keen-sighted guardian of degrees of honour,—subtle distributor of dignities,—of fortunate genius and auspicious glance,—of happy horoscope and exalted star,—bearer of heavy burdens,—brilliant master of lofty understanding,—ornament of wisdom,—cherisher of the wise,—world-adorning conqueror,—supporting friends,—scattering foes,—binding enemies,—opening countries,—exalter² of the thrones of majesty and awe,—uplifter of the cushions of pomp and prosperity,—warder of faith and state,—protector of throne and signet,—beautifier of the seven climes,—adorner of throne and diadem,—rank-breaking royal cavalier,³—tiger-throwing falcon,—champion of the battle-field of the Holy War,⁴—combatant stalking over the seven worlds,—bulwark builder

of travel while yet abiding in his native land,—a lamp for those who gather in privacy.” In a note to the first epithet, Colonel Jerrett adds; “that is, preparation for the world to come while yet in this world, facilitating the salvation of others.”

A. F. has been misled by insisting on the dualism of Akbar's nature, and his meaning seems to be that Akbar had all the graces of a pilgrim while yet in his native land, and that he had the virtues of a hermit while still mingling with society. There can be no doubt that *maḥmil* is the right reading, for *maḥfal* can have nothing to do with travel. I find too, that it is *maḥmil* in the B. M. MSS. Or. Nos. 5610 and 6544.

¹ The Persian word is *saḥīna* in both cases, but I take the second use of the epithet to refer to Noah's ark. However, *saḥīna* can also mean a memorandum book and this may be its sense in the first clause. In that case *dīdakhān* would signify inspec-

tor and the phrase be rendered “Inspector of the book of the universe.”

² *ṣāʿad*, *ṣāʿad* from *ṣaʿad*, *ṣāʿad*. Chalmers seems to have read *ṣāʿad*, *ṣāʿad* arm, for he translates “bracelet of the arm of magnificence and glory.” *ṣāʿad* is also a Sufistic expression for power generally. See Dic. of T. Ts., 640 1.4 fr. foot.

³ In *Āīn* No. 47 (Book I. Blochmann, 131) Akbar is called the “royal rider (*shāhsawār*) of the plain of auspiciousness.” See also A. F.'s explanation of the word *shāhsawār* in his preface to the *Āīn*. (Blochmann ii.)

⁴ *jihād-i-akbar*, the Greater Holy War, viz., that against one's lusts; the Crescentade or war against infidels being the *Jihād-i-asghar* or Lesser War. In the A. S. B. Per. MSS. Catalogue (170) there are entries of two treatises, one on the *Jihād-i-akbar* and the other on the *Jihād-i-asghar*. Cf. Bunyan's “Holy War” and Bābar's Mem., Erskine, 356, 1.2.

7 of sovereignty and dominion,—base of the columns of instruction and discipline,—holding fast the strong handle of perfect reason,—riveter of the massy chain of universal justice,—all eye¹ in the banquet-hall,—all heart in the battle-field,—in the joyous festival a refreshing cloud,²—in the triumphant battle, a blood-drinking sea,—in the fields of bravery, an unsheathed sword,—in the tournament, a polished lance,—a billowy ocean in the world of giving,—a lightning-darting cloud³ in battle,—his breath, a swaying censer at the soul's feast,—his pleasantness, the waving fan of opening morn,—his justice, equable as *Farwardīn*⁴ and of minute discernment,—his temper is like the zephyr of *Ardibihisht*⁵ and runs over with smiles,⁶—his nature is experienced and disciplined in the solution of problems,—his flawless intellect is a trusty counsellor in the explication of difficulties,—externally his splendour is that of *Jamshīd*,⁷ and his glory that of *Faridūn*,⁸—internally he is Socrates in wisdom, Plato in perception,—he is trained inwardly and outwardly,—his eye and heart are sources of liberality,—he has harmonized tongue and heart, and has made unity⁹ partner with plurality,—his vigilance watches over appetite,—his genius treads lust under foot,—his fair-dealing

¹ *Lit.* in the face of the banquetting room, all eye (or glance); in the heart of the battle-field, all liver (pluck.) *Dar rū-i-bazm-gāh tamām nazr, dar dīl-i-razm-gāh tamām jigar.*

² *Lit.* ocean-raining.

³ *Naisān*, a Syrian month, corresponding to April, and being the 7th month of the Syro-Macedonian Calendar, i.e., Greek Era of A. F. It is the *Nisān* or *Abīb* of the Jews and the first month of their sacred year, being that of the Passover. There is a saying that when the rain of the month of *Naisān* drops into shells, it produces pearls, and when it falls into the mouths of serpents, it produces poison. See Whinfield's *Gulshan-i-rāz* (57).

⁴ The first month of the Persian

year, corresponding to March-April. It begins with the vernal equinox and hence, perhaps, the allusion to its equability.

⁵ The second month of the Persian year, corresponding to April-May.

⁶ Alluding to the sheet-lightnings of spring.

⁷ An early Persian king, celebrated for his cup or mirror (*jām*) which showed the world.

⁸ Another early Persian king, son or grandson of *Jamshīd* and said to have been the first tamer of elephants.

⁹ i.e., has reconciled solitude and society. See opening of the *Gulshan-i-rāz*, l.27. Cf. also the Wisdom of Solomon, VII, 22, "Alone in kind, manifold."



has overturned the petty stalls of fraud and deception,—the touch-stone¹ of his wisdom has separated the gold-encrusted lump² from the solid gold.

He rends the garment of contumacy³ which wraps the faces of debts,⁴ but draws the mantle of forgiveness over the heads of transgressions; the splendour of power streams from the brow of his benevolence; the lightning of benignity draws lambent⁵ lights from the fires of his wrath. His fury melts adamant boldness; his dread turns to water the courage of the iron-souled; the shrinking

¹ *‘Ayār-dānīsh*, test of wisdom. This is the title of A. F.’s translation of the *Katīlah Damnah* or rather of his revision of the *Amwārī Suhailī*. (Blochmann, 106 and S. de Saçy, “*Notices et Extraits*,” X. 197). There is here probably an allusion to *Āīn* No. 5 (Blochmann, Book I. 18), where we are told that Akbar had invented modes of purifying gold.

² *Qalb-i-sar andūd az zar-i-gohar-āmūd*. The text has an *ū* after the second *zar* which would be better away and which does not occur in No. 564.

³ *تَجَبُّر*, *tajabbūr*. The word also means restitution or restoration of property, and we might give this meaning here and interpret the phrase to signify that Akbar releases debtors from the obligation of restitution which lies like a veil over their faces. But I think that the translation *contumacy* is right and that there is an antithesis between this and the following clause. A. F. means that Akbar compelled the contumacious to fulfil their obligations, i.e., made them pay their fines, taxes, compensations for injuries and other debts but that, at the same time, he

was forgiving to offenders. See *Āīn* No. 2 (Blochmann, Book II. 13), with the account of the distinction between exchequer-lands and fiefs, See also *Āīn* No. 19 (Blochmann Book II., 268).

⁴ *غَرَايِم*, *finēs* or *mulcts* or *debts*. There are two *āīns* devoted to the subject of fines, *viz.*, Nos. 48 and 57 (Blochmann, Book I. 131 and 140) one being headed *غَرَامَت* and the other *تَاوَان*. No. 564 explains the word *غَرَايِم* by *تَاوَان*. Even grandees were fined and for certain offences elephant-drivers were liable to capital punishment. See Blochmann’s note to *Āīn* No. 83 (217). For *tajabbūr*, the B. M. MS. Or. No. 6544 has *تَحْرِير*, writing, and Chalmers’ MS. seems to have had this reading for he translates, “He tears the screen” of writing from the face of his “intent.” Apparently, as Mr. Beames has suggested to me, Chalmers read *عَزَايِم* ‘*azāīm*, intentions, instead of *غَرَايِم* *gharāīm*.

⁵ *Lit. tongues of light*. The two clauses are opposed; in spite of his benevolence, he is terrible; in spite of his wrath, he is lovely. Orientals regard lightning as an object of beauty rather than of terror.

of the age is the impress of the wrinkling of his brows; its expansion the reflex of his nature's blossoming.

Prayers for his permanence have stationed themselves on the tongue of small and great; love and belief in him repose in the hearts of young and old; the loftiness of his fame has lowered the glory of local magnates; the majesty of his dominion has put away the rulers of the quarters of the world; the echo of his fortune has opened the ears of the princes of the horizons; the ensign¹ of his glory has lifted up the eyes of provincial kings;² his mighty fame has mingled with the spheres; the sound of his glory has passed from shore to shore; the proclamation of his bounty has transgressed the boundaries of the world;³ his glorious court has become the native land of the elect of the seven climes; his daily increasing dominion has become the masterpiece of epochs and cycles; his glorious ascension, the auspicious frontispiece of stars and planets.

VERSE.

That King of Kings, prop of the sky !
 The umbrella of his fortune is the sky's shadow ;
 Adorning the garden-plot of wisdom and knowledge ;
 Exalting the throne and the diadem ;—
 The seat of his power is rich in liberality ;
 His fortune's shape has an open brow ;
 His presence is the truth-seekers' cynosure ;
 His pity a fountain-head for the thirsty ;
 By a single thought,⁴ he has placed under foot

¹ کُرکبة, *kaukaba*, a steel ball suspended to a pole and carried as an ensign. (Blochmann, 50.)

² *Mulūk-i-tawā'if*, tribal kings. It might be rendered kings of the Gentiles and was the name given to the satraps, established by Alexander and Timūr. (Albīrūnī's "Chronicle of Ancient Nations." Sachau, 116 and 401. Mas'ūdī, II. 132, Meynard et P. de Courteille). Cf. Isaiah, XIV., 9.

اقضاء شش چة, *aqṣā'i ṣhaṣṣ*

jihat; lit. the six sides of the surface, meaning the six sides of a cube, i.e., the world. The regular Arabic expression for this appears to be

مستدس عالم, *mussadasi 'ālam*, the six sides of the world, viz., up and down, fore and aft, right and left. (Steingass, s. v.). The world is also called ششدری *ṣhaṣḍari*, six-doored.

⁴ Or it may be, "He has placed under the foot of unanimity." The meaning is that he has united sovereignty and sanctity.



The royal divan and the dervish's carpet.
The nine heavens revolve for his purpose;
The seven stars¹ travel for his work;
By wisdom, he is the age's provider;
By vigilance, the world's watchman;
His love and his hate, in the banquet and the battle,
Are brimming cups of wine and blood;
The *khāqān*² fears his wrath;
Cæsar³ is disturbed at his frown;
Heaven in glory, Earth in stability;⁴
Lord of universal reason,⁵ *Jalālu-d-dīn*.⁶
Essence of sunlight and shadow of God,
Pearl of crown and throne is Akbar *Shāh*.
May this old world be renewed by him!
May his star be the sun's rays!

8

This empty-handed one, who, from lack of the capital of praise, had neither room to sit nor a leg to stand upon, became, through the above excellent idea and firm resolve, a treasury full of the Creator's praise; a marvellous treasury,—for its store increased by expenditure and diminished by hoarding. By force of sincerity, I became an alchemist, and enriched my poverty-stricken soul. I put forth the arm of fortune and opened the door of the treasury. I was fortunate, I became rich. I was fluent, I became eulogistic. I crossed the threshold of allegory and opened the door of truth. I was simple, I became acute. The door of success which was shut in front of me, was divinely opened. My dejection became exalta-

¹ i.e., the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn,—and the Sun and Moon. There is a similar passage in the *Āīn* (III. 249, l.12).

² Great *Khān*, the name given to the ruler of Chinese Tartary or of China.

³ The two titles stand for the rulers of the East and West. Turkish kings, e.g. Bāyazīd Ilderim, were styled *Qaisar-i-rūm* even before the capture of Constantinople. The lines

are perhaps Faizī's. Cf. his *Nal Daman*. Bombay, 1831, p. 30. The literal rendering of the lines is "The *khāqān* dreads the heat of his sweat; Cæsar is disturbed at the fold of his brow."

⁴ A. F. did not know of the Copernican theory.

⁵ '*Aql-i-kull*, the phrase used by Sufis to express the *Logos* or first emanation from God."

⁶ One of Akbar's names, "the glory of faith."



tion; my inaction, flowing activity; my speechlessness, effective speech. I was taken from the public entrance to the royal apartments; a fluent tongue was granted to me, the tongueless one, and the right of speech was conceded to me.

I wished that before entering on my subject,—as it has been the usage of former writers of all nations to embellish the preambles¹ of their books (after praises of God) with general or special salutations to those great saints and masters of the divine mysteries who, after lighting up the lamp of guidance and effusion in the world's dark chamber, have gone down to the grave;—I too, might so adorn this collection of Divine praise and gratify my heart by saluting that Company which from its eminence and knowledge of God, occupies the intellectual fore-court of this humble individual. But inasmuch as this one who has left the path of semblance and followed after truth, is aware that if a distracted one should, on finding his way into the royal court, utter encomia on the field-marshal or wish by his intervention, to make the favour of the Lord of the Age fall upon the Prime Minister,³ he would but prove his own folly and madness.

What strength has Sahā³ to praise the shining Moon to the

¹ عنوان, 'anwān, title-page or frontispiece.

² بگلربیگی baglarbegī, a Turkish title meaning Bey of Beys, i.e., Chief of Chiefs. Apparently it should be بگی bagī and not begī. It corresponds to *Āmīru-l-umarā* and was a title given to the Governor General of Rumelia and Anatolia and also to any Generalissimo. See Zenker's Turkish Dictionary.

³ Sahā or Suhā is an obscure star in the Great Bear and used as a test of eyesight. It is also called الصدق, Al Ṣadiq. (Lane's Arabic Dictionary 1456a). Sahā and Suhail (Canopus) are often contrasted and apparently, this is not from their difference in brightness only, but also from their difference in position, —the one being a northern and the other a southern star. Sahā is also

contrasted with the Sun. See *Anwārī Suhailī* (Hertford Introduction, 21.) Sahā is catalogued as "No. 80 by Zeta," which is the second star in the tail of the Great Bear and is called by the Arabs *El 'Anaq*, the Goat. Golius and others have wrongly described Sahā as being the southernmost star of the quadrilateral. Sahā is apparently called also Alcor. The name Sahā is said to come from *saho*, forgotten, but according to Albīrūnī (India, Sachau I. 389) Al Sahā was a pious woman who was a companion of the seven *Rishis*.

The Germans call Sahā, the *Reuter*, Cavalier, because, I suppose, he seems to ride on the second horse of the team of Charles' Wain. See Hyde's *Syntagma* I. 15 and Ideler's *Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1809, 292 and 422.



glorious Sun? It is sufficient honour and glory to describe itself in that Presence as an insignificant atom. In that Presence where the favoured magnates of the Court to whom the power of recommending a tiny ant has not been vouchsafed, have not received permission to express their wishes, how can it be proper for one who, like myself, is remaining on the threshold and is without right of access, to solicit grace and favour for the chosen courtiers and to ask pardon and paradise¹ for them. If he should, from inconsideration, lengthen the tongue of boldness, by what name would he be called in the justice-hall of discernment, and what reproach would he not receive from the Inquisitor of Justice? I therefore gave up that idea and made myself ready, so that, if my abilities permitted and the Divine aid were vouchsafed to me, I might reduce to writing the auspicious description of the King of manifestation and reality,—the leader of religion and realm (*dīn ā dunyā*),—and might bring together his beautiful² and awful attributes and the praises of his majesty and perfection; to wit,—the marvellous festivals, wondrous wars, exalted devotions, and pleasant ways of this chosen one of God without the disagreeable admixtures of poetical³ prose writers. So that I might acquit myself of my duties of (1) worship, (2) loyalty, (3) gratitude, and might also establish a claim to the regard of newcomers to the world and of future travellers by life's caravans.

Though each one of those four points⁴ was a powerful motive

¹ رِضْوَان, *riṣwān*, the gate-keeper of Paradise and also Paradise itself. It also means blessing or benediction and may do so here.

² *Ṣifāt-i-jamāl ā jalāl*, in Sufistic language, the beautiful and the awful attributes.

³ A. F. says, that on the fifth revision of his work, he inserted some couplets because good writers regard the admixture of verse as the salt (*lit. salt-cellar*) of prose. (Jarrett III. 415). He may also have been influenced by Akbar's remark that whoever introduced the verses of another into his writings or recited them aptly, displayed both

his own merit and that of the author. (Jarrett III. 386). Perhaps the above passage was written before the thought occurred to him, and was retained because it meant that he would not interlard his prose with poetry in the manner of some previous writers of history, e.g., 'Abdu-l-lāh (Waṣṣāf) who is even more rhetorical than A. F. There may also be a reference to the author of the *Zafarnāma* who has many bad verses.

⁴ Chalmers, the Lucknow ed. and No. 564 substantially unite in saying that the four things or points are: 1. Akbar's beautiful and awful



for entering upon this great task, yet, as my aim was lofty and ability small, success was not attained nor my desire achieved until this light shone on the antechamber of my truth-reflecting heart; to wit—"In this noble enterprise, at the same time that you discharge your duty to the creature, you are also fulfilling your obligations to the Creator. While you are paying your devoirs of respect and gratitude, you are in reality, steadfastly engaged in praising God, the Creator of the world." Day by day, my purpose was growing confirmed and the materials of success were being collected, until at length, out of general good-will to the partakers of his felicity and from special favour to me, his charmed one,¹ a ray of intimation from the court of liberality reached this—as regards his sincerity,—forerunner on the highway of loyalty, but—as regards attainment² of desires,—hindermost (member) of the caravans of

attributes; 2. praise of his majesty and perfection; 3. his feasts and his wars; 4. his holiness and pleasant ways. But this seems wrong and to be partially occasioned by an erroneous reading. The text and one or two MSS. have *tā haqq-i-ʿabūdīyat ū irādāt-i-walī nīmat guzārda bāsham*. But nearly all the MSS. have *irādāt ū nīmat*, missing out the *walī* and this appears the true reading. We thus have three duties or points, viz., worship, loyalty and gratitude which with the duty to posterity, make up the four points. The text, however, may be correct and the points be made up by regarding the "newcomers" and posterity as two distinct classes. The word *haqqī* in the phrase *ū ham haqqī bar nūrasān*, probably has two meanings, viz., duty towards posterity and the establishment of a claim by the author to the gratitude of posterity. The phrase *haqqī gābī gardānīda* is evidently used in antithesis to

the *haqq guzārda*. Chalmers renders the passage "establish rectitude in the tender saplings of mortality and in the travellers of the caravans of existence." All these, however, were only duties towards or rights of the creature and so not sufficient to excite our author till he saw that in performing them, he would also be doing his duty to his Creator.

¹ *Īn nazār-kardā-i-khūd*, lit. this one upon whom his glance had fallen, i.e., his gazed one, protégé or client. See *Āin I.* 24, for use of *nazār-kardā*, A. F. (*Akbar-nāma* III. 114) describes how the glamour of Akbar's glance fell upon him in the mosque at Fath-pūr Sikrī. Cf. Old English "overlooked."

² Perhaps, the *grandeur* of his aspirations, عز مراد *ʿizz-i-murād*. The meaning may be that his works did not equal his faith, i.e., that the spirit was willing but the flesh weak.



felicity; and to Abu-l-fazl, son of Mubārak, upon the crown¹ of whose heart is the quadripartite cap² of discipleship and whose seven times embroidered sleeve³ of devotion is celebrated throughout the eighteen thousand creations, this sublime mandate was given. "Write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events

1 "*Tārak*, properly the crown of the head." Blochmann 549n. It is used here for the sake of the association with *tark*.

2 کلاه چهار تری, *kulāh-i-cahār-turkī*, the four-segmented cap. The reference seems to be to the symbolical caps worn by dervishes ("The Dervishes," J. P. Brown. Trübner, 1868, pp. 53, 88, 148). Speaking of the order of "*Bektashies*," Mr. Brown says (148) "*Tāj* is the name of the cap which all wear in common. It is made of white felt and is in four parts. The first shows that the wearer has given up the world; the second that he has abandoned all hopes of Paradise; the third that he disdains all hypocrisy and (it) means that the dervish cares not whether he is seen or not, praying, and is wholly indifferent to public opinion; the fourth is the total abandonment of all the pleasures of life and that he belongs to and is fully satisfied with Allah alone. Their names also are *She-ree'at*, *Tareekat*, *Hakeekat* and *Ma'ri-fat*." *Tark* means a segment, section or gore and also a string and a helmet. The Lucknow editor says that the four *tarks* signify the four elements, but this is doubtful. *Tark* has also the sense of abandonment and dervishes mean, by their *tarks*, the abandonment of the world, etc. The sect known as the Qādirīs, wear a fourfold cap, i.e., one with four

tarks. This may signify the abandonment of this world, of the next, of respect of men and, fourthly, of every thing except God. A. F. may also be referring to the four degrees of devotion mentioned by Blochmann (A. F.'s Preface vii.) and by Badāonī (Lowe, 299 and 314) and which consisted in the surrender of four things, *viz.*, Goods, Life, Fame, Faith. Hence the appropriateness of the word *cahār-tarkī*, as this may be rendered *the four abandonments* or *surrenders*. *Irādat* too may mean desire and inclination, as well as devotion and discipleship so that the whole phrase may signify *the cap of the fourfold abandonment of desires*. It is in such many-sided expressions that the author delights.

Writing of Maulavīs, Kaempfer in his valuable work on Persian customs, "*Amœnitates Eziæ*" says, (p. 113), "*In vestitu nil peregrini habent, nisi mitram quatuor conspicuam plicis, ex fastigio ad oram decurrentibus.*"

آستین هفت طراز عقیدت بر هژده هزار عالم افشاند

Āstīn-i-haft-tarāz-i-'aqīdat bar hazār hazār 'ālam-afshānd, lit., whose seven-broidered sleeve of devotion has been shed over the 18,000 species. Seven is a mystic number and there may here be a reference to the seven valleys of the *Manṭiqu-t-tā'ir* of Farīdu-d-dīn 'Attār. The seven broideries may mean embroidery in seven different colours and be typical



and of our dominion-increasing victories." What shall I say was the effect of this order for describing the occurrences? Did it grant permission to undertake the task by bestowing on me the necessary genius? or did it, by a grant of felicity to my heart, appoint me the

of the seven Paths, etc. See Brown l. c. 93. *Āstīn afshāndan* means to applaud by clapping the hands, to dance, and to scatter gifts. It also has the contrary meaning of abandoning or refusing. See Vullers and the *Burhān-i-qāṭī* s. v. A. F. seems here to play upon these meanings, but his primary intention probably was to signify that he was renowned throughout the world for his devotion. Chalmers perhaps read *anishānda* or *nishānda* and translates "who was renowned among the 18,000 creatures for the seven times embroidered sleeve of trustiness." Perhaps we might translate, "whose seven embroidered sleeve of loyalty has showered gifts over the 18,000 species," or, without the *izāfat*—"Whose seven-brodered sleeve has showered loyalty over the 18,000 species."

It would seem that the language was originally Faizī's, for we find it in the preface to his translation of the *Lilāvatī* (B. M. MSS. Or. No. 5649, p. 4). It is also in the printed edition of his translation. (Calcutta 1828, p. 2). In the MS. the phrase runs thus:—

بندۀ کمترین درگاه سعادت و ذریہ خاک
نشین آستان ارادت فیضی کہ کالہ چہار
ترکی اخلاص چہار گوشہ با سر دل ماندہ
و آستین مکت طراز عقیدت بر ہر ذہ ہزار
عالم افشاندہ.

*Banda-i-kamtarīn-i-dargāh-i-sa'ād-
at ū zara khāṭak-nishīn-i-āstān-i-irādāt
Faizī ki kulāh-i-cahār-tarkī-i-ikhilāṣ-
i-cahār-gōsha bar sar-i-dil mānda ū*

*āstīn-i-khāt-tarāz-i-aqīdat bar hazāda
hazār 'ālam afshānda.*

It should be remembered that Faizī projected writing an *Akbar-nāma* on the model of the *Bahārī-sikandarnāma* of Nizāmi and that he, apparently, had begun its composition (*Inshā* III). It is probable that some of A. F.'s most flowery passages are borrowed from his brother's incomplete poem.

Possibly the expression about the 18,000 species, has reference to A. F.'s oft repeated assertions that he had arrived at the state of *ṣulḥ-i-kull*, perfect peace with all men. It may be noted that the sleeve mentioned is the wide sleeve of the Oriental which may be opened out and folded over the face. The expression *sleeve of devotion* has nothing in common with Shakespeare's "ravelled sleeve of care," where *sleeve* means an entangled skein.

The simplest rendering of the whole passage is something like this:—"Mubārak's son, Abu-l-faiz, "in whose heart dwell the four "Renunciations, and the praise of "whose sevenfold devotion has gone "out to the ends of the earth."

¹ I think this must be the meaning, though the phrase might mean "What shall I say? Was this a "command for me to compose the "memoirs?" as Chalmers has translated it. The objection to this rendering is that we have just been told he had received a clear order.

recorder of glorious events? or did it bestow eloquence on one rude¹ of speech? Nay! nay! it gave wings to my words and feet to my pen. It was an invisible angel, conveying from the upper world, life-giving news of joy. It was the Archangel² Gabriel bringing down a revelation from the antechamber of Omnipotence.

Assuredly, I spent³ much labour and research in collecting the records and narratives of his Majesty's actions and I was a long time interrogating the servants of the State and the old members of the illustrious family.⁴ I examined both prudent, truth-speaking old

¹ احمي, *a'jamī*. Chalmers seems to have read احمي, '*ajamī* and so translates *zabān-i-'ajamī*, the Persian tongue. This is also the reading of the Lucknow ed. but *a'jamī* seems to be right. A. F. speaks of his having a stammering tongue, *kaj-maj zabān*. (*Āin* II, 354).

² ناموس اکبر, *nāmūs-i-akbar*, lit. the chief confidant of God. (Dozy 272*b*.) A. F. also uses this phrase to mean reason. (*Āin* I. 13). No doubt it is used here partly for the play upon the word *Akbar*. In a Circular Order preserved in the *Enghā'* (Part I.) we have the phrase *Nāmūs-i-akbar ū qānūn-i-āzam-i-sultānat*.

³ See for another account of the inception of the task and of his labours, the conclusion of the *Āin* (Jarrett, 400-417).

⁴ Princess Gulbadan, the sister of Hindāl, aunt of Akbar, and widow of *Khizr Khwāja*, wrote her *Memoirs* in accordance with Akbar's request and apparently as material for the *Akbarnāma* (Rieu's Catalogue I. 227*a*. and MS. Or. No. 166). Her little book, called apparently the *Humā-yūnnāma*, gives interesting details about Humāyūn's marriage with Akbar's mother and deserves publi-

cation and translation. She mentions that she was eight years old when her father Bābar died.

In the India Office, there is a MS. (No. 216) called the *Tārīkh-i-Humā-yūn* which was composed by Akbar's orders for the use of A. F. It was dictated by Bāyazīd, who had been *Mir Sāmān*, steward or superintendent of the kitchen, under Humāyūn to a clerk of Abu-l-faḡl at Lahor. An examination of the book does not show that the author called it the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, and such a title would be inadequate. Apparently the only name given to it by the author is that of *Mulhṭaṣar* (Abridgment). It is in fact a book of Memoirs and comes down to the date of writing, viz., 999 (1590). It begins in 949 (1542), with Humā-yūn's flight to Persia, and is a personal narrative of events from that date. Many events in Akbar's reign are described, e.g., the murder of *Shamsu-d-dīn* by Adham *Khān* (105*a* and *b*) and *Khwāja Muazzim*'s murder of his wife. (105*b* and 106*a*). A valuable feature of the book is its lists of officers, especially the long one of those who accompanied Humāyūn to India. The author was Bakāwal Begī (Superintendent of the Kitchen)



men and active-minded, right-actioned young ones and reduced their statements to writing. The royal commands were issued to the provinces, that those who from old service remembered, with certainty or with admixture of doubt, the events of the past, should copy out their notes and memoranda and transmit them to Court. Inasmuch as this auspicious invitation was not fully responded to nor my wish fully accomplished, a second command shone forth from the holy Presence-chamber; to wit—that the materials which had been collected, should be faired out and recited in the royal hearing, and that whatever might have to be written down afterwards, should be introduced into the noble volume as a supplement, and that such details as on account of the minuteness of the inquiries and the *minutiae* of affairs, could not then be brought to an end,¹ should be inserted afterwards at my leisure. Being relieved by this royal order,—the interpreter of the Divine ordinance,—from the secret

in Akbar's time, and his full name appears to be Bāyazīd Sultān (1586 last line). He was attached to Mun'im Khān and has many details about Kābul and the war in Bengal. Nine copies of the work were made, viz., two (including one that got mislaid) for the King's Private Library, three for the Royal Princes, one for the library of Gulbadan whom the author calls the mother of the king's servants, and two for Abu-l-fazl's library. The ninth was probably the original, and remained with the author.

Bāyazīd, known as Bāyazīd Bāyat, is quoted by Raverty (Notes on Afghānistān) and the B. M. has a MS. (Add. No. 26, 610) which contains an apparently complete trs. of Bāyazīd's Memoirs by Erskine. (Rieu's Cat. II. Pref. XX). Both text and trs. merit publication.

¹ Apparently *farū guzāsh-tan* here means to complete or bring to an end and not, to neglect or pass over.

See Vullers *s. v. guzāsh-tan*, 954b and the quotation there given from the *Burhān-i-qāṭi'*. With regard to this account of the collection of materials, it should be remembered that the *Āin* with all its wealth of tables and other statistics is part of the *Akbar-nāma* and that the author was probably referring to his difficulties in getting full topographical details. What he seems here to mean is that he was disturbed in his mind at not getting full answers to his inquiries for local information and that Akbar relieved him by telling him to set to work on the material he had, and to leave other details to be inserted afterwards. We have (*Āin* II. 14, Jarrett III. 23) the skeleton of an elaborate astronomical table which appears to be blank in all the MSS. Colonel Jarrett supposes that the entries were left to be made at a later time and that the matter was afterwards forgotten or the required information never obtained.



anxiety of my heart, I proceeded to reduce into writing the rough draughts which were void of the graces of arrangement and style. I obtained the chronicle of events beginning at the nineteenth year of the Divine Era, when the Record Office¹ was established by the enlightened intellect of his Majesty, and from its rich pages I gathered the accounts of many events. Great pains too, were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders² which had been issued to the provinces from the Accession up to the present day which is the dawn of Fortune's morning.³ Their sacred contents yielded much material for the sublime volume. I also took much trouble to incorporate many of the reports which ministers and high officials had submitted, about the affairs of the empire and the events of foreign countries.⁴ And my labour-loving soul was satiated by the apparatus of inquiry and research. I also exerted myself energetically to collect the rough notes and memoranda of sagacious and well-informed men. By these means, I constructed a reservoir

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¹ قانوں راقعہ نویسی, *qānūn-i-wāqī-‘a-nawīsi*. (Blochmann 258, *Āin* No. 10). There were 14 clerks employed in the Office, viz., two for each day. It was established in the 19th year, 982 (1574). (*Akbarnāma* III. 118). In the same year A. F. entered the Emperor's service and we may reasonably suppose that the institution of the Record Office was partly due to his suggestion.

² Two *dastūr-ul-‘amal* (Circulars) to the local authorities are preserved in the first volume of *Inshā* and much of them (with modifications and additions) is to be found in the *Āin* (Jarrett II. 37, 66, etc.).

³ We might here have expected A. F. to use this language with reference to the Accession and not to delay the "dawn of fortune's morning" till 40 years of the reign had passed away. But clearly he refers it to the time of his writing. There

is a similar passage in Akbar's letter to 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān of Tārān. (*Akbarnāma* III. 707, l. 8) where the phrase is used with reference to the 41st year and apparently to the completion of the conquest of the Deccan and the establishment of universal peace.

⁴ This passage might be compendiously rendered *Home and Foreign Affairs*. The phrase used for foreign countries is *Aknāf-i-wilāyat*, borders of foreign countries. Blochmann says (*Prosody of the Persians*, VI.) that *wilāyat*, in Indian prose writers and poets, means Kābul and Persia, and it is possible that Persia is intended here. But I should think Tārān and Europe were also referred to. A. F. would not be likely to speak of Kābul as *wilāyat* because he regarded it as part of the empire and has described it among the *sūbas*.



for irrigating and moistening the rose garden¹ of fortune. But inasmuch as, notwithstanding all this apparatus and these rich treasures of information, the House of History² was become decayed from lapse of time, and there were contradictions and imperfections in the accounts and no sufficient means of clearing up difficulties,—I begged the correction of what I had heard from his Majesty who, by virtue of his perfect memory, recollects every occurrence in gross and in detail, from the time he was one year old—when the material³ reason came into action—till the present day when he is, by his wisdom, the cynosure of penetrating truth-seekers. By repeated interviews I arrived at correctness and erased doubts and difficulties with the knife of investigation and ascertainment. When peace had possessed my soul, I made honesty and lavish labour, conductors of the lofty undertaking. I trust that I shall, by help of sincerity, accomplish my task, and that, having gathered such of the wondrous new fruit of the garden of creations, and catalogue of the Creator's masterpieces as my understanding can grasp, I may display them so that a lamp of vision may be set up at the head of Wisdom's Way for the darkened of heart, and that the store of the enlightened may be augmented. *Laus Deo!* What a blessed thing it is that I am paying my devotions to God behind the curtain of service to my sovereign, and that while setting forth the code of regulations of the outer and inner world and the duties of sovereignty and servitude for all mankind from the king to the beggar, I am acquiring a stock of eternal merit for myself.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

As I consider it would be disrespectful to mention on every occasion in this book—which is a record of Divine praise—the sublime name of this King of the Horizons, I use the phrase *Hazrat Shāhanshāhī*, his Majesty, King of kings, and for the deceased⁴ sovereign, his Majesty's illustrious father, I avoid prolixity, by using the phrase, *Jahānbānī*⁵ *Jannat-āshiyānī*. I indicate the venerable mother of the holy one by the title

¹ Meaning the *Akbarnāma*.

² *Khāna-i-naql*. Cf. *Ā'in* III. 193.
"Whereas the City of History (*Shah-rishtān-i-naql*) is in ruins."

³ *'Aql-i-haiyūlānī*.

⁴ غفرن قباب, *Ghufrān-qibāb*, lit. cupola of pardon or absolution.

⁵ Guardian of the world—whose nest is in Paradise. A. F. sometimes uses one and sometimes both epithets when referring to Humāyūn.

INTRODUCTION.

Miryam-makānī,¹ a majestic epithet which passed into the enlightened mind of his Majesty, the king of kings. I style the revered grandfather of the Lord of the World, *Hazrat Qiti-sitānī-i-Fardōs-makūnī*² and thereby abridge his designations.

NOTE.

R. A. S. No. 117 has a curious addition to the account of the mandate (ante 27) which A. F. received to write the history of Akbar's achievements. After *afshānda*, it has "*Dar bist-ū-dūyam Isfandārmāz māh, sana si-ū-siyūm-i-Ilāhī hukm shud*," etc. "On 22nd Isfandārmāz, 33rd of the Divine Era, an order was given." Lower down where it is stated that a second commandment was issued (ante page 29) the same MS. has "*Dar rūz isnūd Ardibihisht sana si-ū-cahārum ki siyum Rajab nuh-ṣad-ū-nuwad-ū-haft hukm mujadd shud*." "On 26th Ardibihisht of the 34th year, or 3rd Rajab 997, a second order was issued." I have not found these clauses in any other MS., but they are hardly likely to have been interpolated by the copyist and the first date appears to agree with A. F.'s other statements, for in the *Āin* (Jarrett III. 416) he says that he was seven years employed on the history which with the year or so occupied in the collection of materials might bring the completion of the work to the 41st or 42nd of Akbar.

¹ *Miryam* is Miriam or Mary and the epithet has been variously rendered—*she who dwells with Mary*,—*is of the household of Mary*,—and *who is of equal rank with Mary*—viz., the Virgin Mary. (The Virgin is one of Muḥammad's four perfect women). Akbar did not invent the epithet, for it was borne by his great-grandmother, the mother of Bābar. (See *Khafi Khān* I. 35). Jāhāngīr's wife, Jodh Bāi, was called *Miryam-i-zamānī*, the Mary of the Age. I think the word *Makānī*, in *Hamīda Bānū*'s title must be translated, *rank*

or *station*, and not *household*, for it was given to her in her life-time. It almost looks as though Akbar liked the title because it agreed with his resemblance to the Messiah. It was said that the two resembled one another in speaking in the cradle. See account of miracle wrought by the infant Akbar to comfort Jiji Anaga (*Akbarnāma* I. 187 and *Dabistān* III. 50, trs.). With reference to this incident A. F. calls Akbar *Masīḥā-wār*, Messiah-like.

² Conqueror of the world, abiding in Paradise.

CHAPTER I.¹

ACCOUNT OF SUNDRY SECRET ANNUNCIATIONS AND HOLY MANIFESTATIONS
WHICH TOOK PLACE BEFORE HIS MAJESTY'S AUSPICIOUS BIRTH.

It is not hidden from the mirror-hearts of the quick-sighted and far-seeing—who know the mysteries of truth, and who show forth the secrets behind the divine veils, and are curtain-openers of elemental (*i.e.*, terrestrial and celestial) mysteries—that the profound wisdom and secret power of the Creator ordain that it is by the weddings of heavenly² sires with earthly mothers, and after various cycles of lunar³ aspects, and of applications,⁴ of syzygies and oppositions of the sun and moon, of conjunctions of the superior⁵ and inferior planets, risings and settings, appearances and disappearances of stars, lunar and solar eclipses, qualities of exaltations and falls,⁶ influences of zeniths and nadirs,⁷ and the like, (which are architects in the workshop of production and change, and artists in the picture-gallery of invention and contrivance) that the unique one comes forth from the secret inner chambers into the palace of manifestation,

¹ Chalmers breaks off here, and does not resume his translation till page 102 of the text.

² The author here displays his learning by giving a string of astronomical and astrological terms. The planets and other heavenly bodies are the sires, and the four elements are the earthly mothers, though the latter may also be "elect ladies," such as Alang-goa (Alanqū) and Maryam-makānī.

³ امتزاج, *imtizāj*, union or mixture; but it appears to be also a term for the lunar aspects. See Dic. of T. T. 1323.

⁴ اتصال, *ittiṣāl*, approximation or propinquity. It is an astrological term corresponding to the *continuation* or *application* of European

astrologers and is the opposite of انصراف, *insirāf*, separation.

⁵ The superior planets are Saturn, Jupiter and Mars,—as being above or beyond the orbit of the Sun,—and the inferior are Venus, Mercury and the Moon.

⁶ A planet falls when it is in the house and degree opposite to those of its exaltation, *i.e.*, is six heavens, 180°, from them. Thus the Sun's exaltation is 19° Aries and his fall 19° Libra. The Sun is a planet, according to the Ptolemaic system.

⁷ اوج و حضیض, *auj ū ḥaṣiṣ*. This may also mean the *apsides*, *i.e.*, the apogee and perigee or aphelion and perihelion. *Auj* (Pers. *auk* or *aug*), was used to signify the apogee of a planet.



and that Unity emerges from the veiled ones of the cabinet of non-existence and displays its glory in the sublime assembly of Being, to be the cause of the arrangement of the Universe and the means of discriminating between justice and oppression throughout the world. How can arrangement result from simple¹ matter? How will it make progress when the constitution of every individual is founded on a collection of opposite tendencies,² when there is colossal egotism in every brain, when justice is unattainable, love non-existent, appetite rampant, and concupiscence daily on the increase?

The wise and far-sighted man is aware that in every period it is indispensable that there be a ruler who shall be strengthened by God's help and made fortunate by eternal blessings. And the philosopher perceives that such a power must be spiritual as well as possessed of

¹ **تَن رَاحِد**, *tan-i-wāḥid*. I understand this to signify matter only, i.e., simple matter without the intervention of celestial influences. The author has been dwelling on the necessity of all sorts of combinations and influences to produce the Only One—the Unique,—and then winds up by exclaiming about the impotence of mere matter. In the *Ā'in* (II. 966) the author uses **تَن**, *tan*, in the sense of *matter* as opposed to *spirit* and has the phrase *tan gudāḥtan*, to mortify—lit. to melt—the flesh.

I am, however, by no means sure of the meaning and possibly the phrase may, as has been suggested to me, be an exclamation of surprise at Akbar's greatness. "What an apparatus of arrangement from one man!" This rendering of *tan-i-wāḥid* receives support from the similar use of *tan* in page 4 (line 4 from foot); but then I do not see its connection with what follows. Possibly the correct reading would be to omit the *izāfat* after *tan* and to translate *wāḥid* as the Unique One. "What

Cosmos can come out of flesh? How can the Unique One issue from it, seeing that every man is made up of contradictions?" See the corresponding passage in the *Ā'in* (I. 290 l.12, Jarrett II. 51) and also in the beginning of the first letter to 'Abdu-l-lāh **Khān** of Tārān, in the *Inshā*. Here we have the expression *gahr-i-wahdat* which Jarrett translates *autocracy*. Finally I may point out that there is an Arabic word **تَن**, *tin*, signifying equality, and that possibly this is what A. F. wrote. His question then would be, "How can Cosmos result from equality (or equals)? How will the Unique One emerge from it?"

If it be objected that *wāḥid*, as an adjective, cannot mean the "Unique One," we might read *wahdat*, unity; or, with still less violence, take the letter *w* to be *ū*, the conjunction and translate *ū aḥad*, "and the Unique One."

² Alluding to the four warring and contradictory elements.



Strength of arm. The man of experience knows that many years must elapse before a ruby¹ develop in the embryonic sac of the mine and arrive at maturity, so as to be fit for a royal diadem. How many revolutions of epochs then, and how many cycles, are required before such a priceless pearl and unique jewel,² lacking in naught, can obtain his special preparation, so that by ascending steps, he arrive at the fulness of perfection? Acute and experienced observers perceive that the length of the period is dependent on the number of the subjects,³ for the greater their number, the greater are the opposition and incommensurability. The greatness of the Lord of an Age is more conspicuous when he takes the burden of the whole world and of mankind on the head (*farg*) of genius, and guards the flocks (*firq*) of the universe from strife, and arranges and completes, by virtue of his wisdom, the work of the world and of mankind. But whenever, in the plenitude of His desires, the Divine Workman wills, that the arrangement of things spiritual and temporal and the culture of the inner and outer worlds be placed in the hands of one individual of the human race, how can the period of preparation of such a lofty comprehension and sublime intellect be calculated by the human understanding, and how can finite cycles contain it? Inasmuch as the enlightened and wise of our time find these two supreme gifts⁴ in the writing on the luminous forehead of the Lord⁵ of the World (Akbar), they quite justly admit their inability to expound his orbit.⁶ To them, this very fact is bliss, that by the

1 Alluding to the notion that the ruby is slowly developed from stone by the action of the Sun. Cf. Milton (*Paradise Lost* III. 608-12).

"With one virtuous touch
"The Arch-chimic Sun, so far
from us remote,

"Produces with Terrestrial Humor
mixt,

"Here in the dark, so many precious things

"Of colour glorious and effect so rare."

2 As the perfect prince.

3 رعایا, *ra'āyā*, subjects. The word primarily signifies a flock or herd

and probably A. F. uses it here with a reference to this original meaning. We might therefore translate "the size of the flock."

* *Viz.*, the control of the worlds, etc.

6 خدیو, *khudēv*, lord or great king: it is the well-known word *Khedive*.

8 منقَب, *manāqib* pl. of *manqab*, virtues, and also, a mountain-path. Here, I think, it means the path of Akbar's development, though A. F. probably has an eye to the double meaning of the word, as his manner is.



Divine aid, they have come to know him. For the comprehension of the stages of development of such a Lord is not within the compass of human calculation. They know that in venerating this Great One, they are doing reverence to the Divine power and are worshipping the very Godhead. They spend all their energies in acquiring his grace, as that necessarily includes the compassing of the grace of the incomparable God. What bliss can be greater than this? Or what fortune can be more exquisite than this boon? And the enlightened and far-seeing man whose visual ray has been strengthened by the antimony of rectitude, knows from the analogy¹ of an auspicious star, it was after thousands of years had been spent, womb after womb, in the cradle of preparation, that the broidery of existence was bestowed on her Majesty Ālangqā,² so that she might become³ worthy of that world-illuminating Light, which is the interpretation of that anthropomorphic Sun⁴ which stands at the

¹ Lit. by the guidance of an auspicious star but, I think, the verse quoted immediately afterwards, shows the meaning to be, that the length of time after which an auspicious star appears, proves how long a period is required for the development of a Light such as that of Akbar.

² Her proper name appears to be Alang-goa. See Ssanang-Ssetzen's "History of the Eastern Mongols," (trs. J. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1829, 59). *Goa* or *Go* means *white* or *shining* and is a title given to noble ladies (l. c. 373). Ssanang-Ssetzen was a descendant of Čingiz Khān and completed his book in 1662 (l. c. 299). He describes Alang-goa as the daughter of Baraghodschin-goa, wife of Choritai-mergen. She became the wife of Dobo-mergen and bore him two sons. Then her husband died, and during her widowhood, she was visited by the Sun and became by him, the mother of

three sons. She is the mythical ancestress of the Mongolian race by her supernaturally-born son, Budantsar Mong Khān. A. F. gives an account of her (*Akbarnāma*, 64). Both he and Ssanang-Ssetzen intimate that she was miraculously born as well as a miraculous mother, and the latter gives the name of her mother only.

³ The word is *gardīd*, became, but I think the past tense is used here for the future as is sometimes done in Persian. The elements of humanity traversed armies of martyrs,—thereby becoming purified,—and were eventually developed into Ālangqā.

⁴ شمس پشطان, *shamsa-i-pēshṭāq*. In *Āin* No. 19. (*Āin*, Book I. 45), A. F. treats of the *insignia* of royalty and begins with the expression *shamsa-i-cahārīq*. He then adds that this *shamsa* is a Divine splendour which, without the intervention of human effort is the finger-mark



entrance-gate of ancient tradition and constitutes the basal inscrip-

of Divine power. Blochmann (50) translates, "The *shamsa* of the arch of royalty is a Divine light which God directly transfers to kings without the assistance of men, and kings are fond of external splendour because they consider it an image of the Divine glory." He adds, in a note, "*Shamsa* is a picture of the Sun, affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night, these pictures are illuminated." The expression *shamsa-i-cahār-tāq* must be connected with that of *shamsa-i-pēsh-tāq* which occurs in the text (III. 184, 1.4). The expression there used is *shamsa-i-pēsh-tāq-i-āgāhā*—the solar image of the arch of intelligence—and is applied to Akbar. Similarly Faizī, in the preface to his *Divān*, speaks of the *sham'-i-shash-tāq ā shāh-i-mukh-kharya*—meaning apparently, lamp of the six sides of the world and king of the nine vaults of heaven. *Cahār-tāq* which Blochmann translates *arch* is given by Steingass as meaning a kind of tent. Dozy (Supplement I. 786) defines *shamsa* as a round ornament or little ball in the shape of the Sun; he also says it is described as a sun-shaped button, by means of which a door is opened. It may apparently mean also a curtain or parasol. I think the *shamsa-i-pēsh-tāq* in the passage before us, means in part, the solar images which were set up at the entrance-gates of royal palaces and here, we may quote the words of Quintus Curtius (III. Cap. 7) noticed in Hyde's "Religion of the Ancient Persians."

"Super tabernaculum unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat."

Perhaps, however, this rather refers to the *akāśdiya*. (Blochmann 50).

The following extract from Kaempfer's *Amoenitates Exoticae*, (Fasiculus V. 199), gives a nobler idea of the *Shamsa* than Mr. Blochmann's description. Kaempfer is describing the *Gynaecium Regium* or Female Apartments of the Palace at Ispahan.

"Ambulacri superatā longitudine (quam habet 150 passuum) portam contingimus primariam, extus, Janitoribus Sopi, intus, albis munitam spadonibus. Haec tota caeruleo imbuta, iconem exhibet Mithrae, i.e., Solis (detorta vox est ab obsoleto Mohiin quod Solem notat) *praegrandem, auream et sparsa in orbem jubarē radiantem*. Sanctitatem loci, non alii ornamenti species, mystici gentis iudicio, gravius exprimebat quam Mithra, sive Sol, qui coelo decus, universitati lux et vitae focus praepositus est. Solem igitur pro summo Numine (verius pro larvā Numinis) antiquitus colebat, ejusque simulacrum adoptabat absolutae potentiae suae insigne, quod et domi statuebat togatae Majestati praesidium, et in Campo signis praeferebat militaribus ita animas accensurum objectu rei, quae uno quasi complexa Divini Numinis imaginem, et Majestatis Regiae praesentiam innueret."

But I think A. F. chiefly means to refer to the solar being who came into Alang-goa's tent and that he wishes to indicate as the true expla-



tion¹ of true histories. And he perceives that the same Light which took shape, without human instrumentality or a father's loins, in the pure womb of her Majesty Ālanquā, after having, in order to arrive at perfection, occupied during several ages the bodily wrappings of other holy witnesses, is manifesting itself at the present day, in the pure entity of this unique God-knower and God-worshipper (Akbar).

VERSE.

How many ages have passed away !
How many planetary conjunctions occurred,
That this happy star might come forth from heaven !

It is an ancient custom and established institute that the messengers of the eternal city and the heralds of the opening of the gates² of munificence, before the appearance of an elect one,—such

nation of the mysterious figure which, according to the old tradition, came in as an image of the Sun and disappeared as a wolf,—that Alang-goa was made pregnant by the Divine Light, in the same way as the Virgin Mary. (*Akbarnāma* 64, ff.). It is believed by some writers that the story of Alang-goa is an imitation of the accounts of the incarnations of the Buddha and of Jesus Christ.

كِتَابَةُ مَبَانِي, *kitāba-i-mabānī*, epithet, inscription, foundation of (true records). I think the allusion must be to the title Nairūn which was given to Alang-goa's descendants by the Sun. (*Akbarnāma* 67, l.1). A. F. takes the epithet to be derived from *nūr* and says it means light-born; but the word does not seem to be Arabic and it is not likely that the rude forefathers of the Mughals would use an Arabic term. D'Ohsson (I. 25) says, "Nirūn, c'est-à dire de la côte, pour désigner la pureté de leur origine." Apparently

then, he does not derive the word from *nūr* but connects it with the Turkī *narah*, a side or place. The legend about Alang-goa is mentioned in the *Shajratu-l-atrāk*. (Col. W. Miles' trs.) There may however, also, be a reference to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī* of Minhāj-i-sirāj, (Section XXI.) where the word *Shamsiā* is used as a title of a dynasty and where there is a passage not unlike A. F.'s. (Raverty 596 and Bib. Ind. Text 164). Possibly too, the word *tawārīkh* here means dates or chronology and the allusion (or at least, one of the allusions) is to the Divine Era, established by Akbar.

فَتْحُ الْبَابِ *fathu-l-lāb*. I learn from the Dic. of T. T. (1104) that this is also an astrological term, meaning the coming together in the same house of two planets whose mansions are opposite to one another, e.g., Saturn and the Sun and Moon, Jupiter and Mercury, Mars and Venus. Guido Bonatus has a chap-



that one only comes into existence after thousands of years,—rejoice the privileged and wakeful-hearted by the glad tidings of his approach. For every event is stationed¹ behind the veil of a time and the precise² moment (of its appearance) is concealed and hidden. Yet before it become a certainty, they open a wicket³ in the invisible world in face of the senses, and the window-fronts hold a lattice⁴ of indications.

Sometimes the manifestations occur in the visible world, and sometimes their lustre is exhibited in dreamland,—which is an image of the world of mortals,—so that the recipients may have hope while on the highway of desire, and may await the wished-for light and may be observing the ascension of the auspicious star, for expectation enhances joy, and joy is the ornament of felicity. And whatever takes form after longing and striving, and obtains its fulfilment after watching and waiting, has a charm about it which is not met with otherwise.

13

An instance of this is the circumstance that his Majesty Jahānbanī Jānnat-āshiyānī (Humāyūn) after receiving an intimation of the advent of the glorious one (*ān ḥazrat*) was ever keeping the dust-stained head of supplication on the earth of humility; and placing the apex of beseechment on the threshold of the *Ka'ba* of requests, and turning the face of hope towards the altar of entreaty, used to pray with invocations and longing, for that living blessing, which in truth, is an auspicious ascension⁵ and an increase of life.

ter headed *De apertione portarum*. (815b).

¹ موقوف, *marṣūd*. This word, according to Lane, means lying in wait. It means also the station of a star and the act of observation and of being observed and is used in this sense in the *Ā'in* (II, 15 fr. foot.)

² Lit. "the knot (عقدة 'uqdat) of the special time is veiled and hidden."

³ *Darīca*, a window or wicket.

⁴ شبکه, *shabaka*. (Dozy, Suppl.

722b). The name given to a part of the *astrolabe* known as the *cobweb*; Chaucer's *Riet* (*rete*); a moveable metal plate. See also Jarret, III. 315, n. 1.

⁵ طالع همایون, *ṭālī-i-humāyūn*. There is a play here upon the word *Humāyūn*, the phrase being capable of being rendered the *ascension* or *rising* of *Humāyūn*: perhaps too, there is an allusion to the etymology, real or supposed, of the Persian word *farzand*, son, from *far*, glory.



VERSE.

O Lord, by the lamplight of Thy Essence,
 By the ocean pearls of Thy Attributes,
 By those holy Ones (prophets and saints) who come forth
 like pure roses,
 Whose souls are washed by the fountains of the sun,
 Grant a jewel to my fortune's crown;
 Grant a star to my exaltation's heaven;
 Grant a moonlight to my chamber¹,
 Which may disperse the darknesses of the Universe;
 Irradiate my existence by a sun,
 That² the nine heavens may come within my adoration.
 Give perpetuity to my afflicted soul,
 So³ that, if death come by a hundred ways, I may not die.

Of a truth, a son who will be one's successor and take one's place on the glorious throne, is something which is a compensation for life,—for which there is no compensation,—and is a substitute for bye-gone years. He is the fruit of life's garden and a celestial lantern, fed from the oil of the Divine bounty. He kindles the family lamp of the whole line of ancestors and fixes it firmly on the throne of fortune. He lengthens and broadens the shades of justice and glory over the heads of mortals. Especially, if he be such a rare and exquisite product and so consummately dutiful that, if he be called *Primus*⁴ of the Poles of Saints, it is but proper, and if he be termed the knot in the grand chain of sovereignty,⁵ Father of Fathers,⁶ and Great Ancestor, it is but just and in accordance with

1 شہبستان, *shahistān*. This is A. F.'s name for the harem or seraglio. See *Āīn* 39. The prayer is that there may be a moonlike son born in the harem.

2 This line is Faiẓī's. See *Akbar-nāma* III, 683, 15.

3 This line is adapted from one of Faiẓī's. *Akbar-nāma* III. 683, 14.

4 Lit. synopsis or title-page of the Poles of the saints.

5 The word *salṭanat* does not occur in the text (Bib. Ind. ed.) but is in No. 564 and is probably genuine. It occurs after *silṣila* and before *a'ẓima*. The word also occurs in B. M. No. 1709.

6 *Abu-l-ābā ū jadd-i-a'lā*. *Jadd* sometimes means maternal grandfather or ancestor and perhaps has this force here.



the real facts. It is exceptionally suitable that a king who in succession to a line of ancestors is placed on a throne of rule and sway, and is world-dominating and world-adorning, should have an illustrious successor and such an one is of all men, the most eager in this quest.

At length, on 4th Rabi'ul-awwal, 947, of the lunar (Hijra) era (Friday, 10 July, 1540) his Majesty Jahānbanī Jannat-āshiyānī had, after paying his devotions to the Author of bounty, laid for a time his head on the pillow of repose and his limbs on the couch of tranquility, when, suddenly, under the auspicious veil of sleep,—hence called the cabinet of secrets—he became aware that God, (Glory be to Him) was bestowing on him an illustrious successor whose greatness shone from his forelock, and the lightning of whose splendour was flashing from his temples. From the light of his guidance, the dark regions of thoughts and opinions were illuminated, and the glory of his justice was lighting up the fields of night and day. It is in accordance with the communication which was made by the messengers of the invisible world regarding his Majesty (Akbar) that the glorious name of that divine masterpiece exalts at the present day, pulpits and proclamations. The superscriptions¹ of the gold and silver coins also tell of it.

- 14 When his Majesty awoke, he first returned thanks to God for the majestic message and splendid grace and then told the circumstance to the intimates of his harem and the servants of his threshold.²

¹ Lit. the faces of the *dirhams* and *dīnārs*. The *dirham* was a silver coin and the *dīnār* a gold one. They were in use before Akbar's time. See *Āin* Nos. 10 and 11 (Book I. Blochmann). Akbar gave new names to the coins.

² This dream occurred about a year before Humāyūn's marriage with Akbar's mother. That marriage took place, according to Gulbadan, on Monday, (Dōghamba) 9th Jumāda-l-awwal 948. Gulbadan says the dream occurred at Lahor, and she gives a

more poetical account of it. She says Aḥmad-i-jām himself appeared in a dream, as an old man dressed in green and with a staff in his hand, to Humāyūn when the latter was in great distress on account of the conflicts with Shēr Khān, and bade him not lose heart, for he would have a wonderful son whom he was to call Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Bibī Konor (qu. Gūnawar) was then pregnant and it was thought that she would have a son, but she bore a daughter, Bakshī Bānū.



VERSE.

A¹ sleep which tore the veil from before the eyes of the soul,
Cannot be called sleep; it was the heart's waking.

Sharif Khān related that when his brother Shamsu-d-dīn Mu. Khān Atga² was in Ghazni, in the 22nd year of his age, he dreamt he saw the moon come into his arms.³ He related the fact to his venerable father Mir Yār Mu. Ghaznavī who was a spiritually-minded householder,⁴ and the latter rejoiced at the happy appearance of the auspicious circumstance and interpreted it to mean that God would, one day, bestow a great privilege upon him which would be the means of exalting their family. And so it turned out, for by the blessings of that full Moon of glory of the heaven (Akbar) the family was raised from the nadir of the dust to the zenith of heaven.

Another circumstance was communicated by religious, right-thinking persons, viz. that when her Highness Miryam Makānī—may the shadows of her glory be eternal—was pregnant with the holy elements of his Majesty, a strange light was perceptible from her bright brows. Often her divine countenance had to observers, the appearance of mirrors such as are fastened by tirewomen⁵ near the temples of secluded chaste ones.

And the star of fortune sang this strain with the tongue of ecstasy.

VERSE.

I placed the clouded brow on the path⁶ of fortune,
I hung a thousand mirrors on the forehead.

¹ These lines are Faizī's and occur in his *Dīwān*. B. M. MS. Add. No. 7794, 191b.

² Blochmann 321. He was Akbar's foster-father and became a *wākil*, minister. He was assassinated by Adham Khān. The word *atga* is Turkish and properly *atāgā*, the state of being a father.

³ Lit. armpit.

⁴ *Kadkhudā-i-darvīsh-manīsh*. This phrase is copied in the *Ma'āfiru*.

Umārā (II. 531) and is, apparently, that which Mr. Blochmann has rendered "a simple farmer." The context here shows its real meaning.

⁵ Jaffar, Herklots says nothing of mirrors being attached to the forehead, but states that they are placed on the thumb.

⁶ *barāh*. Possibly the word is *burā* and the translation should be, "I laid the ornament of fortune on the clouded brow."

One day, near the time¹ of the auspicious birth, her Highness Miryam Makānī was riding² on a camel. On the way, her eye fell on a mango-garden. As at such a time, there is an inclination for sub-acid drinks and for sour-sweet fruits, she bade her half-brother,³ Khwāja Mu'azzam fetch some mangoes. The Khwāja brought some, and was giving them into her blessed hand when he saw a light upon her glorious brows like that from a mirror. He said, "Have you put a mirror on your forehead?" She replied, "I have not attached any mirror. What are you referring to?" Then the Khwāja looked narrowly and saw that her Highness' shining forehead was lighted by the light of God. He marvelled at the light eternal and mentioned the circumstance to several of the confidential courtiers. His statement was to the effect, that the glory of the divine light so streamed from the shining brows that he had not strength to gaze steadily at it.

The venerable mother of Khān A'zam Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh, who was his Majesty's nurse,⁴ related the following anecdote. "One
 15 "morning, before I had the good fortune to hold this supreme office, "a great light approached me and entered my bosom. I felt as if "the world-warming Sun had fallen into my breast. A strange "condition supervened and a great astonishment laid hold of me so "that all the parts and particles of my body were moved and shaken,

¹ The birth was on 15th October O.S., i.e., 25th October N.S. There could hardly have been mangoes on the trees near that time, nor is it likely that there were any mango trees near Amarkōṭ.

² *Handaj* (howdah), but here used, I think, to mean camel-litter.

³ برادر مادری *barādar-i-mādārī* which can, apparently, mean either a maternal uncle or an uterine brother, i.e., a brother on the mother's side. Here it must mean the latter, for A. F. (I. 221) speaks of the relationship as *akhūwat-i-akhayāfī* which the dictionaries explain as meaning brotherhood. The *Ma'āsir* (I. 618)

describes the Khwāja as *barādar-i-ayānī* of Miryam Makānī, i.e., her full brother. Its author then, apparently, took *akhayāfī* to mean full brother.

Nizāmu-d-dīn (*Tabaqāt*, Luck. ed. 263) speaks of the Khwāja as Akbar's maternal uncle and as the son of 'Alī Akbar, a descendant of the saint Aḥmad-i-jām. The Khwāja was a man of violent temper, if not wholly insane. He killed his wife and was imprisoned by Akbar in Gwalior. (Badāonī, Lowe, 71 and Noer's Akbar, A. S. Beveridge, I. 104).

⁴ *Atagajī*. Apparently this ought to be *anagajī*, if it comes from *anaga* a nurse. (Blochmann 323n.)



“as by excess of joy and ecstasy. And the exquisiteness of that
 “delight still suffuses me (*lit.* still possesses every hair of me). And
 “from the time of that white dawn of the morning of majesty and
 “beauty and rose-blooming of fortune and glory, I was on the watch,
 “thinking, ‘O God! what will be the result of this sublime feeling?’
 “At length, I was exalted to this lofty service which is the treasure
 “of realm and religion (*dīn ū dunyā*) and of trust.”

HEMISTICH.

“Fortune¹ is what comes to our bosom without trouble.”

“God be praised! What a blessing it was that came to my
 “bosom and what a fortune was received within my breast.
 “Though externally, I was strongly made for the service of that
 “sublimely-born pearl, yet in reality, it was Fortune who inclined her
 “face² towards me and supported me and my family. Whenever
 “I took his Majesty on my shoulder, auspiciousness raised me from
 “the dust. Accordingly, by the blessing of this service which was
 “destined for me, a great grace and a lucky star were conferred on me.
 “And I and my family became famous throughout the seven climes.”

Another story was told by Maulānā³ Nūru-d-dīn Tarkhān and
 some others who were in attendance on the Court, *viz.*, that near the
 emergence of the sun of fortune (Akbar), his Highness Jahānbānī was
 recreating himself in a room⁴ which had latticed windows, and the
 formula of the *rectification*⁵ of the glorious birth was before him.

¹ This line is in the *Anwār-i-Su-hailī* (Cap. 14, Story 2). The literal rendering is “Fortune is what comes into the bosom without the heart’s blood” (being shed), and the nurse uses the line to indicate that she had not to undergo the pain and danger of parturition.

² There is an antithesis between her strong back, *puṣṭi-i-qawī* and Fortune’s face.

³ See Blochmann 524 and 541, also long account in Badāonī (III. 197-200) and the *Maʿāzīr* (I. 478). He died as custodian of Humāyūn’s tomb in 994 (1586).

⁴ خانہ مسقف *khāna-i-musaffaf* a roofed apartment; apparently the word room expresses the meaning.

⁵ خراف نمودار *ḥarf-i-namūdār* the “rectification” of English astrologers. The *namūdār* was a device for obtaining the date of birth. There is an account of it in Ulugh Beg’s *Prolegomena* (Part IV, Cap. I. 146 and Sédillot’s Trs. 291). The *namūdār* is also called *animoder* in European books on astrology. It was resorted to when the exact date of birth was not known; that is when there was doubt as to the correctness of clocks, etc. Apparently

Suddenly rays of divine light shone from the lattices, so that all who were privileged to be present, both small and great, perceived them. Those who were entitled to speak, asked his Highness Jahānbānī the meaning of the phenomenon, and he replied, "A rose of the rose-garden of the *Khilāfat* will just now come into bloom, and a child of light will emerge from the hidden chamber of magnificence and glory, and from the gorgeous *sarāī* of Honour and Fortune and plant his foot in the circle of existence. The refulgence¹ of his greatness will melt the hearts of the enemies of the State in the crucible of destruction, and confer new splendour and glory on our race and family. Nay, rather, the night-chamber of the universe will acquire grandeur and beauty from his world-lighting rays."

Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai Ṣadr,² one of the purely-born, related as follows:—"One morning, his Highness Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī was bowed down in reverie, and seemed much distraught.³ After a time, he raised his head and exclaimed, "Praise be to God the Gracious, the lamp of our royal family has been relit." On my asking the meaning of his giving thanks, his Highness replied, "While I was in a state of

it is here referred to as something used to calculate the time when a birth will take place. Ulugh Beg gives three *namūdārs*, viz., Ptolemy's, Hermes' and Zoroaster's. Vullers (*s. v.* 1352a) gives a quotation from the *Bakāri-ajam*, mentioning five *namūdārs*. The phrase *ḥarf-i-namūdār* probably means the formula of the *namūdār*. It would seem that the *namūdār* was also used to discover the nature of the coming child, e.g., its sex.

¹ *Kaukaba* means a star and is also the name of one of the royal ensigns, viz., a polished steel ball suspended to a pole. (Blochmann, Plate IX).

² Badāonī has an account of him (IHL 273). He calls him *Mashhadī*, i.e., from the town of Mashhad (Meshed) in Eastern Persia. He was a skilled penman and his brother,

Mīr 'Abdu-l-lāh was a performer on the *qānūn* (dulcimer). He is, apparently, the calligraphist mentioned in the *Ā'in* (Blochmann, 101 and 103), but though Mr. Blochmann identifies him with Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai Mīr 'Adl, this seems doubtful. (Blochmann, 468, 471 and 480). The man who told the story of Humāyūn's dream was that monarch's Ṣadr,—Lord High Almoner. This office was higher than the Mīr 'Adl's (Blochmann 268) and it is not likely that a man whom Badāonī praises for sanctity would take part in a drinking bout. (Blochmann 465). However, this is not impossible, for Badāonī tells us (Lowe, 319) that the New Year festivities were too much for the sobriety of the Qāzis and Muftis (Judges) and even of pious men.

³ Lit. it appeared as if his blessed eyes had become red (or inflamed).



"wakeful" sleep, a brilliant star emerged from a certain quarter (here his Highness pointed to the region where the glorious parturient was) "and rose higher and higher every moment. And as it ascended, its "size and brilliance increased, until its light had embraced the greater "portion of the world. I asked a holy man what the luminous body "was, and he replied that it was the light incarnate of my successor, "and that whatever part of the earth had been shone upon by this "world-illuminating ray, would come under his dominion, and be "civilized by the light of his justice." Two days after this vision, the news came of the ascension of the auspicious star above the horizon of hope, and when the period of the spiritual manifestation and holy vision was compared,¹ it appeared that the auspicious birth and the delivery of the miraculous message had occurred at one and the same time." When such an illustrious progeny is the lot of an eminent man,² why should such a communication not be vouchsafed? And when such a boon followed, why should there not have been such a reverie, and such an interpretation? Such things may appear extraordinary to superficial observers and to materialists, but the pure-minded and far-seeing conjectured before the event, and knew with certainty afterwards that this was the shining of the world-lighting star and that the message betokened the darkness-destroying sun. And to those who have had the bliss of being long in the service of this Lord of the World and of understanding his glorious qualities, the appearance of such portents is no stumbling-block.

Nor is it hidden from the acute and scrutinising that though Maulānā Shārafu-d-dīn 'Alī-i-Yazdī has in the *Zafarnāma*³ taken a superficial view of things and stayed Qācūlī Bahādur's⁴ true vision and Tūmana Khān's interpretation at His Majesty the Lord of Conjunction (Timur) and has explained the eighth shining star that issued

¹ Meaning that his body was asleep but his soul awake.

² With that of the birth.

³ *Buzurg*. This word often means a saint or holy person and may have that sense here.

⁴ *Bib. Ind.* I. 11 and 12, but the full account of the dream is given in the *Muqaddama* or Preface to

the *Zafarnāma* which has not been published in the *Bib. Ind.* edition. It is to be regretted that this Preface which Shārafu-d-dīn refers to at page 11,⁵ has not been printed. See Rien's Catalogue I. 174, Add. 6538.

⁵ See later on, in the detailed account of Akbar's ancestors.

from Qācūlī Bahādur's breast¹ and lighted up the world, of the appearance of his Majesty the Lord of Conjunction who is the seventh² ancestor of his Majesty (Akbar), yet it is clear to the minds of those far-sighted light-dwellers who understand hermeneutics and the secrets of the dream-world that to explain seven stars as seven persons whose heads were not exalted by the diadems³ of rule, nor were seen on the dominion-adorning Divan of excellence, is remote from the principles of interpretation and the significance of dreams. Rather those seven stars are seven world-adorning potentates, and the world-irradiating light is the holy personality of his Majesty the King of Kings who hath by the light of his Being illumined the terrene and terrestrials. It is the auspicious Akbar⁴ who was the resplendent light which arose from the breast of that Jupiter of good fortune (Qācūlī Bahādur). Although the latter be, numerically his Majesty's fifteenth⁵ ancestor, yet among those there are seven stars of the zodiacal Sign of greatness and having the light of this world-illuminating King of Kings emblazoned on the foreheads of their biographies. These seven
17 out of the fifteen⁶ have been distinguished for greatness and world-adornment, and the eighth of the noble band is his Majesty the King of Kings. The light of their rectitude has made the horizons brilliant, and in the noble series of the fifteen⁶ great ones, there has been given the glorious vesture of spiritual and temporal sovereignty to this perfect witness of Divine Power, and he has been made light-bestower of the inner and outer worlds. This explanation is not hidden from the subtle investigators of real significations. On this account a synopsis of the perfections of this series will be found in this noble volume, and

¹ The word in the text is *jīb* or *jaib*. Later on (p. 68) the word used is *garībān*.

² The text has eighth, but according to our idiom at least, the word should be seventh. Nor is A. F. consistent, for at p. 81 he calls Timur's son the sixth ancestor of Akbar.

³ The author means that none of Qācūlī's immediate descendants was a king. The first monarch of his race was Timur, and the seven stars are interpreted by A. F. to mean

Timur and the six descendants who intervene between him and Akbar.

⁴ *Sa'd-i-Akbar*. The auspicious conjunction, i.e., the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus, but here used with a play upon the Emperor's name. See the heading of next chapter and the horoscope Chapters *passim*.

⁵ It is sixteenth in the Text.

⁶ It is eighteen in the Text, but this, I think, must be a mistake for sixteen or rather for fifteen.



then the prudent and alert of mind will get proof of these words. Whoever at the present day shall peruse with the eyes of discernment and knowledge, the account of these illustrious magnates and understand the office of the Caliph¹ of the Age, and become acquainted with the stages of the degrees of greatness of the Lord of the World, will applaud the exposition. Away, Away! I am no word-seller,² seeking for approving glances from men. What more choice blessing can there be than this, that my truth-electing heart has been made a fount of true impressions,³ and that my scrutinising reason has become an alighting-stage⁴ for these divine subtleties? With these night-gleaming jewels⁵ I frame glorious earrings as abiding ornaments for the understanding ears of the fortunate lovers of wisdom.

¹ I am not sure if this expression applies to Akbar or to his predecessors. A. F. seems to regard Akbar as something higher than the Caliph or Vicar-General of the Age. He is the *Khudēv-i-jahān*, i.e., the Lord or Khedive of the World.

² The reproach of A. F. against

Firdausī. Jarrett III. 401.

³ نکات *nikāt*. Apparently pen-marks, i.e., dots.*

⁴ مهبط *mahbiṭ* a place where one alights. Often, the descent of an angel.

⁵ Alluding to the phosphorescence of diamonds, etc.

* نکات حقایق *nikāt-i-haqqānī* means the same as دقائق ربانی *daqā'iq-i-rabbānī* in the next sentence, i.e., 'divine subtleties.' The above translation, no doubt, is wrong. T. B.]



CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT LUMINARY (THE SUN) AND OF THE
DIFFUSION OF THE GREATER FORTUNE (JUPITER) FROM THE SKY OF
AUSPICIOUSNESS—THE NATIVITY, TO WIT, OF HIS MAJESTY,
THE KING OF KINGS AND SHADOW OF GOD.

The apparition of the result of hopes from the embryonic *sac* of desire, and emergence of the light of fortune from the auspicious ascension-point,—the most holy nativity,¹ to wit,—of his Majesty from the sublime veil and consecrated curtain of her Highness, cupola of chastity,—screen of modesty,—saint of seclusion,—scion of austerity,—holy one of the age,—dawn² of epochs,—mistress of the world,—perfect teacher,³—paragon of purity,—pattern of limpidity,—chosen one of pure disposition,—abounding in trustworthy fidelity,—pure-principled princess,—queen of celestial graces,—elect lady of time and the terrene,—world's bliss,—wave of eternal ocean,—mother⁴ o' pearl of the ocean of bounty,—lamp of the holy family,—glory of the house of guidance,—lantern of the wall⁵ of worship,—bridal chamber of the auspicious harem,—forefront of obedience to

¹ The sentence of which the word "nativity" is the subject, is continued after a series of epithets, by the verb "occurred," on page 54.

² بَارِع *bāzigha* beginning to rise or come forth, (Lane). The Luck. ed. and No. 564 have بَارِع *bārī'* excellent. The *Muntakhabu-l-lughāt* (Taylor 51a) says that *bāzigha* was the name of a woman

of the tribe of Ād who listened to Joseph and thereby attained great sanctity.

³ *Āmōzgār* also means pupil, but here probably teacher. It is used in the latter sense in the *Āin*, I. 202, 12.

⁴ صَدَف *ṣadaf* pearl-shell.

⁵ حَاطِم *ḥaṭīm*, properly the west wall of the Ka'ba.



God,—eye of eternal empire,—pillar of the celestial throne,—pedestal of the sublime seat,—lady of the exalted marriage-dais,—princess of fortune's alcove,—chosen curtain of honour's litter,—exalter of chastity's coiffure,—glorious gift of heaven,—treasure of Divine mercy,—prime dainty of the Divine table,—supreme boon of heavenly gifts,—revolving-point of bounties and graces,—glorious pearl of dominion and prestige,—spring-flower of justice,—tablet of the gorgeous picture-gallery,—splendour of sanctity and love,—fire-flame of majesty and exaltation,—cream of abilities and accomplishments,—choice one¹ of the secrets² of hand and heart,—central node of wisdom and wakefulness,—linking the divine and the human,—goodly tree of peace and purity,—generous fruit of liberality and election,—truth-showing mirror,—countenance of certainty,—staircase of majesty,—ladder of realm and religion,—tap-root of the umbrageous trunk of happiness,—noble palm of the garden of excellence,—veiled matron 18 of meekness and modesty,—screened and curtained one of honour and greatness,—glorious medium between hidden and revealed light,—opener of the morning of fortune and favour,—enveloped in celestial veils,—her Majesty Miryam Makānī, chaste one of church and state, Hamīda Bānū Bēgam —(may her glorious shadow be perpetuated!)—pure scion of that pattern of eminent saints,³—pole of the poles of greatness,—wanderer in the wilderness of humanity,—swimmer in the ocean of divinity,—lamp of spiritual secrets,—key of the treasures of conquests,—rose-gatherer⁴ of the gardens of revelation,—garland-twiner of the fragrant herbs of truth,—abbot (*imām*) of the monastery of asceticism,—cup-bearer of the tavern of abundance,—ocean-hearted one of the baiting-place of privation,—ocean-drinker of the tavern of unity,—immersed in the seas of holy conflicts,—consumed by the lightnings of contemplation,—torch-bearer of the chamber of the Path,—caravan-conductor on truth's highway,—supreme theatre of the epiphanies of the divine essence,—illumination-

¹ نخبه, *nakhba*. This may also mean bumper or copious draught.

² سر, *sirr*, has for one of its meanings the lines of the palm of the hand or of the forehead. I think

this is the meaning here.

³ The author here leaves Miryam Makānī and proceeds to eulogize her remote ancestor, Aḥmad-i-jām.

⁴ *Gulcīn*; also a gardener.



spot¹ of the rays of the Attributes,—cambist² of the secrets of the masters of revelation and manifestation,—assayer of the hearts of the lords of divine transports,—observant traveller over hearts and spirits,—scrutinizer of the interiors of moulds and forms,—disperser³ of the clouds of darkness,—procuring the blotting-out of the writings⁴ of transgressions,—knowing the links between the seen and the unseen,—revealer of the splendours of the secrets of manifestation and concealment—

VERSE.

Pole⁵ which salutes the two poles of heaven,
Bridling by discipline the tigers of lust,
Stalking as a lion in the forest of the heart,
Ocean-drinker of love, the premier elephant, Aḥmad-i-jām,⁶

اجلاي، مچالي انوار صفائیة¹
ijlā-i-majālī-i-anwār-i-ṣifātīya. The *Ṣifātīya* or Attributists were a Muhammadan sect. (See Hughes' Dict. of Islām;—Koran, Sale, Preface;—and the *Dabistān*, trans. II. 324 and 330). But I do not think A. F. is referring to them here. The occurrence of the word *ṣifātīya* in the previous clause seems to show that *Ṣifātīya* is here used merely in the sense of attributes or of belonging to attributes. *Aḥmad-i-jām* was a Ṣāfi but it is not stated that he belonged to any particular sect. In the *Dabistān* (II. 270) we are told on the authority of the commentator on the *Gulshān-i-rāz* that there are four kinds of manifestations, and that "the third is *Ṣifātī*, belonging to attributes,—when the contemplative person sees the Absolute Being endowed with the attributes of his own essence such as science and life, and sees himself a real being or endowed with these attributes."

¹ صراف، *ṣarrāf*, *shroff* or money-

changer, one who puts philosophy into current coin.

³ انچلا، *injilā*, may also mean brightening. Cf. text 46, 1, 7.

⁴ Cf. Isaiah xlv. 22; and Colossians ii. 14.

⁵ قطب، *quṭb*, the pole, a common name for distinguished saints.

⁶ Jām is a town in *Khurāsān* (N.-E. Persia) and near Herāt. ("Jām—very near Herāt," says the *Dabistān* II. 334). For an account of Aḥmad-i-jām, see Rieu's Catalogue I. 551b, and the *Nafahātu-l-uns*. He is a very famous saint of the 11th and 12th centuries. His full name is Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Abū-l-ḥasan. He bore the titles *Zhanda-pīl*, Raging, or perhaps Mighty, Elephant, and *Shāikh-u-l-islām*. He is called *Nāmaqī* from his having been born in or at least, from his family's having sprung from the village of Nāmaq in the district of Jām. He was born 441 H. (1049), and died in 536 H. (1141). (Dr. Rieu states that according to the *Jawāhiru-l-asrār*



bury bē his tomb, (i.e., R. I. P.)

(fol. 148) the date of his death is fixed by the chronogram **احمد جامي** *Aḥmad Jāmī quddisa sir-ruhu*. (See Richardson 718a.) The passage occurs at 148a. of Add. 7607, Rieu's Cat. I. 43c. and the words are **لاریع وفات احمد جامي از قدس سره میدان**. The letters give the date 536, viz.:—
 $A = 1 \quad J = 3 \quad q = 100 \quad r = 200$
 $h = 8 \quad ā = 1 \quad d = 4 \quad h = 5$
 $m = 40 \quad m = 40 \quad s = 60$ —
 $d = 4 \quad i = 10 \quad s = 60$ 536 Total.

There is an account of the saint in Dārā Shikāh's *Ṣafīnatu-l-auliya* and there the writer—the eldest son of Shāh Jahān—refers to his great-great-grandmother, Ḥamīda Bānū's descent from Aḥmad-i-jām. But the fullest account of Aḥmad is in Jāmī's *Nafahātu-l-uns*, Jāmī being a townsman of the saint. The life will be found in Lees' ed. of the *Nafahāt*. (Cal. 1859, 405–417) Aḥmad-i-jām is said to have converted 300,000 persons, and to have had 42 children, of whom 17 survived him. His *Dīwān* is in the B. M., and he wrote other works. There is an explanation of the term *Zhanda-pīl* by M. Pictet, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1843, (Series IV., Vol. II., 141). Hederives it from the Sanscrit *caṇḍa*. According to Fraser (Journey into Khorasan, Lond. 1825, App. B., 39), it means Elephant-reviver or animator, and was given to the saint because he, at the cost of his own life, restored to life the Governor's elephant. Fraser describes his tomb as a rough slab of marble, situated in a grove of pistadin trees, at *Turbat-i-jām*,

half way between Mashhad and Herāt. According to A. F. Aḥmad-i-jām was the ancestor of Humāyūn's mother as well as of his wife (Ḥamīda Bānū). Humāyūn visited the South in 1544 and put up an inscription which still exists. (J. R. A. S. Jan. 1897).

Apparently the father of Ḥamīda Bānū was named 'Alī Akbar, for Nizāmu-d-dīn says, *Khawājā Mu'azzam* (whom he calls Akbar's maternal uncle) was the son of 'Alī Akbar. According to A. F. the *Khawāja* was only uterine or half-brother of Ḥamīda Bānū, but it seems probable that 'Alī Akbar was also her father, for Nizāmu-d-dīn goes on to say that 'Alī Akbar was descended from Ḥaẓrat *Shaiḫ*u-l-islām, *Zhanda-pīl* Aḥmad-i-jām. Gulbadan calls Ḥamīda Bānū, the daughter of Mīr Bābā Dōst. Apparently Mīr Bābā is the Maulānā Bābā Dōst Ṣadr mentioned (*Akbarnāma* I. 315) as a servant for whom Hindāl had a special regard. Perhaps Mīr Bābā Dōst is not his full name—though it occurs in the *Akbarnāma*—and he may also have been named 'Alī Akbar. Gulbadan says that Mīr Abu-l-Baqā took part in the marriage and that two lakhs of rupees were paid (or promised) as dower by Humāyūn. Abu-l-Baqā is referred to in the *Akbarnāma* (I. 172). In the same volume, (I. 174, 115) mention is made of *Khawāja* Hajrī Jāmī (qu. the Superintendent of Aḥmad Jāmī's cell?) as having been forward in promoting the marriage. Gulbadan's account of the marriage negotiations is minute and interesting.

..... occurred¹ when the altitude of Procyon² was 38° and when 8hs. 20m. had passed from the beginning of the night of 8th Ābān³ 464, Jalālī era, corresponding to 19th Isfandārmiz 911, of the old era,⁴ and to night of Sunday (*shab-i-yah-shumba*) 5th Rajab, lunar era,⁵ and to 6th Kārtik⁶ 1599, Hindū era, and to 16th

¹ See Note 1, page 50.

² شمس شامية, *shirā-i-shāmīya*, the Syrian Dog-star, i.e., Procyon or the Lesser Dog-star; Sirius or the Greater Dog-star being called *Shirā-l-yamānī* or Dog-star of Yamān, i.e., S.-W. Arabia. Procyon is called also *Shirā-l-abūr*, the Little Dog-star.

³ Ābān is the eighth month in the Persian year. The Jalālī era is also called the Malikī because established by Sultān Jalāl-u-d-dīn Malik Shāh Seljūkī. Umar Khayyām was one of the astronomers employed in settling this calendar. (Jarrett III. 29.) The era began on 5th Shābān, 468 (15th March, 1076,) according to one account and according to another, on 10th Ramazān 471 (15th March, 1079). Ulugh Beg says. "This is a difference of 1097 days, the cause of of which is unknown to us, but as the second is that generally adopted, we shall follow it." (Sédillot, *Prolegomena*, 27). The cause of the difference is explained by Sédillot at page 235. The initial date, 15th March, 1079, is that adopted by Gibbon and appears to be that followed by A. F. for 1079+468=1543 or nearly October 1542.

⁴ This is the era of Yazdajird, so-called because it dates from the first year of his reign, viz., A.D. 632. The era, however, began long before his time, and according to A. F. dates from the accession of Jamshīd. It began afresh with the accession of each king, and it has received the

name of the Yazdajird era because he was the last king of Persia, he being great-grandson of the famous Nōshīrwān, and being vanquished by the Muḥammadans. (Jarrett III. 28.) A. F. makes the difference between the two eras 417 years. The Yazdajird era began on 16th June, 632 A.D. Isfandārmiz is the 12th month in the Persian year.

⁵ A. F. here calls the Hijra era *Halālī*, lunar, but in the *Āin*, he calls it Hijra. The date corresponds to Sunday, 15th October, 1542 O.S. and 25th October N.S. Gulbadan gives the date as 4th Rajab, but this must be a mistake, for 4th Rajab, 949 was a Saturday, and the birth took place on a Sunday. Sédillot (*Prolegomena* 240) says that 5th Rajab is the day of Muḥammad's conception, but Ulugh Beg makes it 15th Rajab and calls it the feast of victory. It is possible that Akbar got his name of Muḥammad from his having been born on this festival.

⁶ This era is the Samvat or Vikramāditya era. It began B.C. 57 so that its 1599=1542 A.D. The Bibl. Ind. ed. has 1519, but this is clearly wrong and for *nuzdahum*—we should read *nuzad ū nuhum*—as in the Lucknow ed. and No. 564 and all the other copies which I have consulted. According to Cowasji Patell's tables the Samvat year 1599 began on 10th October. The year began apparently with 1st Kārtik so that 6th Kārtik=15th October.



Tishrīnu-l-awwal 1854, Greek era;—4hs. 22m.² of the said night (that of Saturday, or rather Sunday³) were remaining. The place was the auspicious city and fortunate fort, Amarkōṭ,⁴ which belongs

¹ Tishrīn, the Tishrī of the Jewish Calendar, was the first month of the Syrian year. It corresponds to our October. The era is that of the Seleucidae and is also called Syro-Macedonian. It began 1st October B.C. 312, so that 16th Tishrīnu-l-awwal = 16th October, 1542. It appears from Cowasji Patell's *Chronology* (162) that the Syro-Macedonian year of 1854 began on 2nd October so that 16th Tishrīnu-l-awwal corresponds exactly with 15th October. A. F. calls the era *Rūmī* (Greek). In the *Āin* (I. 279) he calls it the era of Alexander of Greece, but at p. 274 l.c. he calls it *Rūmī*. He says it took its origin from the death of Alexander II. Bicornutus, but that it did not come into effect till 12 years after his death. Ulugh Beg treats it as a Christian era and gives, under it, the dates of the Christian festivals. (See Sédillot, Text 54 and Trans. 62). Mas'ādī, writing in the 10th century, does the same thing. (See French trans. III. 405). Al-bī-rūnī (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 282) also gives the Christian festivals and says that the Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites observed them. In Golius' notes to *Al-farghānī* (19) it is stated that the Jacobites and Nestorians use this era, but that the Melkites begin their year in January.

² A. F. gives two statements of the number of hours—one taken from the beginning of the night and the other from its end. Probably he

used two records. The sum of the two sets of figures, 8hs. 20m. and 4hs. 22m. is 12hs. 42m. which agrees with what apparently, would be the length of the night at Amarkōṭ on 25th October, 1542 (25th is the true date allowing for the difference between Old and New Styles). According to a communication with which I have been favoured by the Meteorological Department, Calcutta—sunset on 25th October in lat. 25° N. is at 5:23 and sunrise, on that day at 6:5. I presume there would be little difference between sunset on the 25th, and sunset on the 24th. The length of the night, then, on 24th October, would be from 5:23 P.M. to 6:5 A.M. or 13hs. - 8m. = 12hs. 42m. exactly! On 15th October, sunset occurred at 5:59 P.M. and sunrise at 5:32 A.M. The 8th Ābān of the Persian era apparently corresponds to 26th October. It will be remembered that this era anticipated the corrections of the Gregorian Calendar. Apparently there is some mistake about the years 464 H. and 911 H. for when reduced to Christian years, they give 1543 and not 1542.

³ Properly Saturday, the birth occurring early on Sunday morning. Muhammadans count their day or *nycthemeron* from sunset.

⁴ Amarkōṭ is a town in Scinde lat. 25° 21' N. and long. 69° 46' E. (Greenwich). Gulbadan spells it Amarkōṭ and in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, it appears as Umarkot. The *u* is short. Its latitude and



to the second climate and lies in latitude 25 N. and longitude 105 E. of the Fortunate Isles. At that time, the imperial army had marched to subdue the country of Tatta (Scinde) and the litter of fortune had been directed to halt in the pleasant country and fortunate fortress, on account of the time's drawing nigh for the appearance of the light of the world.

19 Among the strange circumstances which occurred near the time of the appearance of the light of fortune, there was this,—that before the auspicious moment above-mentioned, the mother felt a pressing urgency to bring forth the child. Maulānā Cānd, the astrologer, who by the king's order, had been stationed by the chaste threshold in order that he might cast the horoscope, was perturbed, as the moment was inauspicious. "In a short time,¹ a glorious "moment will arrive, such as does not happen once in a thousand "years. What an advantage if the birth could be delayed." Those who were present made light of it and said, "What is the good of "your agitation? Such things are not under control."

At this very instant the impulse to bring forth passed off and the astrologer's mind was set at rest somewhat by the transit of the unlucky moment. The ostensible cause of this supreme blessing was that a country midwife had been just brought in to perform her office, and as her appearance was repulsive, the holy soul of Miryam Makānī felt disgusted and her even temper was rebuffed and so the urgency for parturition left her. But when the chosen time came, the Maulānā

longitude are also given in the *Āin*. (Jarrett IV. 59 and text II. 32). The latitude there given is 24° and longitude 100°. In Gladwin's trans. the longitude is omitted, and the latitude given as 20° 40'. The statement in the *Akbarnāma* is more to be relied upon, as giving A. F.'s figures correctly, because the degrees are expressed in words. The *Fortunate Isles* are called by Ulugh Beg and A. F. the *Eternal Isles*, جزائر خالدات, *Jazā'ir-i-khālīdāt*. There is an account of the Amarkōṭ (Omercote) district

by Sir Bartle Frere. *Bombay Selections* XXI. 1855.

¹ The text has *ba'd az cand sā'at*, after some moments. The Luck, ed. and No. 564 have *ba'd az zamānī*, after some time. This is a considered reading in No. 564 for some other word has been erased and *zamānī* substituted. Probably *zamānī* is right for the next word to it is *sā'at* and it is not likely that the author would put two *sā'at*(s) in juxtaposition.



became disturbed, lest it should accidentally pass by. The confidants of the harem said to him, "Her Majesty,¹ has after much suffering, "got an interval of relief and is now slumbering. It would not be "right to waken her. Whatever Almighty God, in His good pleasure, "has determined, must happen." Just as they were speaking, the pains of travail came upon her Majesty, Miryam Makāni, and awoke her and in that auspicious moment, the unique pearl of the viceregency of God (*Khilāfat*) came forth in his glory.

They spread the carpet of joy under the canopy of chastity and curtain of honour, and made ready a feast of joy and exultation. The veiled ones of the pavilion, and the chaste inmates of the royal harem anointed the eye of hope with the collyrium of rejoicing and coloured the eyebrows of desire with the indigo² of merriness. They decked the ear of good tidings with the earring of success, painted the face of longing with the vermilion of pleasure, encircled the fore-arm of wish with the bracelet of purpose, and donning the anklet of splendour on the dancing foot, stepped into the theatre of delight and joy and raised the strain of praise and gratulation. Fan-wavers sprinkled otto of roses, and winnowed the air with sandal-scented arms. Dark-haired maidens freshened the floor by rubbing it with perfumes. Rose-cheeked damsels gave a new lustre to joy by sprinkling rose-water. Red-garmented, sweetly-smiling nymphs enveloped the silver-bosomed ones in gold, by scattering saffron. Rose-scented, jasmine-cheeked ones soothed the rapid dancers with camphorated³ sandal-wood. Gold in thuribles on the borders of the carpet, gave off fumes of incense.⁴ They uncovered the stoves which were filled with lign-aloes and ambergris. Musicians created enchanting ecstasy, and melodious minstrels breathed forth magic strains.

¹ *Hazrat-i-mahd-i-'ulyā* lit. her Highness of the sublime couch (or cradle).

² *كحلج*, *wasma*, woad or indigo. In Zenker's Turkish Dict. this is described as a black dye made from indigo leaves, with which women colour their eyebrows. The dye is

indeed of such a deep blue that it may be called black.

³ See the recipe for the powder called *argaja*. Blochmann 74.

⁴ *بخور*, *balhūr*. A. F. gives a recipe for it. Blochmann 74, last line.



VERSE.

And soft-voiced Indian maids,
Glorious¹ as Indian peafowl,
And light-fingered Chinese musicians
Produced intoxication with wineless cups;
And dulcimer-players from *Khurāsān*
Brought ease to laden breasts,
And singers from the land of 'Irāq,²
Everlasting capturers³ of joy.

20 In truth there was an assemblage like the communion of saints
and recluses in the exquisiteness of its repose, and a carousal like a
feast of spiritual beings in the absence of wine and cup. Celestial
spectators took part in the rejoicings without the aid of bodily organs
of vision, and sightseers from the upper world poured forth this
strain with tongueless tongues:

VERSE.

What is this intoxication⁴ without wine or bowl?
The wine which is drunk from cups is illicit here.

Trays of variously coloured fruits were spread, and tables laid
out with different dainties. Robes of honour of divers colours were
bestowed, and *khil'at*⁵ upon *khil'at* was presented. What shall I say
of the hilarity and rejoicing, for there is no need of explanation or
description? Were it possible to give any idea of the completion of

¹ Probably the meaning is not that peacocks are melodious, but that the Indian maids were in beauty like peacocks and had the additional charm of being soft-voiced. The Muhammadans have a tradition that the peacock was deprived of his voice as a punishment for having conducted Eve to where the forbidden fruit (i.e., wheat) was. See Tabarī's Chronicle, Zotenberg I, 82. When the peacock was expelled from paradise, he fell upon India.

² 'Irāq is a Persian province. A mode of music takes its name from

it. *Gulistān* II. Story 19.

³ Or it may be, "Song-makers for the banquet of everlasting life," or, "Capturers of joy for the rest of life."

⁴ I suppose the reference is to the intoxicating power of music. See Blochmann 612, where A. F. speaks of the wine of harmony causing intoxication.

⁵ A *khil'at* is more than a robe, for it consists of at least three articles, viz., the turban, the robe and the girdle.



the designs of the celestials, I might tell how, after long questing and searching, they clothed, with the glorious robe of existence, the Arranger of the world of reality and the Disposer of the outer world, and how they brought him from the hidden cradle of wondrous works and from the holy inner chambers, to the wondrous bridal-chamber of manifestation and splendid nuptial bed. But the description of heavenly exultation and of the joys of pure spirits is beyond the range of speech.

As soon as the light of glory deigned to emerge from the orient of fortune, they despatched swift couriers¹ and hard-riding horsemen to convey the life-increasing news and the heart-expanding tidings to the tents of fortune and encampment of glory. This had been sixteen² miles off, but on the morrow of the night which had been pregnant with the day of auspiciousness, the army marched at dawn from that station, and encamped about midday at a spot³ which was very charming and salubrious, with clear water and delightful trees. There his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat Āshiyānī had halted and a number of courtiers were assembled and in attendance.

¹ Though A. F. speaks both of couriers and horsemen, I do not suppose he means that there were both foot and horse messengers.

² "Four *farsakh*." فرسخ, Arabic form of فرسنگ, *farsang*, the *parasang* of Xenophon; about 4 miles.

³ Jauhar, according to Stewart's trans. (44) says that after leaving Amarkōṭ, Humāyūn marched 24 miles the first day to the banks of a large pond, and that the next day while the king was encamped there, a messenger arrived with the news. But according to A. F. Humāyūn did not arrive at the pond in one day. His camp was 16 miles off from Amarkōṭ and on the morning of the birth, he marched again at dawn and arrived at the halting place where the water was, at about midday. Apparently he did not

get the news till the third day, for we are told that he heard of it two days after his vision which was simultaneous with the birth. Jauhar cannot be relied on. He began his Memoirs 45 years after Akbar's birth (995-1587) and he incorrectly states that the birth was on 14th *Shā'bān*. In *Ilhāhad Faiz Sirhindī's* rescension (No. 1890), this is altered to 14th *Rajab*. The late Kabī Rāj Qyāmal Dās wrote a paper in the Asiatic Society's Journal (J. A. S. B. LV., Part I. 1886, 80) to show that the date given by Jauhar was the correct one. I do not agree with his conclusions, but his paper is—like all the Kabī's productions—carefully written and interesting. He translates Jauhar from MSS. and his rendering is closer than Stewart's. He mentions that

VERSE.

Verdant trees with heaven-brushing tops,¹
Casting shade o'er the head shadowed by the bird of
paradise.²
The melodious singing of the birds of the meadow
Poured joyous notes over the banquet.

Suddenly a blackness was caused by the hoofs of galloping
horses. Mehtar Sumbul,³ an old slave (*ghulām*), of his Majesty

there is a stone two miles N.-W. of Amarkōṭ which professes to mark the spot of Akbar's birth, but the date on it (963) is that of the accession.

Stewart's trans. makes Jauhar's account more discrepant from A. F.'s than it really is, and Erskine has not fully amended Stewart here. On referring to the original, I find that Jauhar says nothing about "the first day" or the "next day." What he says is, that they marched thirty miles (12 *kōs*) and then encamped on the bank of a pond (*hauz*). No doubt, this place could be identified. It must lie between Amarkōṭ and Jān, S. W. of the former (W. S. W. is perhaps more correct). The B. M. MS. is worm-eaten at the important place, but the words seem to be *dū shab*, two nights. It is not likely that Humāyūn would march 30 miles in one day and it is probable enough that he made his marches by night. Jauhar says that the news was brought by a *qāsid* at early morning, viz., at prayer-time. He gives Saturday, 14th *Shā'bān* as the birthday and says that Badrud-dīn and Jalālu-d-dīn have the same meaning. But this is hardly correct and 14th *Shā'bān* 949, appears to have been a Thursday. Gulbadan

says the birth took place three days after Humāyūn left Amarkōṭ and adds that the moon was in Leo and that the birth occurred under a fixed sign.

¹ *Lit.* rubbing their umbrellas against the sky.

² *ظل هُمَايَ* *ẓill-i-humāi*, the shadow of the *Humā*, a fabulous bird from which the name *Humāyūn* is derived. The *Humā* was supposed to prognosticate a crown to every head that it overshadowed. (No. 564 B. M. MS. Add. Nos. 5610 and 6544 have *ẓill-i-ḥudāi*, the shadow of God, which the Bib. Ind. gives as a variant). The meaning is said to be that the trees were so high that they even overshadowed the *Humā* or phoenix, high-soaring bird though it be.

³ Sumbul means *hyacinth*. The name looks like that of an eunuch. Sumbul is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (I. 224) under the title of *Mīr Ātish* (Master of Ordnance) and also (263) as commanding a party of musketeers. *Mīr Ātish* means Artillery Officer or Head of the Ordnance Department, like the Corps of Fireworkers of the H.E.I.C.'s army, but it may also mean, head of the musketeers or marksman. (The *Ātish Surkār* or *Fiery Department* was one of the divisions of offices