



any's, in his History of astronomy in the Middle Ages, that Abu-l-hasan's book "est l'un des plus clairs, des plus méthodiques, and des plus complètes que nous ayons. C'est une compilation de tout ce que les sages de différents pays et de différents siècles avaient écrit sur ce sujet futile." It appears that Haly was a Christian. There is a MS. copy of his work in the British Museum written in beautifully clear Arabic characters. It is numbered 23,399. See Codices Arabici 6236. It is to be hoped that some day an Arabic scholar will print and edit it.

Lilly's Christian Astrology and the works of Zadkiel are useful and so also are Wilson's Dictionary of Astrology (London, 1819), and a work by E. Sibley in two quarto volumes and published in 1817. For Hindā astrology, I can recommend two Bengali books kindly sent me by Dr. Grierson, viz., the *Jyōtiṣa Prakāṣa* (Beni Madhab De & Co., Calcutta, 1882, Sak. 1804) and the *Varāha Mihira* of Kali Prasanna Chattarji (1891, Fasli 1300). I have also found the notes of Muḥammad Ṣādiq 'Alī the Lucknow editor of the *Akbarnāma* very useful and I have obtained some light from the two elaborate horoscopes of Shāh Jahān,—one of his birth and the other of his accession,—which are given in 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd's *Bādshāhnāma*.

Mr. Rehatsek's Catalogue of the Mallā Firūz Library in Bombay shews that it is very rich in Persian works on astrology.

To the useful books on Astrology may be added the treatise of Julius Firmicus Maternus, a Latin writer of the 4th century A.D. A good and cheap edition of this work is in course of publication at Leipsic under the editorship of Charles Sittl. Firmicus describes the *Dodecatemoria*, p. 48, the *Decani*, p. 41, and has a chapter, p. 233, on empty and full degrees, the full being degrees where the *Decani* are found, and the empty where their influence does not operate.



CHAPTER IX.

STATEMENT OF THE HONOURED NAMES OF THE BLISSFUL NURSES AND SPIRITUALLY-MOULDED CHERISHERS¹ (*qawābil-i-rūḥānī-qawālib*) OF HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF KINGS.

When the lightsome day of his creation arrived, at once was Heaven envious of Earth for his passing,³ and Earth exultant o'er Heaven for his august advent. The status of knowledge and insight became exalted, and with rites which are the glory of the ministers of outward show, was that holy essence and pure pearl—already washed and cleansed at the fountain-head of Divine Light and in the ocean of infinite knowledge (*ma'rifat*)—bathed and composed by the hands of shade-loving, radiance-darting, chaste, rose-bodied nymphs. Even-tempered, spiritually-minded nurses swathed the divine form and heavenly body in auspicious swaddling-bands, purer than angelic veils, and laid him with respect and reverence in the sacred arms and bosoms of pure-dispositioned ones. And then his honied⁵ lips being brought in contact with the benign breasts, his mouth was sweetened by the life-giving fluid.

قَوَالِ pl. of قَابِلَة The word seems properly to mean a midwife, but, as it comes after *dāya* and as no midwife is mentioned by name—unless *Dāya Bhāwal* be one,—I have rendered it cherisher. The word قَوَالِ means both a midwife and a wet-nurse.

Farr-i-wilādat. There is a play on the two meanings of *farr*. *Farr* in Arabic means flight, and is used in the sense of departure or passing, being contrasted with *lam*, advent or coming. The vital principle of Akbar left Heaven and came upon Earth, thereby making Heaven envious and leap for pride. But *farr* or

farr means in Persian, light or splendour, being etymologically the same word as the Greek *πῦρ* and the English fire and so, *farr-i-wilādat* also means the light or splendour of the birth. *Farr* is often used by A. F. to mean the sacred light which belongs to a king. Thus at the beginning of the *Āin*, he speaks of kingship as a light emanating from God, which light modern language calls the *farr-i-izādī* or Divine light and which in ancient times was called the sublime halo. (*Kīyān-khura.*) (Blochmann iii.)

³ The word in the Text is not honied but only sweet. However there is perhaps an allusion to the



Verse.

He drew forth milk by the bounty of his lips,
Milk and sugar were commingled.
It was not milk he drank from the breast of hope,
'Twas water from the Sun's fountain that he imbibed.

44

As the nobly-born Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī had done a good service at Kanauj,¹ his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, shortly before the rising of this light of fortune, (Akbar) in magnificent recompense of his deed, made him hopeful of eternal bliss by promising him the majestic boon, that his high-souled, chaste-natured consort—who has now the lofty title of Jijī² Anaga—should be clothed with the glorious head-dress (*mi'jar*) and mantle of distinction, by obtaining the auspicious service of nursing this new fruit of the spring-tide of sovereignty and fortune, and should have the blissful charge³ of the nosegay of the house-garden of greatness and glory.

Accordingly her Majesty, Maryam-makanī, Qadasi-arkānī (Pillar of Purity) having sent for that adorning of Heaven's table (*i.e.*, celestial caterer) placed in an auspicious moment, the child-treasure in her hopeful bosom. But as the period of pregnancy⁴ of this purely-framed nurse was not yet fulfilled, her Majesty ordered that receptacle of chastity, Dāya Bhāwal—a special servant of his Majesty Jahānbānī, and distinguished for virtue and purity—to suckle the infant. It appears that first of all, he accepted the milk of his royal mother. Then Fakhr-i-nisā,⁵ wife of Nadīm Koka was honoured by the charge, then Bhāwal Anaga, then the wife of Khawāja Ghāzī,⁶

practice of putting honey into the mouths of the newly-born.

¹ Spelled here Qanauj. Shamsu-d-dīn helped Humāyūn up the steep bank of the Ganges, after he had swum across on an elephant when defeated by Shēr Shāh. (Blochmann 321.)

² According to Meninski (1698) Jijī, in Turkish, means a child's plaything. It also, in Turkish, means handsome.

³ حضانة *hiẓānat*, the technical word for the charge of a child. (Baillie's *Mu. Law*, 429.)

⁴ The child to whom she afterwards gave birth was 'Azīz Koka the later Khān A'zam. He was thus only slightly younger than Akbar who used to say that a channel milk connected them together. (*A'azir* I. 675). Jijī is said to have died in 1008 (1599). See *L.c.* 6 where she is called Bīca Jīū.

⁵ Gulbadan (26) speaks of Fakhr-i-nisā Anaga as the mother of Nā Koka and wife of Mirzā Qulī.

⁶ There is an account of his Text (I. 222) and he is mentioned in Bāyazīd Sultān's list of the o



then Hakīma. After these, the chaste Jijī Anaga, in accordance with her wish, obtained external and internal felicity. After her, Kokī Anaga, wife of Tōgh Begī¹ and after her, Bibī Rūpā² had their turn of this auspicious service. Then Khāldār (*i.e.*, the mole-marked) Anaga, mother of Sa'adat Yār Koka,³ was selected for this great boon. And at last, that chaste matron, Pija Jān Anaga,⁴ mother of Zain Khān Koka, acquired a stock of everlasting greatness by obtaining her wish for this great blessing. Many other fortunate cupolas of chastity were exalted by the excellence of this service. It was as if there were Divine wisdom in thus implanting varied temperaments⁵ by this series of developments (*i.e.*, the wet-nurses) so that the pure entity,⁶ advancing by gradations, might become familiar with the divers methods of Divine manifestation. Or it

who came to India with Humāyūn. A. F. calls him Khawāja Ghāzī Tabrizī and says that he was distinguished for his knowledge of accounts and made a diwān by Humāyūn, and was subsequently, for a long time, excluded from Court and only returned at the end of his life to the Court of Akbar and when his intellect was enfeebled by age. Bāyazīd calls him Khawāja Ghāzī Shīrāzī and says Humāyūn made him a diwān when he was in the Takht-i-sulaimān country. The fact of his long exclusion from Court and of his not being entered in the Grantees of the Āin or of the Ṭabaqāt, might explain, supposing him Māham Anaga's husband, (see note at end of chapter) why no mention is made of him in that relation.

¹ Mentioned in Bāyazīd's Catalogue as Toq Begī Sāqī, *i.e.*, page or cupbearer.

² Apparently a Hindūstānī and possibly a Hindū.

³ Sa'adat Yār Koka is mentioned three times in the Akbar-nāma, in

the third volume, *viz.*: (192) where he is one of those sent on pilgrimage to Mecca; (579) where we are told, his brother's daughter was given in marriage by the Emperor to A. F.'s son 'Abdu-r-rahmān (see Blochmann, Life of A. F. XXXV.) and lastly (656) where we are told of Sa'adat Yār's death in the 39th year (Āzar 1003, November 1595), from excessive drinking and of the Emperor's sorrow for this and of his paying a visit of consolation to the house of his sister, Hājī Koka.

⁴ Called by the Ma'āsir and Blochmann, Picah Jān Anaga. She was the wife of Khawāja Maqṣūd of Herāt.

⁵ Mash'arīb, dispositions, but also beverages, and ṭabaqāt, dishes or trays as well as stages or degrees, so that apparently one of the intended meanings is "divers beverages in divers-vessels," signifying the varied nature of the nurses' milk.

⁶ The text has wuḥūd, unity, but I presume this is a mistake for wujūd, which occurs in No. 564.

might be designed that the acute and discerning should perceive that this nursling of fortune belonged to the limpid streams of Divine bounty and was not such as to make spiritual progress by outward nutriment, for as to the spiritual nature of this company (of nurses),¹ it is evident to all of what kind that was, as also are the lofty degrees of the holy stages of this chosen one.

Among other wondrous indications there was this, that contrary to the way of other infants, his Majesty, the king of kings, at his birth and at the first opening of his eyes on the visible world, rejoiced the hearts of the wise by a sweet smile.² Penetrating physiognomists recognized the smile as the herald-angury of the smiles of the spring of dominion and fortune and saw in it, the opening bud of hope and peace.

45 After that (i.e., the suckling), in a cradle lighter than a phantom (which the carpenters of the throne of sovereignty had framed of sandal-wood and lign-aloes, and where they had, as it were, commingled civet³ and rose-leaves, and on whose corners and sides they had hung rubies and pearls of price) was laid with gentlest movement that unique Pearl of nine mothers o'pearl,⁴ and then they softly swayed and rocked him. For cheer and soothing, they chaunted with musical (*mūsīqī*) rhythm the name—auspicious to begin with and fitting as a close—of the Creator, the Lord of Glory and Bounty. The inmates⁵ of holy hermitages and those who live in the throng of

¹ This seems rather ungracious, especially after such complimentary expressions about them.

² This is a trait mentioned of Zoroaster. (See *Dabistān* trans: I. 218). Only he is said to have laughed aloud when he was born. Anquetil du Perron (*Life of Zoroaster* 13n.) quotes Pliny who, in his *Natural History*, says, "Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset, unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrum." The account of Solomon in the *Apocrypha* is more touching. "When I was born, I drew in the common air and fell upon the earth which is of

"like nature, and the first voice which I uttered, was crying, as all others do."

³ The Lucknow ed. says that this means the Nine Heavens. *Sudaf* means the oyster-shell and also the vault of heaven. It is also a name given apparently to the two constellations of Ursa Major and Minor. See *Burhān-i-qāṭi*.

⁴ شاح *Shākh*, also called *zabād*, whence civet. (Blochmann 79.)

⁵ 'ākifān-i-*ṣawāmī*. This phrase occurs in one of Faizi's odes (*Āin* I. 240) and is translated by Blochmann (559) "those who constantly worship



men who are the stewards of time and the terrene and hold together the spheres of the universe, attained their desires and thus were benefits bestowed on the world and on mankind. They sang this gratulatory strain to the darling¹ of the skies.

Verse.

Hail to thee to whom is committed reason's exaltation.²
The kingly revolution of the universe is for thee.
Like thee, the earth has no garden;
Like thee, heaven's vault no lamp.
Creative ocean rolled many a wave
Till it cast ashore a pearl like thee.
Fate's pencil drew many a sketch
Till she made a portrait like thee.
The world's book is but an allusion³ to thee,
Heaven's volume but an analysis⁴ of thee.

in cloisters." The next expression *sākinān-i-majāmi'-i-ins* may mean "dwellers in mosques" as the note to this passage in No. 564 seems to hold, but I am inclined to think that here it means laymen or those who carry on the affairs of the world, in opposition to the solitaries and ascetic. What A. F. intends to say is, I think, that by Akbar's birth, everybody attained their desires, that is both the lonely ascetic and the worldling, and thus the whole universe was benefited. It may however be that the two classes of holy men are, intended *viz.*, anchorites and men who live in monasteries or congregations of saints. I admit too, that this interpretation seems to agree better with what follows, *viz.*, the description of such persons "preserving the stars from wrong." But see Text (87) where we are told that the preparations for the revelation of the unique

Pearl (Akbar) were completed, as now the stages of solitude and society had been traversed.

¹ *Jigargosha* lit: liver-lobe.

² *Sharaf*, an astrological term signifying the exaltation of a planet or star. This first couplet is adapted from Faizī. (*Akbarnāma* III, 678.)

³ تلميح "*Talmih*" says Gladwin (Dissertations on Persian Rhetoric 53.) "literally signifies using something savoury and is employed "when the author alludes to some popular story or verse, e.g., 'O light "of my eyes! when the garden of "my condition is deprived of the "rose of thy countenance, my state "becomes like Jacob in the house "of mourning.'"

⁴ تشریح *tashrih*. This is from *sharih* and seems primarily to mean dissection. (Dict: of T. Ts. 735.)



MĀHAM ANAGA.

It is singular that this name does not occur in the list of Akbar's nurses. This may be due to *Māham Anaga's* being a title and not a proper name, and it is possible that the lady who was afterwards thus designated, is mentioned in the list under some other appellation. She may, for instance, be the nurse described as the wife of *Khawāja Ghāzī* and whose own name is not given. But even if the title were not bestowed till a later period, one would have expected A. F. to have added it to his description, just as he mentions *Shamsu-d-dīn's* wife by her title of *Jijī Anaga*. The true explanation of the omission probably is that *Māham Anaga* means Head or Superintendent of the nurses rather than chief nurse and that the *Māham Anaga* of the *Akbarnāma* was not a wet-nurse. She certainly was not the chief nurse in the sense that the child Akbar drew most of his nourishment from her, for we are told that *Jijī Anaga* was chief in this respect, so much so that the other nurses accused her of practising witchcraft in order to prevent the infant prince from accepting any breast but her own.

Though *Anaga* seems primarily to mean a wet-nurse, it has not always this meaning. Pavet de Courteille says (Turkish Dictionary, 57) "كُلْ et كُؤْ, nourrice, sage-femme, gouvernante; on donne aussi à la mère du *Khān* le titre de كَلْ." We find also that the mother of Cingiz *Khān* had this title, her name being given in the *Akbarnāma* (I. 72, top line) as "*Olun Anaga*" though Erdmann spells it *Eke*. Apparently the Turkish pronunciation is *Enge*. See Redhouse s. v. He states that it means a sister-in-law, the wife of an elder brother or lady-relative of a bridegroom who is sent to fetch the bride home. A. F. sometimes calls *Māham Anaga*, *Māham Bega* and *Māham Āgha*, and it is generally by the title of *Bega* that *Bāyazīd Sultān* speaks of her in the so-called *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*. (I. O. Ms. No. 216). He calls her (15) *Māham Bega* and adds the explanation *ke āgha anaga Nawāb-i-īshān būd*, i.e., who was head of the Prince's nurses. And then follows the statement that she was accompanied by *Jijī Anaga*, wife of *Shamsu-d-dīn Mu. Ghaznawī* who was the Prince's nurse (*anaga*). (Unless indeed the word is *atgah* and refers to *Shamsu-d-dīn*.)

In the *Akbarnāma* (II. 55) we are told that *Māham Anaga* had served the prince from his cradle, but it does not follow that she first did so in the capacity of wet-nurse. It may be remarked too that the fact of our not hearing that she had a husband or a child of about Akbar's age militates against the notion that she was his wet-nurse. Though her son, *Adham Khān* was a young man at the time of his death, he was probably several years older than Akbar as otherwise *Bāyazīd* would hardly have named him in the list of servants in Akbar's train at the time when *Humāyūn* marched to India.

CHAPTER X.¹

ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF HIS MAJESTY AT THE WORLD-TRAVERSING CAMP² OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ, FROM THE FORT OF AMARKOT AND OF THE AUSPICIOUS³ CONJUNCTION.

As the world-seeing eye and auspicious glance of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī was looking for the glorious vision of the king of kings, a gracious order was issued that he should be brought to the curtain⁴ of honour and encampment of fortune, in charge of her Majesty Maryam-makānī. Khwāja Mu'azzam,⁵ Nadīm Kūkal-tāsh and Shamsu-d-dīn Mu. of Ghaznī were sent to be in attendance on the auspicious litter. Accordingly his Majesty left Amarkot, on the 11th Sha'bān⁶ in a fortunate hour, under the care and in the arms of her Highness Maryam-makānī and departed in a travelling litter.⁷

¹ The heading of this chapter is omitted in the text and the account of Akbar's visit to his father is made part of Chapter IX. But the heading is given in No. 564 and other MSS. and is clearly required. The Persian is as follows;

ذکر قدیم حضرت شاعشاهی بموکیب
گیتی نورد حضرت جهانبانی جنت آشدانی
از حصار امروکوٹ و قران سعدین -

In the Lucknow ed. *bamū-jīb* is, apparently by mistake, substituted for *bamaukib*.

² According to Nizāmu-d-dīn, the meeting-place was in *pargana* Jūn. A. F. also states that it was in Jūn. (L. 184.)

³ *قران سعدین*, a phrase applied to the conjunction of the two Fortunes, Jupiter and Venus. It is the title of a famous poem by Amīr

Khusrau on the meeting of Kaiqūbād and his father Naşīru-d-dīn. (Stewart's Bengal 78).

⁴ *سرادق عزت surādiq-i-'izzat*. Dozy says (647b) "Dais (au-dessus d'un trône.) Ce qu'on nomme en persan *سراجة* (dont *سرادق* est peut-être une altération) ou *سرابرد* c. à d. l'énorme enceinte de toile que dans les pays musulmans, entoure la vaste tente du souverain."

⁵ Apparently he had previously left his sister and joined Humāyūn's camp.

⁶ 20th November, 1542 O. S., According to Jauhar (trans. 45) the day was 10th *Ramāzān*.

⁷ *Talāt-i-ravān*. See Ives' voyage to India (278) for a representation of this conveyance. It is usually carried on mules.

Verse.

Ere the cradle had fulfilled its season,
His exalted fortune (*baḥt*) sat on a throne, (*takht*)¹
Eye unopened, but with the eye of the mind,
He looked to the ordering of religion and realm;
Hand unopened, but his heart desiring
To put the world 'neath his signet-ring,
Of his thousand roses, not one in bloom,
Yet the world was culling flowers from the garden of his fortune.

When the travelling litter of his Majesty, the king of kings, the ambulatory treasury of Divine knowledge, had nearly arrived and but two stages remained, a world-obeyed order was issued that the chief officers² and pillars of the State and the general public, small and great, should turn towards the altar of fortune and go to meet the *ka'ba* of hopes. Avant-couriers of good tidings were arriving every minute and bringing, from time to time, the news of the appropriating of the glorious advent.

Verse.

The cavalcade approaches with the king of both worlds in its wake,³

46

The caravan of joy goes forth to meet him.

And on the last day of *Sha'bān* which was the day for the glorious alighting, and when the camp of good fortune was only one stage distant, his Majesty (*Humāyūn*) was pleased to observe "Assuredly the child is compact of auspiciousness, of potent horoscope and has the good fortune of the two worlds enfolded in him, for, as he draws nigh, there is another⁴ assemblage of spectators in the upper world who exhibit a virgin joy." What marvel is it that the pure soul and illumined intellect of his Majesty *Jahānbānī Jannat*

¹ Meaning the *takht-i-rawān* (travelling-litter.)

² *Lit.*: eyes of the Sultānat. There is a play on the original meaning. The eyes were to be turned towards the *qibla*, etc.

³ دُنبَال *dambāl*. From *Āin* IV.

438 (Jarrett IV. 393) we learn that Akbar objected to the use of the word *dambāl* in poetry as being prosaic. It literally means tail.

⁴ Meaning that there was a second assemblage, *viz.*, one in addition to that upon earth.



Jahānī should be cognizant of the Divine secrets and be aware of the truths hidden in celestial treasures? Or how is it strange that there should be an epiphany on the apparition of his Majesty, the king of kings, the shadow of God, the archetype of the strange frontispieces of the universe, and collection of the catalogues of the perfections of the sons of Adam? And in an hour which held the auspicious influences of the conjunctions of the two Fortunes¹ and of the two luminaries (the Sun and Moon), his Majesty (Akbar) alighted with felicity and dominion at the majestic and glorious enclosure, and became fortunate by arriving at the station of light and took repose under the shadow of the phoenix (*humā*) of eternal prosperity. The blessed crown (*tārah*, i.e., crown of the head) of his Majesty, the king of kings, was made fortunate by touching the throne-brushing feet of his Majesty Jahānbānī and by becoming united to a perfect saint (*pīr*). The latter took him lovingly in his arms and kissed him on the luminous brow, the tablet of the fortunes of the two worlds and title-page of happiness everlasting.

Verse.

Whiles he held him to his lip, whiles to his heart, and whiles to his head.

After gazing on this holy light, the inspired tongue engaged in returning thanks to the Lord God, Most High and Most Glorious, and the pole-star-like² head was lowered in supplicating prostration at the portals of the All-sufficient One.

Verse.³

Not only was the head ever bowed,
Each hair of his body also bent in adoration.

The guardians of the Divine bounty and the treasurers of infinite auspiciousness delivered that deposit of eternities—past and

¹ Jupiter and Venus; but perhaps this is only a rhetorical way of describing the meeting between Akbar and his father or his arrival in his mother's company. The time being the end of the month would be that of the conjunction of the Sun and Moon.

² *فَرْقَادُ* *farqad*, a bright star near the Pole. The word is often written *فَرْقَدِين* and applied to two bright stars, β and γ , in the Little Bear. (Lane 2387a.)

³ These lines are Faiẓī's.



future—into the king's gracious bosom and warbled, sweet and low, this strain of thanksgiving.

Verse.

This is the Divine deposit.
Ask of this treasury whatever thou desirest,
This is he in whose heart they placed
Essential substance, verity absolute.
This is he whose threshold's *ka'ba*¹
Is seized upon by kings as their altar (*qibla*).
This is he who hath the foot of dominion,
Enlightener of the throne royal.

Readers of the page of the human countenance beheld him with the eye of meditation and reflection and physiognomists perused him with the glance of consideration and contemplation.

Verse.

What did they see? A picture such as never
Did they see in Creation's tables.
From astonishment naught did they say, save
Hail, Light of Wisdom, Eye of Insight, hail.

- 47 Kingly lights shone from his lustrous brow. The letters "Shadow of God" were apparent in the lines of his palm. The witnesses of Reason were visible in the composite of his substance. The notes of Theosophy were manifest in his whole being. Justice was demonstrated in the evenness of his temperament. Proofs of beneficence were revealed in the essence of his nature. The characters of a Lord of Conjunction shone out from the fair schedules of his ephemeris. Knowledge of occult sciences was evidenced in the illumined records of his constitution. Remote mysteries were revealed by his keen sight. Far-reaching thoughts streamed out from his lofty glance.

¹ The allusion probably is to the threshold of the Caliph's palace at Baghdād which contained a piece of

the famous black stone of Mecca. See Richardson's *Diet. s. v. dar* and D'Herbélot art. *Bāb*.



CHAPTER XI.

ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE WONDERFUL ETEOSTICS ON THE AUSPICIOUS
BIRTH OF HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF KINGS.

Ingenious men made eteostics in prose and verse on the noble nativity and composed gratulatory odes. They tendered them for acceptance at the Court of his Majesty Jahānbānī which was the assay-room of human jewels, and received glorious gifts.

Among them, this chronogram by Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn Tarkhān¹ received the palm of applause and approbation.

Quatrain.

When the fateful pen of destiny wrote the record,
It added a comment to the immortal verse
And wrote, "From the birth-boon of the world's king of kings
"The date is Shāhinshāh Jahāngīr."² (World-seizing king of kings.)

And this wonderfully apposite chronogram was discovered by one of the learned of the Age.

Verse.

Laus Deo ! there has come into being
He who is the world's epitome,
A king greater³ than the kings of the Earth,

¹ For an account of him, see Blochmann No. 55, (541) and Badāonī III. 157 and especially 197. He ended his days as guardian of Humāyūn's tomb.

² These words make 949 as follows.

sh=300

sh=300

h= 5

h= 5

n= 50

j= 3

h= 5

ā= 1

n= 50

g= 20

ī= 10

r=200

Total ... 949

³ *Akbar*, comparative of *Kabīr*.



Akbar his name, Jalāl (Glorious) his title.
The year, the month, nycthemeron of birth
Are "Sunday night, five Rajab."¹ (949 H.)

¹ شب یکشنبه پنج رجب *shab-yak-shanbih, panj rajab*. The text has an \bar{u} and the editors remark that this makes the number of years six too much, viz.: 955, but that if the \bar{u} be excluded as in one of their MSS. the letters give the correct date, 949. I find that the Lucknow ed. and No. 564 omit the \bar{u} . The letters give 949 thus:—

ah=300	ah=300
b=2	n=50
i=10	b=2
k=20	h=5

p=2	r=200
n=50	j=3
j=3	b=2

—
Total ... 949
—

According to Mu. calculation Akbar was born on Sunday night, for they count the night first and then the day, beginning at sunset, but according to ordinary parlance, he was born on Saturday night, i.e., early on Sunday morning.



CHAPTER XII.

THANKSGIVING OF ABŪ'L-FAZL, THE AUTHOR OF THIS NOBLE VOLUME,
FOR HAVING BEHELD THE TIME OF THIS SOVEREIGNTY AND FOR
HAVING LONG SERVED HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF KINGS.

Although it be a heavy sorrow that, at the rising of the Luminary of Fortune, the author of this noble volume was in the abode of non-existence,¹ without being or the adornment of Divine worship, yet how can he discharge his debt of thanks for the grand mercy of his having witnessed the era of the subjectively and objectively Great One, the ruler of the visible and the invisible? and of having been one on whom has fallen the glance of his favour and guidance? And hundreds more of thanks for this, that, ere he had seen the holy horoscope, or its noble secrets and wondrous glories had been revealed to him, he had understood that perfection of sanctity and sovereignty which is beyond the reach of the astrologer's science, and was a slave of the Divine power.² And praise upon praise be to God that I am not, like Imāmu-l-kalām, Hassānu-l-'ajam, Lisānu-l-ḥaqīqat, Ḥakīm Khāqānī,³ sighing for the Lord of the Age who is indispensable for the control of the visible and invisible worlds. For instance he has written thus :—

48

¹ Abū'l-fazl was born 14th Jan., 1551, so that he was 8 years and 3 months younger than Akbar.

² The author is referring, in part, to the supposed fact that the true horoscope of Akbar was not known until 1583.

³ Khāqānī is a famous Persian poet who died at Tabriz in 580 (1185), according to one account and

in 595 (1199) according to another. The lines quoted by A. F. are to be found in Khāqānī's Quatrains, (St. Petersburg ed. 1875) p. 26, Rubā'ī 145 and p. 18, Rubā'ī 101. See also J. A. S., B. New Series xxxvi. Oct., 1841, 156. For account of Khāqānī, see M. Khanykov's *Mémoire, Journal Asiatique*, Sixth Series, 1864, iv, 137 et seq. and 1865, v, 298.

Quatrain.

They say that every thousand years of the world
There comes into existence a true man.
He came before this, ere we¹ were born from nothingness,
He will come after this when we have departed in sorrow.

Elsewhere he says,

Every now² and then, the world is saturated with wretches,
Then a shining soul comes down out of the sky.
Khāqānī! seek not in this Age for such a thing,
Sit not by the way for the caravan will come late.

By auspicious good fortune, I obtained the service of this issuer of universal orders and explicator of the ways, and by the favour of his patronage and exalted kindness, comfort was brought to my soul,—perturbed by the deceptions of the day and dumb-founded in a wilderness of wants,—and no connexion with the world nor anxiety remained save to acquire his favour which indeed is tantamount to the pleasing of God. And my mind being freed from the bondage of secularity and the restraints of the world, was neither agitated³ by regret for the past nor longing for the future. Hereafter⁴ there will be given in its proper place, an account of my obtaining the blessing of his service, of my reaching the shade of favour and kindness, and of my being exalted above the *apices* of honour and eminence to the Seventh⁵ Heaven of cognition (*ma'rifat*).

¹ I adopt the reading of the St. Petersburg M.S. and No. 564, of *lō mā* instead of the *lō yā* of the Text.

² See text, p. 51, 15 fr. foot, for the word *har-yak-chandī*.

³ The allusion is to Khāqānī's quatrain. A. F. means that having, like Raphael in Hyratia, found the true man, he neither sighs for a past appearance nor longs for a future advent. Cf. Wordsworth's "The past unsighed for and the future sure."

⁴ See Text III. 83ff. A. F. was introduced to Akbar in the 19th year, 981 (1574).

⁵ *Qharfat*, paradise. It means first,

an upper chamber and hence is used to denote the Seventh Heaven or highest place in Paradise. (Lane 2249c.) A. F. means that, by acquiring Akbar's intimacy, he has risen higher than if he had had high office and distinguished outward rank. Blochmann remarks (xxviii) that A. F. "never accepted a title." But this is rather a question-begging phrase. He is No. 71 in the list of *Manṣabdārs*, being a Commander of Four Thousand and he had the title of 'Allāmī. Bāyazīd calls him Nawāb.



CHAPTER XIII.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE LOFTY-TITLED LINE AND LIST OF THE NOBLE
NAMES OF THE EMINENT ANCESTORS OF HIS MAJESTY,
THE KING OF KINGS.

The following list gives the excellent appellations of the heaven-descended forefathers of his Majesty, who are linked to celestial¹ ancestors by degrees of exaltation and gradations of greatness, and all of whom came as kings, kings of kings, kingdom-bestowers and king-makers, and governed the world by God-given wisdom and true insight, such as justice and equity require, so that they have left behind them on this earth the reverberation of a good name, which is a second life, or rather, is life eternal.

List.²

1. Adam. Peace be upon him.
2. Seth. (Text, Shīs.)
3. Enosh.
4. Kenan.
5. Mahalalil. (Text, Mahalāil.)
6. Jared. (Text, Yarid.)
7. Enoch. (Ikhūkh, Text.)
8. Methusalah.
9. Lamech.
10. Noah.
11. Japheth. (Text, Yāfiṣ.)
12. Turk.

¹ أبای علوی *ābāi 'alwī*, sublime fathers, i.e., the seven planets.

² The original gives the list in an ascending order, beginning with

Albar. I have taken the names of the patriarchs from the revised version of the Old Testament.

13. Alinja¹ Khān.
14. Dīb Bāqūi.
15. Kayūk Khān. (Text, Gayūk.)
16. Alinja Khān.
17. Mughal Khān.
18. Qarā Khān.
19. Aghuz Khān. (Text, Aghur.)
20. Kun Khān.²
21. Āi Khān.
22. Yaldūz Khān.
23. Mangalī Khān. (Text, Mankali.)
24. Tingīz Khān.
25. Īl Khān.
26. Qiyān.

(Here there is a break.)

Of the descendants of Qiyān are ;—

27. Tīmūr Tāsh.
28. Mangalī Khwāja.³
29. Yaldūz.
30. Jū'ina Bahādur.
31. Ālanqū'ā, daughter of the preceding.
32. Būzanjar Qā'an,⁴ son of the preceding.
33. Buqā Qā'an.
34. Zūtāmīn Khān.⁵ (Also Dūtāmīn.)
35. Qāydū Khān.

¹ Major Raverty (*Tabaqāt-i-nāsiri*, 873a) prefers Alminja. Sir H. Howorth has Ilchi. Apparently Alinja is the grandson and not the son of Turk, his father's name having been Tutak. Probably "Alinja" is wrong for we find this name a little lower in the list. Col. Miles (Genealogical Tree of the Turks) has Obtuchi.

² Major Raverty (880) says that Kun means the Sun, Āi the Moon, and Yaldūz a star, and that the three

were brothers. A. F. in his account of Oghuz Khān makes them brothers and also mentions Tingīz (i.e., the sea) as one. (Text, 60 l. 2 fr. foot.)

³ It appears from D'Herbélot that this is the Turkish form of Michael, hence its frequent recurrence.

⁴ Qā'an, Khākān, i.e., Great Khān.

⁵ Various written in the text. In one place it is Dumanīn. Howorth has, after Erdmann, Dutūm Menen. (I. 39.)



36. Bāysanghar Khān.
37. Tumana Khān.
38. Qāculi Bahādur.¹
39. Iradaṁ-cī Barlās.
40. Sūghuj-cī.²
41. Qarūcār Nuyān.³
42. Icaḥ Nuyān.
43. Alankir Bahādur. (Var. *infra*, Ailanyar Khān.)
44. Amīr Barkal.
45. Amīr Tarāghāi.
46. Šāhib Qarān Qutbu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, Amīr Timūr Gūrgān.
47. Mirān Shāh.⁴
48. Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā.
49. Sultān Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā.
50. ʿUmar Shāikh Mīrzā.
51. ² Nāḥīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar Pādshāh.⁵
52. Nāḥīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh.
53. Abū'l-Muẓaffar⁶ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh.

¹ Here, for some time, the list ceases to record the names of kings. Qāculi is also spelled Qajūli. He was twin-brother of Qabal Khān, the ancestor of Cingīz Khān. In accordance with his father, Tumana's interpretation of his dream, he became Commander-in-Chief. (See his biography *infra*.)

² Spelled also Sūghu-jijan. It means wise, according to Raverty (898).

³ Spelled also Nu-yīn. The word is explained as meaning, in Mongolian, king's son or prince and also a chief or general. See Jarrett III. 344n. where it is transliterated Novian. See also *Farhang-i-Rashīdī* II. 277. Quatremère (*Rashīdu-d-dīn*; Trans. 76.) says, "Le mot *noian* نويان ou *noin* qui appartient à la langue mongole, désignait le chef d'un

toman, c'est à dire d'un corps de dix mille hommes."

⁴ Blochmann (Genealogical Table) calls him Jalālu-d-dīn Mirān Shāh and A. F. does so too. (Text 81.)

⁵ Gulbadan mentions that Bābar took the title of Pādshāh after the birth of Humāyūn. Pādshāh was changed to Bādshāh in India because, says Blochmann, Pād means *crepitus ventris*.

⁶ In the preface of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*, (B.M. No. 5638, p.8.) A. F. calls him Abū'l-fath and this is the name given in the document drawn up by A. F.'s father, Mubārak, and others and preserved by Badāonī. (Blochmann 185 and Lowe 279.) There too he is styled Ghāzī. A. F. also uses the title Abū'l-fath in the introductory verses of the *Tafsīr-i-Akbarī* or Great

Let it not be concealed that the auspicious record of these high-born ones is implanted and contained in the breast-pages¹ of the transmitters of words, and recorded and expressed by the conserving tongues of the writings of epochs, as far as Yaldūz who is the 25th² (i.e., counting upwards) in ascent from his Majesty and that for the period from Mangalī Khwāja to Īl Khān³ which may be reckoned as 2,000⁴ years, nothing has come to light. The cause of this will be explained hereafter.

From Īl Khān to Adam there are 24⁵ persons. These have

Commentary which he presented to Akbar on his second introduction to him in 982 (1574). (The *abjad* value of the words *Tafsīr-i Akbarī* is 983, but the introduction took place in 982 H. See *Inshā*, III.) The full name of the Emperor as there given is Abū'l-faṭḥ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh Al-Ghāzī, and it would seem that the Commentary which A.F. then presented was on the opening of the *Ṣūratu'l-faṭḥ*, in allusion to Akbar's name and also to his recent victories in Bengal. On the other hand, Faizī (*Nal ū Daman* Calcutta ed. 1831. 24.) calls Akbar, Abū'l-muẓaffar Jamālu-d-daula ū Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Perhaps Muẓaffar was the original name and was changed to Faṭḥ, after the victories in Bengal and to assimilate it to the name of Akbar's favourite residence, Faṭḥpūr Sikrī. The words Muẓaffar and Faṭḥ are nearly synonymous, one meaning a victory or victorious, and the other victory.

This seems a fitting place, for noting that the first letter of the word Akbar is short and the Emperor's name should not be pronounced Ākbar but Ākbar. Hence the word used to be written in

English Ukbar or Ukber. The word *Akbarnāma* has a double meaning; it may signify the History of Akbar and also the Great or Supreme Book. It is perhaps rather significant that both A.F. and his brother should omit the title of *Ghāzī*⁶ which was given to the young Akbar after the defeat of Hēmū.

¹ Or, pages issuing from.

² That is counting Akbar as No. 1. According to the series given by the author, Yaldūz (it is Yaldūz, No. 2, and the No. 29 of the English list), is the 24th. *jadd* or ancestor of Akbar. Either on this account or because he found four in his MS. Chalmers has 24th ancestor.

³ Apparently this should be Qīyān Khān for he is described as the son and not merely as the descendant of Īl Khān. For a similar reason, it should be Tīmūr Tāsh and not Mangalī Khwāja.

⁴ It will be pointed out hereafter that A.F. has greatly overstated the time during which the Mughals were in Irḡānaqūn. Other historians give the time as between 400 and 500 years.

⁵ Chalmers makes this 25, and this is correct, unless one exclude Īl Khān himself.



been described by historians, and a brief account of them will be given.

Far-sighted philosophers who with ripe judgment and God-given wisdom, have investigated the records of the past, and who have made the recognition of truth a sacred trust, and who exhibit research in the weighing of facts, are aware that the hearsay reports and traditions about man's origin occurring 7,000 years ago is a thing not to be accepted by sages who contemplate the rise¹ and decay of the world and (can appreciate all the tones) of the seven climes.

In these matters, right-thinking and far-seeing Reason, after true and just investigation, sometimes answers in the negative, and sometimes, out of caution—that baiting place of tranquillity and station of wisdom—delays either to admit or to deny.

By help of Reason—the glory of the world,—and the assistance of trustworthy records and reliable statements about the world, such as the ancient books of India and Cathay (*Khita*), etc., which have been preserved from the agitations of accidents and with which agree the principles of astronomy and the conclusions of astronomical observations, (and such things yield trustworthy evidence) and also from the successive series of the biographies of the sages of those countries and the *catena* of opinions of this disciplined body (philosophers), it appears that the beginning of the world and of mortals and the source of the manifestations of the Divine attributes has not been discovered. Either it is eternal, as was the opinion of many ancient philosophers, or of such antiquity as to approximate to eternity. 50

The sect of *Sīrḥā*² (Jains) who are preëminent in all the countries of India for austerity, asceticism and science, divide time—

¹ *Lit.* observe the spring and autumn of the four-fold garden (i.e., the world) and know the gamut of the seven assemblages from the highest the lowest notes—*anjuman*, which I presume here means climes and not the planets.

² Colebrooke says (As. Res. IX. 291.) “In Hindustan, the Jains are usually called Syauras but distin-

guish themselves into *Srāvacas* and *Yatis*.” The name does not seem to be in use now. I do not know its origin unless it be a corruption of *Qvētāmbara*. (See Jarrett IV, 210n.)

The name *Syaura* was evidently in common use in *Sūrat* in the middle of the last century for Anquetil du Perron refers to it and



called *kāl* in the Indian language—into two parts. One is *Avasarpinī* (descending cycle), i.e., the period whose beginning is joyful and end grievous, and the other is *Utsarpinī* (ascending cycle), i.e., the opposite of the first. Each of these periods is divided into six parts, called *āras*.¹ Each *āra* has a distinct name in accordance with its speciality.

The first *āra* of the *Avasarpinī* is called *Sukhmān-sukhmān*, the meaning of the reduplication being that this portion brings joy upon joy and happiness upon happiness. The length of this happy time is four *kōrākōr-sāgar*. The name of the second *āra* is *Sukhmān*, i.e., a time of felicity and joy. Its duration is three *kōrākōr-sāgar*. The name of the third *āra* is *Sukhām* (*Sukhmān*) *Dukhmān*, i.e., sorrow and misfortune crop up in the time of joy. Its duration is two *kōrākōr-sāgar*. The fourth *āra* is called *Dukhmān-sukhmān*, i.e., joy and freedom from care rise up in the time of grief and sorrow. Its duration is less than one *kōrākōr* by 42,000² years.

The fifth *āra* is *Dukhmān* being the opposite of the second which was *Sukhmān*. The duration of this *āra* is 21,000 years. The sixth *āra* is *Dukhmān-dukhmān* being the opposite of the first. Its length is likewise 21,000 years. The names of the *āras* of the second period (*Utsarpinī*) are the same but the first of them corresponds to the sixth *āra* of the first period, the second to the fifth, the third to the fourth, and the fourth to the third, the fifth to the second, and the sixth to the first of the first period. Their opinion is that at the

says, (*Discours Préliminaire*, 365), that the two leading classes of Hindūs at Sūrat are the Brāhmins and the Sciouaras. He calls these, Hindā priests, and says that they also go by the name of Djettis (*Yatis*). They seldom marry, he says, dress in white and have the head uncovered and wear their hair short, "like the Abbés in France." They carry a "ballett" (brush) to clean the places where they sit down, lest they should crush an insect. In a note, he says that the Sciouaras call the first man Rikaba Deva and his

mother, Maru Devi, and that they say these beings were created by God in Aiodha, i.e., the north of Delhi (Oudh?). Probably, however, Aiodha is a misprint for Agroha or Agaroa. (See Tieffenthaler I. 135, where Sarang is probably a mistake for Sciouara). Perhaps this is why they compared (See Text) the hair of *yugala* infants with that of Delhi children.

¹ Sanskrit आरा *āra*, a spoke in time's wheel.

² So also As. Res. IX. 258. Major Mackenzie's account of the Jains.



present day, two thousand and odd years of the fifth *āra* of the first period have elapsed.

Be it known¹ that the arithmeticians of India call 100,000 a *lak*; ten *laks* a *prayūt*, ten *prayūts* a *krōr*, one hundred *krōrs* an *arb*, ten *arbs* a *kharba*, ten *kharbs* a *nikharb*, ten *nikharbs* a *mahāsarūj* or *padm*, ten *padms* a *sankha*, and ten *sankhas* a *samudr* or *kōrākōr*.

Be it known also that their opinion is that in a former period, in a particular place, a son and a daughter were born at each birth, a notion also prevalent amongst ourselves.²

This sect thinks also that the hair of the infants of the district of Delhi is 4096 times coarser than the hair of those beings whom they call *yugālī*³ (*yugala*).

¹ As to these numbers, see Jarrett III. 111 and Faizi's *Līlāvatī*, Cal. 1828, 7 and 8. The statement in the text may be put into tabular form as follows:—

100,000	= <i>lak</i> .
1,000,000	= <i>prayūt</i> .
10,000,000	= <i>krōr</i> .
100,000,000	= <i>arb</i> .
1,000,000,000	= <i>kharb</i> .
10,000,000,000	= <i>nikharb</i> .
100,000,000,000	= <i>mahāsarūj</i> .
	or <i>padm</i> .
1,000,000,000,000	= <i>sankha</i> .
10,000,000,000,000	= <i>samudr</i> or
	<i>kōrākōr</i> .

In Text it is stated that 100 *krōrs*, i.e., 1000 millions = an *arb* but this is probably a mistake for 10 *krōrs*. (See the scale in *Āin*, Jarrett III, 111.) Cf. महासायोजा—*Mahāsarūj* Great Lake-born, i.e., the lotus, Monier Williams (Dictionary 761a), says it is equal to *mahāmbuja*, i.e., a billion.

² A.F. is apparently referring to the Mu. tradition that Eve produced

twins at every birth, viz., a boy and a girl. He may also be referring to the views of the Gerbanites as given by Abraham Ecchellensis (Principles of Geology, Lyell, Chap. II). In that case, the words son and daughter should be translated male and female.

³ (Jarrett IV. 196 and 200.) Sansc. *yugala*, a pair. I do not know why the number 4096 has been selected; 4696 is given in the *Āin* as the period that had elapsed from the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira to 40th Akbar (Jarrett II. 15) and also as that from the Deluge to the time of writing the *Āin*, i.e., 40th Akbar (1596 A.D.). Perhaps 4096 is a mistake for 4696.

The passage (about the hair) occurs also at *Āin* II. 104 (Jarrett III. 200) but there seems an error in the *Āin* (Text) inasmuch as it represents the hair of a *yugala* child as 4096 times thicker than that of a Delhi child. The point, however, clearly is that the chopped hair (*See* Text *infra*) used for filling the cavity, be excessively fine, to wit, that of a *yugala*

And they say that if the hair of a seven days old *juglī* infant, which is excessively fine, be subdivided to the uttermost and an abyss (*lit.*, a well) ten miles¹ in depth, breadth and length, be filled with such particles and after a lapse of a hundred² years, one segment be taken out, the time in which, at this rate, the abyss will be emptied is a *palūpam* (? पल्य *palya*). And when ten *samudr*,—an explanation of which term has already been given,—of *palūpam*(s) have elapsed, the period is a *sāgar*. The durations of the aforesaid cycles transcend, in their opinion, the power of calculation or description. Their opinion also is that for the management of the visible and invisible world, twenty-four venerable men (*ādam*) come forth from the hidden universe into the apparent one, every six *āras* and then pass³ away. The name of the first of these is Ādināth and they call him also Raghunāth. The sway of this chosen one of God lasts fifty *krōrs* of *laks* of *sāgaras*. The name of the last is Mahāvīra.⁴ His sway lasts for 20,000 years, of which 2,000 have elapsed at the present day. And the belief of this sect is that these twenty-four have come into existence many times and will come again many times.

child, which is 4096 times finer than that of a Delhi child and that of a seven days' *yugala* child being still finer. Colebrooke (As. Res. I. c. 313) quotes Hēmacandra's Vocabulary, and says, "I do not find that he anywhere explains the space of time denominated *sāgara* or ocean. "But I understand it to be an extravagant estimate of the time which would elapse before a vast cavity, filled with chopped hairs, could be emptied at the rate of one piece of hair in a century; the time required to empty such a cavity measured by *yōjanas* every way is a *palya* and this repeated ten *cotis* of *cotis* times is a *sāgara* 1,000,000,000,000 *pal-* "*yas* = one *sāgara* or *sāgaropama*."

¹ Four *kōs*, but the Indian word is *yōjana*.

² The *Āin* has 100 years, and this seems the correct reading here for B.M. MSS. Nos. 5610 and 1709 have *har šad sāl*, every hundred years. In the text is *šad hazār*, a hundred thousand.

³ This is, apparently, differently stated in the *Āin* (Jarrett III, 192), but perhaps the meaning of the *Āin* (Text) is only that 24 demiurges appear in each *āra* and live for three or four *āras*.

⁴ The text has Mahādēō, but this is clearly a clerical error. (See *Āin* II. 99, 1.4), where the spelling is given. The error is apparently repeated at II. 106, 1.3 fr. foot.



OPINIONS OF THE BRĀHMA.

The Brāhma of India whose teachings and practices are observed by the majority of Indians, are agreed that the revolutions of the world consist of four Ages. The first, the period of which is 1,728,000 years, they call the *Sat Yug*. In this Age every single action of mankind is right, and high and low, rich and poor, great and small make truth and uprightness their rule, and show a walk and conversation pleasing to God. The natural life of man in this Age is 100,000 years.

The second Age is called *Tretā* and lasts 1,296,000 years. In it, three-fourths of mankind follow ways well-pleasing to God, and the natural duration of life is 10,000 years.

The third Age is called the *Dvāpar* and lasts 864,000 years. In it, one-half of mankind speak and act rightly, and the natural life is 1,000 years.

The fourth Age is the *Kal Yug*. Its period is 432,000¹ years. During it, three-fourths of mortals follow ways of falsehood and unrighteousness, and the natural life is 100 years.

This school firmly believes that every now and then the Life-Giver of mankind and producer of beings, brings an ascetic and sage² from the veil of concealment and non-existence to the palace of manifestation and existence and makes him the instrument for the creation of the world. This mighty one is called Brahmā. Their belief is that a Brahmā lives 100 years, each consisting of 360 days³ and every day³

¹ Anquetil du Perron remarks (Tieffenthaler II. XXI), that the fourth Age has served to form the first three by adding successively 432,000.

² *Tajarrud-nihād ū danish-nizhād.*

³ The word day is used here in two senses, first as the nycthemeron or day of 24 hours and then in its ordinary sense, as opposed to night. There seems to be an error in the Text هزارو *hasār ū*, "a thousand and" being a mistake for هزاروي *hasārwei*, a thousandfold. The mean-

ing is "equal to a thousand of four Ages, i.e., *Mahāyug(s)*." The "1,000 *Mahāyug(s)*" is apparently a statement in round numbers, the more exact figures being 980, for each Manu existed for 70 *kalpas* (71 according to another account) or *Mahāyug(s)* and as there are 14 successive Manus in a day of Brahmā, the length of it is $70 \times 14 = 980$. Firsihta has copied A.F. (he acknowledges this, stating that he is epitomizing A.F.'s translation of the *Mahābhārata*), but he has gone to A.F.'s preface rather than to the *Akbarnāma*. See his Introduction

and every night is equal to a thousand times four Ages (*Mahāyug*). In their opinion, the number of Brahmās who have come into existence cannot be known by the human intellect, but they say that according to what has been received from authorities¹ on the subject of Brahmā, the present Brahmā is the thousand and first, and that fifty years and half² a day of the life of this wondrous being have elapsed at the present time.

The writer of this divine masterpiece has written the account of these two doctrines according to the translation of learned and pious Indians³ from their venerated books. Also in the writings of Shāikh Ibn 'Arabī⁴

(Elliot-Dowson's trans. VI. 532 E. n. E.) A.F.'s preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* is to be found in the B.M. Add. No. 5638. It was written in the 32nd Akbar and contains an account of the four Ages corresponding to that in the Text. (See l. c. 12a).

I find in the *Ġāntiparvan*—(Twelfth Book of the *Mahābhārata*)—(II, 237, Pratab Chandra Rai's tran.) that the four *Yugs* (Ages) contain 12,000 years of the gods, i.e., 432,000 ÷ 360; and that this period is called a *Dēvayug*. "A thousand such *Yugas* (i.e., *Dēvayugas* or *Mahāyugas*) compose a single day of Brahmā. The same is the duration of Brahmā's night."

1 *ṣiqāt*, "trusty friends or confidants." For use of this word, see Text 121 l. 12. A.F. probably means here Manu or the Manus. Firigha has copied the expression and Professor Dowson (Elliot VI. 563) translates, "I have heard from my Brāhman friends, etc."

² It would seem from the *Āin* (Jarrett II, 15) that the half day has not fully expired, for we are told that 14 Manus appear in each of

Brahmā's days. When A.F. was writing, 50 years had elapsed, and consequently $360 \times 14 = 5,040$ Manus had appeared. But instead of 7 Manus of the first day of the 51st year's having appeared, i.e., the number that appear in half a day, we are told that only 6 Manus had appeared and departed, and that only a portion of the time of the 7th, viz., 27 *kalpas*, 3 *yugas* and 4,700 years of the 4th *Yug* had elapsed. If this be correct, the 7th Manu had then more than half his time to run, viz., 43 *kalpas* out of his 70.

³ See Jarrett III, 210 where A.F. speaks of having got his information about the Jains from learned men of the *Qvātāmbara* order, and says that he could not get exact information about the tenets of the *Digambaras* (sky-clad.)

⁴ Apparently the writer referred to is Muḥyī'u-d-dīn Ibnu-l-'Arabī, author of the *Fuṣūṣu-l-ḥikam* (Hājī Khalfa IV. 424). See Rien's Cat. II. 831b, item III. and 832b, Item XVII. and Ar. Cat. No. 233. He was also the author of the *Futūḥāt-i-makkiyah* (see Rien II, 874b) and of a number of definitions appended to Jor-



and Shaikh Sa'du-d-dīn¹ Ḥamūī who were great saints and masters of exposition and ecstasy, it is stated in the explanation of Divine (Ilāhī) days and of *Rabbānī*² days that each *Rabbānī* day is made up of 1,000 years and every Divine day of 50,000. And the author of *Nafā'isu-l-funūn*³ has related that in the histories of Cathay, it

jānūl in Flügel's ed. The latter gives the name as "Mohjied-dīn Moham-med b. Ali Hatimi Tajī vulgo Ibn Arabi dictus," and says he died in 638-1240. A.F. refers to Muḥyī'ū-d-dīn in the *Āin* (II. 221 and Jarrett III. 373.) See also Badāonī, Lowe, 265.

¹ Apparently Sa'du-d-dīn Mu. B. al-Mu'ayyad Ḥamūī who died 650 H. (Rieu 755a and 1095a.) He is referred to in the *Āin* (Jarrett III. 390), and there is a short notice of him in Prince Dārā Shikōh's *Sajī-mātu-l-aubiyā* where it is stated that he died in Khurāsān 650 H. (1252 A.D.)

² ربابی, *rabbānī*. Lane defines this as meaning one who devotes himself to religious services or exercises, or applies himself to excess of devotion. He does not give the meaning of "a period of time," but states that *rabbī*, the sing. of *rubūb*, means thousand, and that some say it means 10,000. Richardson gives *ribbī* as meaning thousands, a myriad. In the second Epistle of St. Peter ii. 8, we have the expression (as pointed out, I believe by Sale) "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day." See also Psalm xc. 4. In the preface to the *Mahābhārata*, A.F. refers to the views of Ibn 'Arabī and Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq.

³ See Rieu II. 435a for an account of this work. It is an encyclopædia written by Mu. B. Maḥmādu-l-āmūlī. I have not in B. M. MS. No. 16827, been able to find the passage referred to by A. F., but the volume is thick and has no index. See Jarrett II. 19, where we are told that 8,884 *wans* 60 years, have elapsed up to the date, of the *Āin*. These figures seem inconsistent with those of the Text, and apparently both are wrong. D'Herbélot (art. *Van*.) states that the Mughals reckon that 874 H. corresponds to the 8863rd. *van* of 10,000 years each, and then adds that 874 H. corresponds to 1443 A.D. In the end, the figures will come out nearly as A.F.'s if we substitute a six for an eight in the *Āin* figures, making them 8864 and insert an eight in our text so as to read 8863 instead of 863.

Here we are told that 863 *wans*, 9,800 years, had elapsed from the time of Adam to 735 H.=1334 A.D. Consequently, 1003 H., 1594 A.D. the 40th Akbar and the date of the *Āin* would correspond with 864 *wans*, 60 years, for 1594-1334=260 years.

874 H. is 88,639,860 years from the Creation. 847 H.=1443 A.D., so that this calculation agrees pretty nearly with that quoted by A.F. for 1334 A.D., viz., 8863 *wans* 9800 years, the difference being 109-60=49 years. Sédillot refers to a passage of



is written that from the time of Adam Abū-l-bashar (Father of mankind) till now (i.e., the date when the author of the *Nafā'is* was writing) which is 735 H., (1334 A.D.) 8863 *wans*¹ (Text, 863) 9,800 years have elapsed.

A *wan* with them is 10,000 years. Such is the wide expanse of God's kingdom that it is not improbable that these tales and traditions may be true. There may have been many Adams. Indeed it is stated by Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq, (Peace be on him!) that there have been thousands upon thousands of Adams before the Adam who was our father. And Shaiḫ Ibn 'Arabi says it is not improbable that after a Divine (*Rabbānī*) week, which is 7,000 years and the period of the cycle² of the sovereignty of the seven planets, one race is terminated and another Adam puts on the robe of existence.

And now, giving truce to length of words and littleness of matter, I proceed to sketch in this glorious record, without converting³ it into extensive histories, the blissful biography of those fifty-two persons who extend⁴ from Adam down to his Majesty, the king of kings, so that it may be a cause of increase of knowledge. As I know that this exposition of grandeur will be a complement to the account of his Majesty, the king of kings, I shall treat it with the concision which is the adornment of an author.

D'Herbélot which, he says, is derived from Greaves. Sédillot considers that the true figures are 8863 *wans*, 9860 years; or 9820 according to one MS. This last figure agrees best with A.F., for in the *Ā'īn* (Jarrett II. 19) he says that according to the *Khafā'ī* Era, 8884 *wans* 60 years have elapsed up to the date of his writing, i.e., 40th Akbar=1596 A.D. 1596-1443=158, and this does not differ materially from 9864 *wans* 60 years—8863 *wans* 9820 years=140.

¹ The Text has *har* before *wan* which seems a mistake.

² There is probably some mistake here. The cycle of the planets was generally reckoned as much longer

than 7,000 years. See amongst other places, Principles of Geology, Lyell, Cap. II. Quotation from Abraham Ecchellensis. Perhaps A. F. means that each *Rabbānī* day is 7,000 years long and that thus a *Rabbānī* week is 49,000 years. If so, the trs. should be "After a week of *Rabbānī* days."

³ Perhaps "not being satisfied with big books." The Persian is *iktifa'* for use of which see Text 10, 12 fr. foot. A.F. may mean that certain voluminous histories do not give the facts properly.

⁴ A.F. tells us later that these 52 persons do not fill the gap between Adam and Akbar. There is no record of some 25 generations.



CHAPTER XIV.

ACCOUNT OF ADAM (PEACE BE UPON HIM!)

It is well-known that he came into existence about 7,000¹ years ago through the perfect power of God, without the intervention of a father's loins or a mother's womb and that he was equally compounded of the four elements. His soul emanated from the fountain of bounty in perfection proportionate to his body. He was entitled man (*insān*) and received the name of Adam.

At that time the first degree of Capricorn² coincided with the eastern horizon, and Saturn was in that Sign, while Jupiter was in Pisces, Mars in Aries, the Moon in Leo, the Sun and Mercury in Virgo, and Venus in Libra. Some have said that at that time, all the planets were in their degrees of exaltation, but clearly this does not accord with astronomy for there is a difficulty about Mercury,— 53 the Sun's exaltation being in Aries and Mercury's in Virgo. But Mercury can never be more than 27° distant from the Sun, how then can he be in exaltation when the Sun is in exaltation, or how can the Sun be in exaltation when Mercury is so? And reflecting on the astrological principle that Mercury takes the nature of whatever planet he be associated with, it has occurred to me that Mercury may have been in the condition of *applying*³ to some other planet which was in exaltation.

¹ The Era of Adam is described in the *Āin*. (Jarrett II, 2.) All the periods given there are under 7,000 years. The "7,000 years" of A.F.'s authorities are probably lunar and about 211 have to be deducted to convert them into solar. Many dates of the Creation, etc., are given in the *Ḥabību-s-siyar*.

² Capricorn is Saturn's nocturnal mansion; Pisces the nocturnal mansion of Jupiter, and Aries the diurnal

house of Mars. There does not seem to be any special connection between the Moon and Leo but perhaps she is there as Vizier or deputy for the Sun, who is in Virgo,—the nocturnal house of Mercury,—but whose mansion is Leo. Libra is the diurnal house of Venus.

³ *Ittiṣāl*. This is the technical meaning of the term but A.F. may only intend that Mercury was near some other planet.



Adam was of lofty stature, of a wheaten colour, had curling hair and a handsome countenance. There are different accounts of the stature of this patriarch, but most agree that he was sixty cubits high. Almighty God produced Eve from his left side and gave her in marriage to him, and by her he begat children. Historians have told many strange and wondrous things about this hero and though there be no difficulty about the extent of God's power, yet experienced and practical men of the world, on looking to the course of nature, rather hesitate about accepting them. It is said that at the time of his death, he had 40,000 descendants, and that his immediate children were 41, viz., 21 boys and 20¹ girls, but some say there were 19 girls. Seth was the most eminent of them all.

Some have said that Adam wrote about elixirs² (?) (*ta'fīnāt*) and

¹ The Muḥammadan tradition is that Eve, at every parturition produced twins except at Seth's birth. He was born alone,—hence the numbers 21 males and 20 females. See account of Seth, *infra*.

² The Text and No. 564 have *تعفينات ta'fīnāt*. Ordinarily this seems to mean evil smells or putridities, but Steingass gives also the meaning tincture—“(تعفين *ta'fīn* v. n. 2 of *مغن* tincture).” If this be taken in the sense of elixirs or efficacious drugs, it may be that *ta'fīnāt* is right and it agrees with the statement in the *Ḥabībū-s-siyar* that Adam's book dealt, among other subjects, with the properties of medicines. Yet A.F. would hardly class medicine among the occult sciences. In the sense of tincture, possibly *ta'fīnāt* has reference here to the tradition mentioned in the *Prolegomena* to the *Zafar-nāma*, that when Adam was cast out of Paradise, he fell upon the mountains of Ceylon, and spent 100

years there in prayer and penitence. During this time, he wept so much that plants grew up out of the pools of his tears, and all of these were medicinal or aromatic like cloves, cinnamon, etc.

In B.M. No. MCCCVI, (p. 19) (Rien, Ar. Cat. 601,602) which is the Ar. Text of *Shahrazūri's Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā*, the word is not *ta'fīnāt* but apparently, *alba'qīnāt*, which does not seem to have any meaning. The passage is *بعضى كتب فى البعقينات ba'zī kutub fi-l-ba'qīnāt*. Perhaps the word should be *اليقينيات alyaqī-nīyāt*, “certainties” such as articles of religion. In I.O. No. 1579, (Per. trs. of *Shahrazūri* by one Maqṣūd 'Alī of Tabriz) we find (16a) that unfortunately the *alba'qīnāt* or *alya-qīnīyāt* of *Shahrazūri's* Text is represented by a word without diacritical marks. The passage is *ū dīdam man ba'zī az kutubhā-i-ōrā dar mawāz āhīr imām*. Taking the illegible word to be *ta'sībāt* fr. *ta'sīb*, the appointing a man as chief and

other occult sciences. For example the very learned *Shahrazūrī* has so stated in his "Lives of Philosophers." It is said Adam died

which with *ẓāhir*, may mean the external marks or indications of such a person, this may be rendered, "And I saw various books about the marks (or notes) of an *Imām*" (? *amān*, mankind.) Some countenance is given to this view by finding that Seth, a son of Adam, laid down 16 rules or marks of a true believer (*mu'min*) as if the father had laid down those of an *Imām* (apostle) and the son, those of a disciple.

Another suggestion which has occurred to me is that the word is *البينات al-bayyināt*, demonstrations," and which has also the technical sense of "cabalistic interpretations of the meanings of letters." This word occurs in *Hājī Khalfā's* account of the *Sifr-i-ādam* (Book of Adam) (Fluegel's ed. III. 599,600.) Here we are told that Adam's book was written on 21 olive leaves of Paradise and its gates (?) and dealt with the properties of letters, etc.

One more suggestion remains, viz., that A.F.'s word is *tafīnāt*, i.e., Heb. *tephillim*, "amulets or phylacteries." The variants in the notes to our Text do not seem of value, and MSS. which I have consulted, throw no light on the point. Evidently the word is used in an unusual sense and the copyists have been unable to understand it.

The *n* of *tafīnāt* does not, I think, occur in the MSS. I have consulted. In the beautiful MS. of Halhed (No. 5610, 31 l.3 fr. foot) the word appears to be *تعفيات ta'fiyāt*, "obliter-

ations, amendments." In R.A.S. No. 116 it is clearly written *تعقيات ta'qiyāt*, and this might yield a good sense for *ta'qiyāt* (fr. 'aql) seems to mean abstruse points in philosophy. (Lane 2114 a and b.) R.A.S. No. 117 has *تعقيات ta'fiyāt*.

¹ This is the *Imām Shāmsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shahrazūrī* referred to by *Āmir Khwānd (Khondamīr)* in his *Khalāṣatu-l-akhbār*. (Persian *Munshi*, Gladwin, 1801, Part II. 265,266.) The *Rauzat-ṣ-ṣafā* (Rehatsek II. Part I.) states that he was the author both of the *Tārīkh-i-hukamā* and the *Nazhatu-l-qulūb* (Hearts' Delight), but if so, the latter is apparently not the work described by Rieu (I. 418a.) *Shāmsu-d-dīn* is also mentioned in B.M. Ar. Cat. 209, 601, 602. The book there described is anonymous and entitled *Nazhatu-l-arwāḥ ū Rauzat-l-afrāḥ*, "Delights of Souls and Gardens of Joy, *Oblectamen Spirituum et Viridarium Gaudiorum*," but Dr. Rieu observes that it agrees almost entirely with the work of *Shāmsu-d-dīn ash-Shahrazūrī* described by *Hājī Khalfā* (Fluegel VI. 321.) It is in two parts, the first, an account of ancient philosophers, the second, of those subsequent to Muḥammad, and it contains 108 Lives (that described by *Hājī Khalfā* had 111.) Apparently *Tārīkh-i-hukamā* is the secondary title. It seems to have been written at Bagra in 995 (1587). Its author wrote a commentary on *Shahrawardī*, a philosopher who was



in India and was buried on a mountain in Ceylon¹ (an island) which lies towards the south and which is now known by the name of *Qadamgāh-i-ādam* (Adam's footprint, i.e., Adam's Peak.) He was ill 21 days and Eve died, according to one account, a year, according to another, seven years and according to a third, three days after him. Seth, his successor and administrator, buried her by Adam's side, and it is reported that Noah brought their coffin on board the Ark at the time of the Deluge, and afterwards buried them on *Abū qubais*.² According to another account, they were buried in Jerusalem, and according to a third tradition, in Najf-Kūfa.³

SETH—PEACE BE UPON HIM

Was the most excellent of Adam's immediate descendants, and was born after the catastrophe of Abel. It is said that whenever Eve became pregnant, she gave birth to a son and a daughter, but that Seth was born alone. *Iqlīmīyā*,⁴ the (twin) sister of Cain was

put to death at Aleppo by Saladin in 587 (1191). (D'Herbélot s.v. Scheher-verdi.) There is a Per. trs. (T.O. No. 1579) of the *Tārīkh-i-hukamā* by Maqṣūd 'Alī of Tabriz, begun under the orders of Akbar and completed under Jahāngīr. The translator calls the author that pattern of writers *Shamsu-l-mulka wa-d-dīn Maulānā Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shahrazūrī*. A.F. seems to have made considerable use of the *Tārīkh-i-hukamā*; his account of the three Hermes in the notice of Enoch agrees closely with the Persian of Maqṣūd 'Alī.

Shahrazūr is a town in the hill-country of Persia and apparently near the battle-field of Arbela. (Jarrett III. 80,81.) A.F. gives *Shahrazūr* as the name of a district also. (Meynard's *Yāqūt*, 356.) The name is said to mean the city of Zūr,—the son of Zohāq a Persian king and founder of the town.

¹ A.F. includes Ceylon in India (Hindūstān.) The Arabs call the mountain on which Adam was buried, *Rāhūn*.

² Richardson spells *Abū Kais*, after D'Herbélot, and says it is 3 m. from Mecca. (D'H. s.v. Abu Kais Mecca.) *Abū qubais* is a mountain n. of Mecca. Abraham is said to have proclaimed from it, the institution of pilgrimage.

³ Nedjif about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. (2 *kil.*) w. of Kūfa. (Réclus IX. 458) (Kūfah. Jarret III. 64.) Najf means high land and tumulus. A.F.'s account of Adam's burial-place is perhaps taken from the *Nafā'isu-l-funūn*, (B.M. No. 16,259a 827.)

⁴ Much of A.F.'s account of the Patriarchs seems taken from the *Rauzat-u-ṣ-ṣafā* of Mīr Khwānd (Mīr-khond) and the *Ḥabīb-u-s-siyar* of his grandson, Khwānd Amir (Khondamīr) or from their sources. The *Rauzat-u-ṣ-ṣafā* has been translated



given in marriage to him (Seth.) When Adam reached the age of a thousand, he made Seth his successor, and enjoined all to submit to him. In succession to Adam, he carried on, by his weighty intellect, the administration of the temporal and spiritual worlds. He always conducted himself with outward composure and inward efficiency, and his were the only descendants who survived Noah's Flood. He is called the first *Uria*,¹ a word which in Syriac means teacher. He occupied himself with the medical,² mathematical and theological sciences, and spent most of his life in Syria. Many of his descendants abandoned secular affairs and practised asceticism in hermitages. He left the world when he was 912 years old. Some say that he was Adam's grandson and that his father was Sulha,³ but this tale is without foundation.

in part by Mr. Rehatsek, and his translation published by the Or. Trs. Fund. This work may advantageously be consulted in connection with A.F. See also Persian *Ṭabarī*, Zotenberg's trs.

The story of *Iqlimiyā* is given in *Ṭabarī*, (Cap. XXX.) and in the *Rauzat-ṣ-ṣafā*. According to one tradition, Cain murdered Abel on her account, as he was not willing that she should marry Abel. Her name is variously written *Iqlimiyā*, *Iqlimā* (*Burhān-i-qāṭi* s. v.) and by Bayle, Calmana. *Iqlimiyā* means litharge, foam of silver. After Abel's death, *Iqlimiyā* was married to Seth.

¹ Muḥammadans spell this name like that of Bathsheba's husband, but there is no connection between the two persons. *Uriah* means "Book of Heaven." (Ox. "Helps to the Bible.") D'Herbelot, Art. *Uriah* says: "Les Arabes se servent de ce mot, qui est tiré du Chaldaïque

et du Syriaque *Ouraia* et *Ouroia*, pour signifier un Maître ou Docteur de la première classe, tels qu'ont été, Edris, *Khedir*, *Hermes*, qui portent les titres de premier, second et troisième Maîtres ou Docteurs de l'Univers." Chwolsohn in his work on the Sabæans, gives the variants, *Arānī* and *Arāfī* and comes to the conclusion that the word is not Syriac but merely a corruption of *Orpheus*. See I, 782 and 800 where he says, "sammt und sonders corruptionen aus Orpheus." But may it not be connected with *Ūr*, i.e., the *Ūr* of the Chaldees or with the *ūr* which means light? The form *Arānī* is given by Mas'ūdī (Book of Indication and Counsel, deSacy IX. 342 n.)

² This is the Muḥammadan division of the sciences. (Blochmann 279 n.) It is derived from Aristotle.

³ The *Rauzat-ṣ-ṣafā* (Trs.) has *Supha*, but is unlikely that Mr. Rehatsek spelt an Ar. word with a *p*.



ENOSH.

Enosh was born when Seth was 600 years old. A number of writers say that his mother was an immaculately-born¹ one who, like Adam, was clothed with the garment of life without the instrumentality of father or mother. He succeeded his father in accordance with a testament, and was the first who in this cycle, laid the foundations of sovereignty.² They say he reigned 600 years. According to Jewish and Christian³ traditions, he lived 965 years,—according to Ibn Jauzī,⁴ 950,—and according to Qāzī Baiḡāwī,⁵ 600. He had many children.

KENAN.⁶

Kenan was the most enlightened, fortunate and sagacious of the sons of Enosh. After his father's death, this hero, in accordance with a testamentary disposition, swayed the affairs of mankind and walked in the ways of his illustrious ancestors. He erected the buildings of Babylon and founded the city of Sūs.⁷ They ascribe to him the first establishment of houses and gardens.

The numbers of mankind greatly increased during his time. By his wisdom, he distributed them (over the earth), and himself

¹ The *Rauzat-u-s-safā* says his mother was a houri. (Rehatsak I. 67.)

² i.e., he was the first monarch. He is also said to have first planted palms.

³ According to Genesis, Enosh lived 905 years.

⁴ The Abū'l-farāj of the *Āin*. (Jarrett 33.) His full name is Abū'l-farāj 'Abdu-l-rahmān b. 'Alī Ibnū-l-jauzī'l-bakrī. He died 597 (1200). His work is called the *Muntazam*. (Rieu, Ar. Cat. No. 460.) Quatremère speaks of Ibn Jauzī as author of the *Mirātu-s-samān*, but it appears that this was written by Ibn Jauzī's grandson, Abū'l-muẓaffar

Yūsuf b. Kāzughlī who died 654 (1256). (Rieu l. c. No. 465.)

⁵ Qāzī Naṣīru-d-dīn 'Abdu-l-lāh b. 'Umaru-l-baiḡāwī. (Jarrett II. 36n. and Rieu II. 823b.) His work is called the *Niẓāmu-l-tawārīkh*, and is a general history from Adam to 674 (1275). He is best known as a commentator on the Koran.

⁶ Text, *Qainān*.

⁷ A town in Khūzistān, anciently the capital of Persia;—the Susa of Herodotus and Shusan of Scripture. According to the Persians, it was founded by Hūshang, grandson of Kaiūmars (Gayomars). Mir ascribes the building of it to Kenan's son, Mahalalil and says that before the latter's time, men lived in caves.



settled with the descendants of Seth in Babylonia. He lived 925 years, but some say he drank the water of life, (*i.e.*, lived) 640 years, and one school says that he consoled the sorrows of the world, (*i.e.*, reigned) for about a century.

MAHALALIL.

Mahalalil was the best of Kenan's sons. Kenan placed him on the throne when he himself had attained the age of 900. He ruled 55 for 300 years. He lived either 928 or 840 or 895 years.

JARED (TEXT, *Irād.*)

Jared was the most right-minded of the sons of Mahalalil and by his honoured father's orders, he administered the affairs of the world. He made canals and conduits, and attained the age of 962 or, according to some, of 967 years.

All these magnates of the household of fortune came into existence during Adam's lifetime.

ENOCH (TEXT, *Ikhvākh.*)

Enoch is generally known as Idrīs, and was the distinguished son of Jared and born after Adam's death. Though the last-born of Jared's sons, he was, in wisdom and intelligence, older than all of them, and was before them all in felicity and understanding. He is the first lawgiver since the time of Seth. Some say that Idrīs was 100 years old at the time of Adam's death and some that he was 360 years. He was unrivalled in his knowledge of the science of government and the refinements of contrivance. Though some assign all sciences and arts to Adam, yet, according to most, astronomy, writing,¹ spinning, weaving and sewing were introduced by Enoch. He learned wisdom from Agathodæmon² of Egypt whom they call *Uria* the Second.

Among his lofty titles is that of Harماسu-l-harāmāsa³ (Hermes of Hermes or Trismegistus) and he is also called the third *Uria*. He

¹ Blochmann (99) mentions Idrīs as the inventor of the Hebrew alphabet.

² Text, *Aghāzīmūn*. See Al-bīr-

ūnī's India and Chwolsohn on the Sabæans. Seth is the first *Uria*.

³ *Ām* II. 49 l. 4 fr. ft. Jarrett III. 109 n.

attained high rank in theology and summoned¹ mankind to worship in seventy-two languages. He founded 100² cities, of which Madīna-i-roha³ was the least. It was a city of Mesopotamia (Jazā'ir) though some place it in the Hijāz (Petraea Arabia). It was inhabited up to the time of Hulākū Khān who, it is said, destroyed it for the sake of the honour of the country and the well-being of the people.⁴

He (Idrīs) instructed every tribe and every rank of mankind by a special procedure in accordance with their capacities. They say that he guided men to the reverence of the Great Light (the Sun) for most of them, before his time, were without his abounding wisdom and did not give thanks for that light of lights. He regarded it as the stock of visible and invisible fortune, and prescribed a great festival at the time of its passing⁵ from one Sign to another which is a special time of glory, and above all when it enters Aries.

¹ The phrase for "summoned" is *da'wat farmūd*. The *Tārīkh-i-hukamā* (Per. trs. 17b, foot) has *ū khalā'iq-i-rab-maskūn bahaftād ū dū zabān da'wat numūd ū 'ilm ū adab āmōkht*. Mr. Rehatsek remarks that 72 is a common number in Muḥammadan theology, etc., and that David is spoken of as having 72 notes in his voice. Mas'ūdī says (Meynard, 78) that after the Deluge, the 72 languages were divided as follows:—Shem 19, Ham 17, Japhet 36; total 72.

² The *Tārīkh-i-hukamā* has 108. (17b foot.) Abū'l-farāj (Pococke) ed. 1663, p. 6 has 180.

³ Text, *Zohā*, but there is a var. *Roha* which I adopt, for the city meant is probably Edessa, the Roha of the Arabs and the modern Orfa. It is in Asiatic Turkey, east of the Euphrates. (Réclus IX. 445 and Lectures on the Jewish Church, Stanley, 6.) If, however, A.F. means Edessa, there must be some mistake on his part, for Edessa was not, I

believe, taken by Hulākū Khān and it certainly was not destroyed, for it still exists. See Quatremère's *Rashīdu-d-dīn* (334) for a note (128) on a Roha mentioned by Rashīdu-d-dīn as having been taken by Hulākū Khān. In the Persian it is spelt *ح* and Quatremère translates "Houlagou en personne se dirigea vers Rouhah dont il se rendit maître." The note says "J'ignore quelle est la ville que notre historien a voulu indiquer, et si le nom est correctement écrit." Possibly the town is Riha or Riah S.W. of Aleppo. (Réclus IX. 765 and 772 n.)

⁴ A.F. here refers to the destruction of the Ismailians by Hulākū, the grandson of Gīngīz Khān, in the middle of the 13th century. Cf. Gibbon's remark that the extirpation of the Assassins or Ismailians of Persia by Hulākū may be considered a service to mankind.

⁵ Lit. alighting of glory and renovation of felicity,—*nuzūl-i-ijlāl ū tahwīl-i-iqbāl*.



And whenever the planets, who are fed from the bounteous table of its rays, entered their own Houses or attained their *exaltation*, he regarded them as of special dignity, and gave thanks for the wonders of creation. Such seasons he looked upon as stations and manifestations of the favour of God, and he spent all his days in the service of holy spirits and pure forms.

He also built the pyramids of Egypt which are known as the Domes of Haramān (*Gumbaz-i-haramān*). And in those lofty buildings, all the arts and their tools have been depicted, so that if the knowledge of them be lost, it may be recovered. It is recorded that he deputed one of his nobles to lay the foundations of these pyramids whilst he himself traversed the entire world, eventually returning to Egypt.

Abū Ma'shar¹ of Balkh relates that there have been many Hermes but that three were preëminent;—(1). Harmasi-harāmāsa (Hermes of Hermes) or Idrīs whom the Persians call the grandson of Kayūmars.² (2). Hermes of Babylon who built Babylon after the Deluge. Pythagoras was one of his disciples. By the exertions of this Hermes of Babylon, the sciences which had been lost in Noah's Flood were resuscitated. His home was in the city of the Chaldeans (*Kaldānīn*)³ which is called the city of the philosophers (wise men) of the East (*Madīna-i-filāsafa-i-mashriq*). (3) The Hermes of Egypt who was the teacher of Esculapius (*Asqlīnus*).⁴ He too excelled in all sciences, especially in medicine and chemistry and spent much time in travel.

The birth-place of Harmasu-l-harāmāsa (Idrīs) was Manīf (Memphis) now known by the name of Manūf,⁵ in the land of Egypt. Before the founding of Alexandria, it was called the city of philo-

¹ (Jarrett II. 10. No. 43.) He was known in the Middle Ages as Albumaser. This passage closely resembles the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* (166 ff. ff.)

² This is Hūshang. (Tabarī, Zotenburg, I. 100.)

³ Mas'ūdī, de Saqy. Paris 1877, IX. 324 n. Their city was Kalwā-dha.

⁴ The author of the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* distinguishes between Esculapius, who he says is the son of Āmūr, and Asqlīnus.

⁵ منوف Manūf, but the ū seems wrong; the Āīn gives Manf or Minf. (Jarrett III. 75.) It is the Noph of the Bible. The Text here agrees closely with the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā*.



is, but when Alexander built that city,¹ he brought the philosophers of Memphis and other places to Alexandria.

Among the sayings of Enoch is this, "The three² most excellent things are truth when angry, bounty when poor and mercy when strong." Wonderful stories are told in histories about his departure from this world, which wise men hesitate about accepting. One tradition is that he was then 865, another that he was 405 and a third that he was 365.

METHUSALAH.

Methusalah was the son of Enoch. He had many children, so that it is difficult to enumerate them. After his father, he was the head of his tribe and called men to Divine worship. When he was 900, he had a son whom he called Lamech. After that he lived 290 years.

57

LAMECH.

Lamech was the unique of his time for lofty character and exalted virtue. After his father, he became firmly seated on the throne. The period of his life was 780 years. And some call him Lamkān, Lāmak, and Lāmakh.

NOAH (NŪH).

Noah, the son of Lamech, was born under the Sign of Leo, 126 years after Adam's death. He was strong in the ways of religion and firmly based on the foundation of justice. The story of his calling³ mankind to the worship of God, the disobedience of his people and the event of the Flood, etc., are well-known.

Historians have mentioned three floods. First, a flood which

¹ The *Āin* gives this name to Athens. (Jarrett III. 78.)

² This passage occurs in the *Tārīkh-i-hukamā*. (Mīr Khwānd, Rehatsek I. 72.) The first of these three things receives explanation from another remark of Enoch (Mīr Khwānd, Rehatsek, II. Part I.) to the effect that a man should beware of uttering in the time of anger, words

which will be a cause of disgrace to him. It may be noted here that Mīr Khwānd's account of some of the patriarchs is to be found in two places,—at the beginning of his work and again among the biographies of the philosophers.

³ Koran, Sura 71. Noah is said to have invented the *nāqūs* ناقوس = wooden gong.



occurred before our Adam came into existence. Thus¹ the very learned *Shahrazūri* says, "Adam belongs to the first cycle which commenced after the world had been devastated by the first flood." The second flood was in the time of Noah and began at Kūfa, in the oven² of Noah's house. It lasted six months, and there were eighty persons in the Ark (*highti*). On this account the place where they disembarked and settled was called the Eighty-Market³ (*Sūqu-ṣ-ṣamānīn*). The third⁴ flood was in the time of Moses and was confined to the Egyptians. Although romancing historians,⁵ in treating of the floods, make the last two also extend over the whole world, it is evident that this was not so, for in India,⁶ where they have books many thousand years old, there is not even a trace of these two floods. To be brief, in a short space of time, all the eighty occupants of the Ark died except seven, viz., Noah, his three sons, Japheth, Shem and Ham, and their wives. Noah assigned Syria, Mesopotamia, 'Irāq and Khurāsān to Shem; the western countries, and Abyssinia, Indian, Scinde and the Sūdān⁷

¹ This passage occurs in the *Tārīkh-i-hukamā* (Maqṣūd 'Alī).

² This is the Muḥammadan tradition. (Ṭabarī, Zotenberg, I, 108 and Korā. Sale, Cap. XI). "And the oven poured forth water, or, as the original literally signifies, "boiled over, which is consonant to what the Rabbins say, that the "water was boiling hot." (*Rauḡat-ṣ-ṣafā*, Rehatsek I, 90).

³ Ar. *Sūqu-ṣ-ṣamānīn*. It was at the foot of the mountain Al Jūdi, i.e., Mount Ararat. (D'Herbelot art. *Thamanin*). D'H. states that it is called also Jazīra Banī 'Umar (in Mesopotamia). Mas'ūdī says (Meynard, 74) that Al-Jūdi is in the country of Baṣra and in Jazīra ibn 'Umar, that the eighty persons were 40 men and 40 women and that Ṣamānīn existed in his day, 332 H.

⁴ Referring apparently to the hailstorm—the seventh plague of

Egypt, or perhaps to the overflowing of the Red Sea.

⁵ *Shahrazūri* describes Noah's Deluge as universal (176).

⁶ It is curious that A.F. should assert there was no trace of Noah's Flood in the Indian annals for Satya-vrata and his Flood have often been identified with Noah and the Deluge. Probably A.F. identified Satya-vrata's Flood with that which occurred before the birth of Adam, for Satya-vrata belongs to the beginning of the *Satya Yuga* and apparently A. F. assigned Noah's Flood to the commencement of the *Kali Yuga* and the beginning of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira, for he gives 4696 years as the interval between these events and the 40th Akbar. (Jarrett II-15 and 22).

⁷ Or, "country of the blacks." (Jarrett III, 108 and 109. Apparently A. F. includes the Arabs among the descendants of Ham.



to Ham; and China, Slavonia¹ and Turkistān to Japheth. And in the opinion of historians, the aboriginal inhabitants of those countries at the present day, are descended from these three, and the lineage of mankind from the days of the Flood is derived from them. Noah died when he was either 1600 or 1300 years old. There are other stories too about his age, such as that he lived for 250 or 350 years after the Flood and that he was born either 126 years after Adam's death or in Adam's last days, and that he sat upon the throne of
58 guidance, (i.e., became a prophet) when he was 50, or 150, or 250, or 350 years old, and that he was a guide to mortals for 950 years.

Ham² had nine sons, viz., Hind, Sind, Zanj (Zanzibar), Nūba, Canaan, Kush, Qabt (copt),³ Berber, Habs⁴ (Abyssinia), and some have written that Ham had six sons. They omit Sind and Canaan and make Nūba the son of Habs.

Shem also had nine sons, viz., (1) Arfakhshad,⁴ (2) Kayūmars who is the progenitor of the kings of Persia, (3) Asūd⁶ who founded Madā'in⁶ (the twin-cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon), etc., Ahwāz⁷ and Pahlū (? Peleg) are his sons and Fārs is the son of Pahlū, (4) Ighān⁸ the father of Shām (Syria) and Rūm (Asia Minor), (5) Būraj,⁹ of whom historians tell nothing except the name, (6) Lāūz (? Lud) from whom the Pharaohs of Egypt are descended, (7) Etam who built the cities of Khuzistān; Khurāsān and Tambāl¹⁰ are his sons,

1 **صقلاب** *Ṣaqlāb*,—the original Slavonia, between the Oxus and the Dnieper, (Jarrett III, 104.) In the *Ā'in* (Text) *Ṣaqlāb* is described as a city of Rūm which must be a mistake for Rūs. It seems that *Ṣaqlāb* and Chalybes are the same word.

2 Jarrett III, 327. There A.F. apparently repudiates the idea that the Hindus are descended from Ham.

3 Corresponds to Mizraim of the Bible.

4 Arpachshad of Genesis 10, 22.

5 Ashur.

6 *Ā'in*, Madā'in of Chosroes. (Jarrett III, 65 and 96. Also III, 326.)

7 Ahwāz, a town in Khūzistān (Persia) on the Karun, (Jarrett III, 65) famous for its weir. (Réclus IX, 287 and Curzon Pro. G. S. 1890.)

8 Var. Ifan and Iqin and (*Habibu-s-siyar*) Iqan. Probably the last is correct for the name seems connected with Iconium (Koniah) and to be that of the eponymous hero of the city.

9 So too *Habibu-s-siyar* but it calls him Nūraj.

10 Tubal. Miles calls him Hakyal. Perhaps the same as Tūmbol. (Jarrett II, 245 and 250.) Tambol appears as a person's name in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* and Bābar's Me-



and 'Irāq is the son of *Khurāsān*, and *Kirmān* (Carmania) and *Makrān*¹ are sons of *Tambāl*, (8) *Aram* from whom the tribe of 'Ad is descended, (9) *Būzar* whose sons are *Āzarbaijān*, *Arān*, *Arman* and *Farghān*.

Some say that *Shem* too had only six sons and omit *Kayūmars*, *Būraj* and *Lāūz*. In short, there is much discrepancy about the descendants of those two (*Shem* and *Ham*).

JAPHETH. (YĀFIS.)

Japheth was the most just of Noah's sons. The lofty line of his Majesty, the king of kings, is linked with him, and the *Khāns* of the eastern cities and of *Türkistān* all derive from him. He is called the Father of Turk (*Abū-l-turk*), and some historians call him *Alūnja Khān*. When Japheth left *Sūqu-s-ṣamānīn* with his wife and family, to go to the eastern and northern countries which had been assigned to him, he begged his father to teach him a prayer by which he might have rain whenever he wanted it. Noah gave him a stone which had the property of bringing rain, and indicated that he had pronounced over it the Ineffable Name² (*lit.* Great Name) with the design that the foolish should not comprehend the matter and transgress his precepts, or perhaps he really recited the Ineffable Name over it. And at present there are many of these stones among the Turks which they call *yedatāsh*. The Persians call them *sang-i-yada*³ and the Arabs *hajaru-l-maṭar*, (rain-stone). And Japheth, on

moirs. *Tembal-ghāna* was also a name for *Farghāna*, *Bābar*, 196.

¹ D'Herbelot art. *Macran*. *Mekrān* here appears to be the well-known maritime province of *Baluchistan*.

² The passage is obscure and perhaps there is an error in the Text. *Maulavī 'Abdu-l-ḥaqq 'Abīd*, to whom I referred the passage, writes: "The meaning is not clear. There may be some misprint in the Text. As the passage stands, it may be translated, 'I have uttered over it the Great Name, in order that the simple, not getting clue to it, may not depart

from his (your) command (or counsel), or he actually uttered the Great Name over it." The usual account is that Noah engraved the Great Name on the stone, and possibly we should read *کند* "engraved," for *خواند* "uttered," in the last clause. A friend has referred me to the passage in *Revelation*³ II, 17, "I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth saving he that receiveth it."

³ *Bābar*, *Erskine* xlii. *Rashīdu-d-dīn*, *Quatremère's* elaborate note, 428, and *Vullers* II, 3.



going to these regions, became a dweller in deserts, and whenever he wished, the cloud of God's bounty, came down in rain through the virtue of that stone. In course of time, children were born to Japheth and he established excellent laws among them, which were at once comforting to the short-thoughted and joy-increasing to lofty minds. He left eleven sons, *viz.*, 1, Turk, 2, Cin, 3, Şaqlāb, 4, Mansaj,¹ also called Mansak, 5, Kamārī,² also called Kaimāl, 59 6, Khalaj, 7, Khazan, 8, Rūs, 9, Sadsān, 10, Ghaz,³ 11. Yāraj. Some books mention only eight sons, omitting Khalaj, Sadsān and Ghaz.

TURK.

Turk was the eldest son of Japheth, and the Turks call him Yāfiş Ōghlān.⁴ He excelled all his brothers in wisdom, management and care for his subjects. On his father's death, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty and dispensed gentleness, manliness and relief of the oppressed. He settled in a place which the Turks call Sīl-ūk⁵ or Salikāi and which had hot and cold springs and delightful meadows. He made dwellings of grass and wood and constructed tents, and made clothes by sewing together the skins (and furs) of beasts of burden and of prey. Salt⁷ was discovered in his time. One of his laws was that the son should inherit naught but a sword and that whatever was wanted should go to the daughter. They say he was contemporary with Kayūmars, and that as the latter was the first king of Persia, so Turk was the first sultan of Turkistān. He lived to the age of 240.

¹ The reputed father of Gog and Magog and, apparently, the Scriptural Misheh.

² Gomer of Genesis. Probably the Text *k* is the *Mt* g.

³ Guz in Vullers II, 609a. Gozz in Mas'ūdī I, 212. The supposed ancestor of the Turkomāns.

⁴ D'Herbelot calls him Taraga and the ninth son, Isan.

⁵ A note to Text states that Ōghlān on in Turkish.

⁶ ? Issigh-kul. Text, Sīl-ūk. Perhaps the river Selenga, but the description better applies to the lake of Issik-kul (Hot Water) which is said to be ten times the size of Lake Geneva. Réclus VI, 350. It lies N. of Yarkand. Its waters do not freeze. The *Shajarat-ul-atrak* calls it Jaelgan. (Miles 25).

⁷ The discovery is said to have been made accidentally by his son Tūnag or Tūtak.

ALINJA KHÂN.¹

Alinja Khân was the best of Turk's sons. When the measure of Turk's years was fulfilled, Alinja Khân was placed on the throne by the will of the chiefs. He made far-sighted wisdom his rule, and spent his days in the administration of justice. When he became old, he went into retirement (i.e., became a hermit).

DİB BÂQŪİ.²

Dib Bâqūi became king on his father's retirement and in accordance with his appointment.

KIYŪK KHÂN.

Kiyūk was the worthy son of Dib Bâqūi. When the father bade adieu to the world, he made over the throne of the Khānate to Kiyūk who, knowing the duties of sovereignty, acted up to them.

ALINJA KHÂN.

Alinja Khân was the son of Kiyūk and became heir-apparent in the end of his father's days. He was extravagant in his liberalities, and in his reign the Turks became intoxicated³ by the world and strayed from the path of wisdom. After a long time, twin-sons were born to him. One was named Mughul and the other Tātār. When they came to years of discretion, he divided his kingdom into two portions and gave one half to Mughul and one half to Tātār. When their illustrious father died, each of the two sons reigned in his own territory, in harmony with one other. 60

As this lofty line (Akbar's) has no connection with Tātār and his eightfold⁴ branches (i.e., generations) I pass them over and proceed to relate the history of Mughul and his noble descendants.

MUGHUL KHÂN.

Mughul Khân was a wise prince. He so conducted himself that the hearts of his subjects were attached and obedient to him and

¹ *Shajratu-l-atrāk*, Abluchi Khân.

² D'Herbélot, "Great Dignity."

³ This refers to their becoming idolaters. (*Khāfi Khān* I, 3).

⁴ I.e., eight in all, Tātār being one.

(*Shajratu-l-atrāk*, Miles 29). According to D'Herbélot (*Art. Tatar*) Alinja Khân, the father, is required to make up the eight.



all tried to serve him properly. The generations of the Mughuls are nine in number, beginning with Mughal Khān and ending with Īl Khān. The Mughuls have taken the usage of *Tuqūz*² (nine) from this, and they consider this number most excellent in all matters. The Creator bestowed on Mughul Khān four sons, Qarā Khān, Āzar Khān, Kar Khān and Ūz Khān.

QARĀ KHĀN.³

Qarā Khān was both the eldest son and preëminent in justice and the art of government. He sate upon the throne in succession to his illustrious father and made his summer (*ailāq*) and winter (*qishlāq*) quarters in Qarāqūm⁴ near two mountains called Irtāq⁵ and Kirtāq.

¹ Vullers 481b. The generations are said to end with Īl Khān because, in his time, the Mughul race was all but extirpated. If the statement of the Turks, mentioned below, that this catastrophe occurred 1000 years after Aghūz's death, be correct, it is evident that far more than nine generations must have intervened between Mughul and Īl Khān.

² Steingass s.v. "Nine, hence present, gift, such being offered to kings, etc., by nines, as a sacred number."

³ *I.e.*, the Black Prince. A.F. omits to mention that he was put to death by his own son, Aghūz. (Khāfi Khān I, 5.)

⁴ *I.e.*, black sand or dust. The Text wrongly has قاراقوم *Qarāqarom*. The *Āin* mentions the place as belonging to the Sixth Climate. (Jarrett III, 102). The *Āin* (Text II, 46), describes it as a mountain in Turkistān (not Kohistān as Jarrett has it) and the editor says (*i.e.n.*) that many MSS. read قاراقوم *Qarāqūm*. This is the correct reading. (Vul-

lers s.v. II, 717b, and D'Herbélot art: Caracum.) In Gladwin's *Āin* the lat. and long. of Qarāqūm and of Khānbāligh which immediately follows, are given; the long. for Qarāqūm being 115° and for Khānbāligh 124°.

N.B. Khānbāligh is described in Text as the capital of Cathay, not of China.

⁵ Erdmann, اورتاق و گزتاق *Urtāq and Gaztāq*. D'Herbélot calls them Artak and Ghertak, and says they are part of Mount Imaus (Paradise Lost III, 431), and that the city of Caracum lies between them, Artak being N. and Ghertak S. He gives the long. as 116° which agrees very well with Gladwin. Of course both longs. are calculated from the Fortunate Isles. Greenwich long. is between 72° and 80°. The lat. of the Karakoram Pass (Imperial Gazetteer, Hunter), is 35° 33' or about 11° less than that given in the *Āin*. (46 N.). This would imply that Qarāqūm and Qarāqarom are totally different names and places,



Aghūz Khān was the worthy son of Qarā Khān, and was born of his chief wife during the time of his rule. Romancing story-tellers relate things about his naming himself and about his progress in the path of piety, which a just-judging intellect is not disposed to credit. He was admittedly an enlightened, pious and just ruler and framed excellent institutions² and laws whereby the varied world was composed and the contrarieties of the Age conciliated. Among Turki kings, he was like Jamshīd among the kings of Persia. By his ripe wisdom, lofty genius, felicity and native courage, he brought under his sway the countries of Īrān (Persia) Tūrān,³ Rūm⁴ (Asia Minor), Egypt, Syria, Europe (Afranj),⁵ and other lands. Many nations came within the shadow of his benevolence, and he established titles among the Turks suitable to their ranks and which

but on the other hand, D'Herbélot gives the lat. of Caracum as 36° 36'. There is an account of the city of Karacum (Caracorum) in Gibbon who (Cap. 64) makes it about 600 m. N.W. Pekin. It was also called Holin.

¹ Text, Aghūr. For account of him see *Khāfī Khān* I, 4 and 5, D'Herbélot s.v. Ogouz *Khān*, *Shaj-ratu-l-atrāk* (Miles) 30. The story is that Aghūz refused immediately after birth to take the breast, and that his mother had a dream in which he told her that he would not permit her to suckle him until she became a believer in Islām. Accordingly she secretly embraced that faith. Also, when he was a twelve-month old, he told the conclave assembled to decide upon his name, that it was Aghuz (*Khāfī Khān* l.c.). These things occurred long before the birth of Muḥammad, but the latter was only the Seal (last) of the Pro-

phets, and the religion of Islām is considered to have existed from all time. Hence the Mu. formula of "Peace be upon him" is applied to Adam and others of the patriarchs.

² لای *yāsā*. Text, *dāyistakāi* which is an error. The best known *yāsā* are those of Cingiz Khān. (Miles l. c. 90 and Gibbon and D'Herbélot art. Jassa).

³ Turkistān or Transoxiana. It is said to have been named after Tūr, the son of Farīdūn (D'H. art. Mogal), but if so, A.F.'s use of it here is an anachronism, for he describes Tūr as nearly exterminating the Mughuls about a thousand years after Aghūz Khān's death.

⁴ This may mean the whole Greek Empire or only Asia Minor (Roumelia).

⁵ Afranj is properly the name of a people, viz., the Franks. *Ranzatu-s-safā*, V, gives a similar list.

are on men's tongues to the present day, such as Aighūr,¹ Qanighī, Qibcāq, (Kipcāk), Qārliḡ, Khalaj, etc. He had six sons, viz., Kūn (sun), Āi (moon), Yūlduz (star), Kōk (or Gōk) (sky), Tāgh (mountain), and Tangiz (sea). The three elders were called Buzmaq² and the 61 three others *Ujūk*. His sons and sons' sons became 24 branches, and all the Turks are descended from these magnates. The term Turkomān did not exist in old times, but when their posterity came to Persia (Īrān) and propagated there, their features came to resemble the Tājiks. But as they were not Tājiks, the latter called them Turkomāns, i.e., Turk-like. But some say that the Turkomāns are a distinct tribe and not related to the Turks. It is said that after Aghūz Khān had conquered the world, he returned to his own settlement (*yūrat*), and seating himself on the throne of dominion, held a Khusrū-like feast and conferred royal gifts on each of his fortunate sons, faithful officers and other servants, and promulgated lofty ordinances and excellent canons as guides for the perpetuation of prosperity. He laid it down that the right wing, which Turkomāns call *Burānḡhār*, and the succession should appertain to the eldest son and his descendants, and the left wing, i.e., the *Jarānḡhār* and the executive (*wakālat*) to the younger sons. And he decreed that this law should always be observed, generation after generation;—hence at the present day, one half of the twenty-four branches is associated with the right wing and one half with the left. He ruled for 72 or 73 years and then bade adieu to the world.

KUN KHĀN.

Kun Khān took his father's place, in accordance with his testament and acted in administration and government by his own acute

¹ The meanings of this and following terms are given by Mīr Khwānd and Miles. Erdmann, the authority often quoted by Howorth, writes قارلوق *qārlūk*, and says it means snow-lord. Qipcāk is said to mean a hollow tree.

² Said to mean "Broken" and "Three arrows." The legend of origin is given by Miles. Text,

Bājuq for Ujūq. *Uq* is an arrow, and *ue* means three. The etymologies are also given in Abū-l-ghāzī Des Maisson 24. The name *Buzmaq* or "Broken" was given to the three elder sons because they brought in three pieces of a golden bow. The three younger brought in three golden arrows.



understanding, and the sage counsels of Qabal² Khwāja who had been Vizier to Aghūz Khān. He so arranged about his brothers, his children and his nephews—who were 24 in number, for each of the six brothers had four sons—that each recognized his position and assisted in the management of the State. Having reigned for 70 years, he appointed Āi Khān his successor and departed.

ĀI³ KHĀN.

Āi Khān observed the laws of his illustrious father, adorned justice with amicability, and combined wisdom with good actions.

YULDŪZ KHĀN.

Yuldūz Khān was the eldest⁴ son and successor of Āi Khān. He attained high rank in world-sway and in the dispensing justice.

MANGALĪ KHĀN (MICI^{AEL}).⁵

Mangalī Khān was the beloved son of Yuldūz Khān and sat upon the throne in succession to him. He was⁶ distinguished for devotion to God, and for praising the pious. 62

TANGİZ KHĀN.

Tangiz Khān conducted the affairs of sovereignty after his honoured father's death and wore the crown of dominion in Mughulistan for 110 years.

İL KHĀN.

İL Khān was his noble son. When the father became old and weak, he gave İL Khān the management of affairs, and alleging the number of his years as an excuse, went into solitary retirement.

QIYĀN.⁶

Qiyān was the son of İL Khān and, by the mysterious ordinances of Divine wisdom, he became a resting-place (ma^{irid}) of adversities.

¹ The conjunction *ū* has dropped out of the Text, but occurs in the Lucknow ed. and in No. 564.

² Text, *Iryl*, but admittedly this is against all the MSS.

³ Apparently he is Kun's brother, and the "illustrious father" must be Aghūz.

⁴ According to another account, he was Āi Khān's brother.

⁵ *Mangala* may also mean sun, or the forehead. (Tar. Rash 7n.)

⁶ Though this name is the heading of the Text, the narrative is in part that of İL Khān's reign.



When the God of wisdom desires to bring the jewel of humanity to perfection, He first manifests sundry favours under the cover of disfavours of misfortune, and grants him the robe of existence after having made some great and pure-hearted ones his ransom and sacrifice (*fidā*). There is an instance of this in the story of Īl Khān who, after the turn of sovereignty came to him, was passing his life according to a code which provided for the control of the outer world and the contemplation of the world of reality, and was binding up the hearts of the distressed, until Thā Tūr, the son of Farīdūn, obtained sway over Turkistān, and Transoxiana (*Mā-wārān n-naḥr*) and in conjunction with Sunij Khān, the king of the Tātars and Aighūrs, made a great war upon Īl Khān. The Mughul army, under the excellent dispositions of Īl Khān, made a desperate struggle, and many of the Turks, Tātars and Aighūrs were slain. In the combat, Tūr and the Tātars were unable to resist and fled. They took refuge in stratagems and vulpine tricks and dispersed. After going a little way, they hid in a defile, and then at the end of the night, suddenly made an onslaught on Īl Khān's army. Such a massacre took place that of Īl Khān's men not one escaped except his son Qiyān, his cousin Takūz and their two wives who had hidden themselves among the slain. At night, these four withdrew to the mountains and with many troubles and difficulties, traversed the valleys and ravines, and came to a meadow which had salubrious springs and fruits in abundance. In their helpless state, they regarded this pleasant spot as a godsend and settled in it. The Turks call it Irganaqūn and say that the terrible calamity happened 1000 years after the death of Aghūz Khān.

63 The sage knows that in this wondrous destiny there lay the plan for the production of that all-jewel, his Majesty, the king of kings, so that the status of sacrifice might be attained and also that the ascents of banishment, seclusion, and hardship might, in this strange fashion, be brought together to the end that the unique pearl,

¹ There is perhaps a play on the words *mirād* and *ma'rād*; the first meaning a precious stone possessed of wondrous qualities, the second success.

² Probably *Naqūz* is more correct.

³ The Text does not distinctly say that the women were wives, the word used being *ḥaram*. One account says sisters.



His Majesty, the king of kings,—who is the final cause of the creation of the glorious series (*ṭabaqa*) and also the material for this record of Divine praise,—might become the aggregate of all the stages of existence and be acquainted with the grades of humanity, which might thus arise,—and should achieve spiritual and temporal success, and that in this way there be no defective round (*girdī*) on the periphery of his holiness.

In fine, after Qiyān and his companions had settled in that place, they begat children and grew into tribes. Those who sprang from Qiyān were called Qiyāt and those who descended from Takūz were called Darlgīn. No account is forthcoming of the descendants of Qiyān while they were in Irganaqūn—a period of about 2,000 years. Presumably in that place and age reading and writing were not practised. After the lapse of about 2000 years and in the last period of Nūshīrwān's¹ reign, the Qiyāt and Darlgīn desired to leave the place, as it was not large enough for them. A mountain which was a mine of iron barred their way at the beginning. Able minds devised deer-skin bellows (*gawazn*, perhaps elk) and with these they melted that iron mountain and made a way. Then they rescued their country from the hands of the Tātārs and others, by the sword, and contriving vigour, and became firmly seated on the throne of success and world-rule. From the circumstance that in four² thousand years previous to this event, (*i.e.*, the emigration from Irganaqūn) there

¹ Nūshīrwān, a king of Persia, celebrated for his justice, reigned 531–579 A.D. Muḥammad congratulated himself on having been born (578 A.D.) in his reign.

² I do not understand the principle of this calculation. Yuldūz Khān, under whom the Mughuls emigrated from Irganaqūn, is the 29th ancestor, reckoning from Adam, and the total of 28 must be made up of 25 who lived previous to the flight to Irganaqūn plus three, *viz.*, Qiyān, Timūr Tāsh and Mangalī, who are the only three denizens of that settlement whose names have been

preserved. The period after the exodus (cir. 579 A.D.) up to the date of A.F.'s writing, was about 1,000 years, and in it there were 25 rulers including Akbar. But how do calculators reckon, upon these data, that the number of ancestors who lived in Irganaqūn for 2,000 years, was 25? One would rather expect the figure 50. But perhaps the calculation is based on lives twice as long as later ones. (Gibbon Cap. 42n.) Apparently it is roughly based on a progressive diminution of the period of human life. A.F. reckons that 7,000 years more or less,



were twenty-eight lofty ancestors and twenty-five in the millenium after it, sagacious calculators conjecture that during these two thousand years (spent in Irganaqūn) there were twenty-five ancestors.

Be¹ it remembered that Mughulistān is to the eastward and far from civilization. Its circuit is seven or eight months' journey. On the east, its boundary extends to Cathay (Khūṭā) and on the west, to the country of the Aighūrs; on the north, it touches Qargaz and Salikā (? Kirghiz and Selenga) and on the south, it adjoins Tibet. The food of its people is the produce of hunting and fishing and their clothing the skins and fur of wild and tame animals.

TIMŪR TĀSH.

Timūr Tāsh is of the auspicious stock of Qiyān. He was exalted by sovereignty and command.

elapsed from the birth of Adam to 40th Akbar (1596). From Adam to the death of ʾĪ Khān, 4,000 years are counted, and in this period, were 25 generations. (A.F. speaks of 28, but this is inclusive of ʾĪ Khān's son, Qiyān and Timūr Tāsh and Mangālī Khwāja, viz., the grandfather and father of the Yuldūz who came out from Irganaqūn). In the thousand years between the emigration and 40th Akbar, there were also 25 generations, and so, apparently, it was calculated that for the intervening 2,000 years (required to make up the 7,000) there must have been 25 generations. In other words, there were 4,000 years in which the length of a generation was 160 years, 2,000 in which it was 80 and 1,000 in which it was 40. I do not, however, know what authority A.F. had for his 2,000 years. "The tradition of the Mughuls," says Gibbon (Cap. 42n.) "of the 450 years which they passed in the mountains, agrees with the

"Chinese periods of the History of the Huns and Turks. "(De Guignes "Tom. I, Par. II, 376), and of the 20 "generations from their restoration to Gingis." (Cingīz Khān). Howorth (I, 35) puts the period at 400 years. Rashīdu-d-dīn mentions a period of 2,000 years, but this is the interval from the destruction of ʾĪ Khān and the Mughuls by the Tātārs up to the date of Rashīdu-d-dīn's writing, consequently the former event occurred about 700 B.C. D'Ohsson says (I, Cap. II, 21) that according to Mughul traditions, their defeat by the Tātārs occurred 2,000 years before the birth of Cingīz Khān. (Jan. 1155 A.D.) D'Herbélot (art. Genghiz Khān) says that the Mughuls remained in Irganaqūn for several generations, and that the period was over 1,000 years. None of these statements supports A.F.'s chronology. Possibly he wrote one and not two thousand.

¹ This description is taken from *Zafarnāma, Prolegomena*.

MANGALĪ KHWĀJA.

Mangalī Khwāja is the worthy son of Timūr Tāsh. He exalted the crown of dominion and auspiciousness and possessed the d^o of power and justice.

YULDŪZ KHĀN.

Yuldūz Khān was the high-thoughted successor of Mangalī Khwāja who at the coming out of the Qiyāt and Darlgīn was the 64 chief and leader. From the time of Qiyān, his (Qiyān's) descendants had reigned generation after generation in Irganaqūn. Yuldūz Khān, by the help of the fortunate star of his dominion, gradually emerged from the horizon and civilized the tribes of the Mughuls. He was powerful and magnanimous and among the Mughul families, he is counted of good blood and fashion who can trace his origin up to Yuldūz Khān.

JŪĪNA¹ BAHĀDUR.

Jūina Bahādur was the worthy son of Yuldūz Khān and when the cup of his father's years was full, sate on the throne of world-government.

¹ Also spelled Jūbīna and Cūbīna. For further information regarding the Muḥammadan accounts of the descendants of Japheth, I beg to

refer the reader to the full and interesting note of Major Raverty which begins at p. 869 of his translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-nāṣiri*.



CHAPTER XV.

HER MAJESTY ĀLANQUWĀ, THE CUFOLA OF CHASTITY AND VEIL
OF PURITY.

Whatever, God, the wondrous Creator, brings forth from the hidden places of secrecy to the light of manifestation, is attended by extraordinary circumstances. But the sons of men fail to perceive these, from the heedlessness which has its props and foundation in fulness of life and the wrappage of worldliness. Were it not so, man would be ever standing at gaze and not applying himself to action. Hence the world-adorning Initiator hides most of the wonders of His power from the sight of mortals, but lest they should be entirely shut out from the extraordinary spectacle of the Divine decrees, He raises this veil from before a few of the holy hiding places of His secrets. And again, after much seeing, a heedlessness which fate has made a constituent of their natures, causes this very sight to become a screen against perception. And again¹ after that, the universal benevolence of the Deity, for a thousand diverse purposes—one being the instruction of the minds of negligent mortals,—brings forth a new creation, and raising the veils and curtains somewhat, displays a wondrous picture.

The extraordinary story of her Majesty is a case in point. She was the happy-starred daughter (*dukhtar-i-qudsī-akhtar*) of Jūna Bahādur of the Qiyāt tribe and Barlās² family. Her physical and

¹ The passage is obscure, but I think the sense is that men get accustomed to the wonderful and so their very seeing becomes blindness. The B.M. No. 5610 (Halhed's) omits the *az* after *bisṣār*, thus making *ghaflatī* (heedlessness), the nominative. I have adopted this reading as I think it makes the better sense.

² *Khāfi Khān* Bib. Ind. I, 7n. According to one copy of the *Zafarnāma—Prolegomena*, Jūbīna was a woman and a daughter of Yuldūz *Khān*.

³ Erdmann says she belonged to the tribe of Qūrulas قوراس. See also *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Ney Elias and Ross 51, where the author states that she

her spiritual beauty went on increasing from her earliest years, until by loftiness of thought and sublimity of genius, she became the Unique of the Age, and by acknowledgment of friends and foes, relatives and strangers, was magnanimous, pious, and a lover of wisdom. The lights of theosophy shone from her countenance, the Divine secrets were manifested on her forehead. She sat secluded behind the screen of chastity and abode in the privy chamber of meditation on the Unity, was a theatre of holy epiphanies and an alighting-stage of Divine emanations. When she arrived at maturity, she was, according to the custom of princes and the practice of great ones of Church and State, given in marriage to Zūbūn Biyān, king of Mughulistān and her own cousin and (thus) they joined that unique pearl of purity with a temporal ruler. As he was not her match, he hastened to annihilation and her Majesty Ālanquwā who was the repose (āsāyish) of the spiritual world, became likewise the ornament (ārāyish) of the temporal world and, applying herself of necessity to outward acts, she became the sovereign of her tribe (alūs).

65

One night this divinely radiant one was reposing on her bed, when suddenly a glorious¹ light cast a ray into the tent and entered the mouth and throat of that fount of spiritual knowledge and glory. The cupola of chastity became pregnant by that light in the same way as did her Majesty (Hazrat) Miryam² (Mary) the daughter of 'Imrān (Amram).

Praised be the God who maintained holy human souls from Adam down to this child of light, in prosperity and adversity, abundance and want, victory and defeat, pleasure and pain, and other contrasted conditions, one after another, and made them partakers of emanations of the holy light. Before this holy light made its fortunate alighting from high heaven, Qiyān was withdrawn from the associations of climates and cities and supported in a solitary wilderness, and many ancestors were given to her (Ālanquwā), generation after

was a Kurkluk (?). In B.M. No. 7628 of Rashīdu-d-dīn's great work, 456b, the name of the tribe is written قورلاس Qūrālas. Barlās then must be a copyist's error.

¹ Cf. Khūfī Khān I. 8. He says the light was like the sun's disk, and

that it entered Ālanquwā's mouth which was open (from astonishment apparently, at the spectacle).

² The Virgin Mary whom Muḥammad calls the daughter of 'Amrān, apparently because he confounded her with the sister of Moses.

generation, for two thousand years in these Highlands (*kōhistan*), thereby purifying her and familiarizing her with the land of holiness and converting the human element into a collection of all degrees, Divine and earthly. When the spiritual preparation was complete, Yuldūz Khān was brought—for the ends of Divine wisdom—from the mountains to the city, and seated on a throne, till the turn of the holy series reached her Majesty Ālanquwā and that divine light, after passing without human instrumentality, through many eminent saints and sovereigns, displayed itself gloriously in the external world. That day¹ (*viz.*, of Ālanquwā's conception) was the beginning of the manifestation of his Majesty, the king of kings, who after passing through divers stages was revealed to the world from the holy womb of her Majesty Miryam-makānī for the accomplishment of things visible and invisible.

It needs a Plato of abstract thought to comprehend the saying "The Lord² of Time (*zamān*) remains behind the veil whilst Time's products (*zamāniyān*), *i.e.*, mortals, rend it with outward sorrow and inward anguish."

¹ I should have been inclined to read *nūr*, light here, instead of *rōz*, day, but all the MSS. seem to have *rōz*.

² I do not fully understand this passage. It seems to be a quotation, a sort of Sybilline utterance, and is naturally dark, since we are told that it needs the utmost meditation of a Plato to understand it. The Lucknow editor says the meaning is that a master of wisdom should study with might and main how the veil may be rent for suffering humanity, but I do not see that this sense can be got out of the words. The translation which I have given is the result of a good deal of reflection and of a consultation with my friend Mr. Beames. Mr. Beames has given me the following note "Though the construction

"of the sentence is somewhat harsh "and irregular, yet the general meaning of the passage seems clear from "the context." "A.F. starts (Lucknow ed. 52 1, 2) by the amazing "assertion that the beginning of "the manifestation of Akbar, dated "from the day of Ālanquwā's "miraculous conception by the Sun "and continued through many generations till he ultimately saw the "light from the womb of Miryam-makānī."

"Then it evidently occurs to him "that this is rather a hard saying "and that some one might object. "How could Akbar be conceived in "the womb of Ālanquwā, seeing "that she lived so many centuries "before him?" To this he replies "that only a sage who devotes himself to profound thought and medi-

**NOTE**

on page 180, line 4, from bottom of text.

The Society's MS. No. D. 29, in Maulavī Ashraf 'Alī's Catalogue, omits the *wāw* between *zamān wa-zamānīyān* of the printed editions, and this appears to me preferable. The passage accordingly runs thus :—

خدایو زمان در پرده آرای زمانیان با درد چشم و زحیر باطن پرده در است
the translation would be : "The Lord of Time, for the advancement of timely beings, is in the habit of rending the curtain (i.e., he is born again and again) with pain of the eyes and dolour of the heart."

The Lord of Time is Akbar, or rather the Divine Light conceived by Alanquwā, which had to go through a successive course of births, before it appeared in its final perfection in the person of His Majesty, King Akbar. This was done by him for the benefit of men, for the purpose of improving their condition (*parda-ārāi*). To the act of child-bearing the word *zakhir lit.* "pains" directly refers. The pun hardly can be translated. It lies in the fact that Akbar "rends the curtain for the purpose of mending it," both expressions being used in a metaphorical sense.

T. BLOCH,
Hon. Philol. Sec., A. S. B.



But now returning to the beginning of the story, I repeat that the holy abode of that cupola of chastity was continually at auspicious times and seasons, made resplendent by the brilliance of that

"tation can understand this mystical saying, viz., that while ordinary mortals rend the veil (*parda-dar*), i.e., are born, in due course, Akbar was miraculously held back from being born, he remained behind the veil or, in courtier-like phrase, 'adorning the veil (*parda-ārāi*)—for many ages till his full time arrived. The passage may therefore be translated as follows :—

"It requires a Plato of deep meditation to accept this statement with the ear of his understanding, that the Prince of the Age is in the condition of adorning the veil, while (ordinary) mortals rend the veil with visible pain and inward 'groaning'."

"The grammatical awkwardness lies in A.F.'s putting *ast* after *parda-dar* instead of *and* (they are) which would agree better with the plural subject *zamāniyān*; and in leaving out *ast* after *ārāi*. But this kind of construction is not unusual. The substitution of the uncouth phrase *dar parda-ārāi* 'in veil adorning-ness' for the simpler *'parda-ārā*, 'veil adorning' is perhaps due to a desire to play upon the two meanings of *dar* (1), in and (2) tearing; contrasting the lot of Akbar who remained for some generations miraculously reserved behind the veil, i.e., in the womb of successive females, with the lot of ordinary mortals who when they are conceived and developed, rend the veil, i.e., are born;

"a contrast which, as he justly observes, it takes a Plato, at least, 'to grasp.'"

I have adopted Mr. Beames' note with some modifications. My idea is that A.F. means to say it is so extraordinary that the Lord of Time or Prince of the Age should remain behind the veil (i.e., continue unborn), while wretched mortals come into existence to their own loss as well as to the detriment of the epoch, that only a Plato can comprehend the mystery or final cause thereof. Perhaps A.F.'s thought is illustrated by the words of St. Paul, "For we know the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." See also Cap. XI where A.F. speaks of *Khāqānī*, a poet of a former age, vainly longing for the appearance of a *Sāhib-i-waqt*, a Lord of the Age or Time.

I think too that he, as usual, has a double meaning, and that he plays upon the double sense of *parda-dar* which means both to rend a veil and to be dissolute, thus corresponding to the double meaning of the Lat. *profanus*. I have consulted a number of MSS. for variants but without success. Several e.g., I. 564 and Add. B.M. No. 494 have *parda-dōst*, veil-loving (? loving blindness). But this seems no improvement. *Parda-dar* is probably right as explaining A.F. to take advantage of the two words *dar* fr. *durīdan*, to tear and *dar*, with, and to contrast *dar parda-ārāi* with *parda-dar*.

light and from time to time, her moral and material nature brightened by its effulgence. Those who by a soaring flight on the wings of genius, have passed beyond the worship of materiality and can behold the Cause, do not think occurrences like this strange or wonderful in the wide domain of Divine power, and the incredulity of worshippers of routine and superficiality is of no weight in their esteem. As for those who have remained among secondary causes and have not advanced their foot further and cannot, by auspicious guidance, forego superficial computations, they too do not abide by their first principles, (*i.e.*, are not consistent). For instance they admit there was a child without father or mother, *viz.*, the first man or Adam, and they accept a child without a mother, whom they call Eve. Why then not admit a child without a father? Especially when they are fully assured of such an occurrence in the case of Jesus and Mary.

Verse.

If you listen to the tale of Mary,
Believe the same of Ālanquwā.

66 But the world-fashioning Creator who from their inception brings all his works to their final accomplishment, effects His purposes by means of the contradictions and oppositions of His beautiful and His terrible Attributes (*asmā, lit. names*). Accordingly there is a section of mankind of lofty intelligence, right judgment, exalted thought, sublime power and correct thinking, whom He hath placed apart and whose condition He advances day by day. So also there is a multitude of human shapes, purblind, feeble of apprehension, hooked in thought and of evil imaginations, void of usefulness, whom He hath marked out and whom He keeps in a state of perurbation. And although the cup of His designs may be filled in either of these ways, yet there are many contrivances involved in the combination. Accordingly darkness is united with light, bad fortune with good, adversity with prosperity and the wicked and black-hearted are always putting forward stones of stumbling. But soon they are disgraced spiritually and temporarily and depart to the street of annihilation.

This brilliant event is an illustration of the above, for when such a wondrous thing occurred, evil thoughts arose in the hearts of the



short-sighted dullards and worshippers of externals who had no share in real merit and were alien from the grace of Divine knowledge. That enthroned vestal (Ālanquwā), out of her perfect benevolence, did not desire that these blind wretches should remain caught in the slough of this thought and so apprized her nobles of the matter. She intimated that "if any dullard or simpleton, unaware of the wondrous power of God and the forms of Divine decrees, fall into the misfortune of evil thoughts and sully his mind's mirror with the rust of wicked imagination, he will for ever and ever abide in distress and loss. It is better then that I clear the courts of their intellect of such confusion. For this purpose, it is necessary that awakened-hearted truth-knowers and trusty persons of sincerity watch by night around the tent, so that the darkness of suspicion and doubt caused by the blackness of their hearts may by the light of Divine events and the beholding of hidden radiances, be changed into illumination and that evil thoughts may pass from their turbid minds."

Accordingly several wakeful and prudent, keen-sighted watchers were placed around the tent and like night-burning stars, they closed not their eyes. Suddenly in the middle of the night,—which is the time for the descent of Divine mercies,—a shining light, like bright moonlight,—just as the lady, the curtain of chastity, had said,—came down from on high and entered the tent. A cry was raised by the watchers. For a little while, people were stunned and then their vain thoughts and evil imaginations were exorcised.

When the period of pregnancy was fulfilled, Ālanquwā bore three noble sons. The first was Būqūn Qanqī from whom the Qanqūn tribe is descended; the second was Yūsuqī Sālji from whom the Sāljiūts are sprung. The third was Būzanjar Qāān. The descendants of these nobly-born ones are called Nairūn, *i.e.*, light-produced and are considered to be the noblest class among the Mughals. 67

BŪZANJAR QĀĀN.

Būzanjar Qāān is the ninth ancestor of Cingīz Khān and Qarācār Nūyān, the fourteenth of his Majesty, the Lord of Conjunction, and the twenty-second¹ of his Majesty, the king of kings. When he came to years of discretion, he adorned the sovereignty of Tūrān,

¹ So Text, but apparently it should be twenty-first.



and the chiefs of the Tātār and Turk tribes, etc., who were like traps (*Mulūk-i-ṭawā'if*, i.e., the Arsacidæ) bound the girdle of service on their waists. He composed the distractions of the time by the vigour of his administration, distributed justice and benevolence and, for a prolonged period, soothed and adorned the world by his nobility and wisdom. He was contemporary with Abū Muslim Marwazī.¹ When his existence closed, there remained two sons, Būqā and Tūqabā (? Tūqtā).

BŪQĀ KHĀN.

Būqā Khān was the eldest son of Būzanjar Qān and the eighth ancestor of Čingiz Khān and Qarācār Nūyān. He ascended the throne in accordance with his father's testament and adorned the royal dīvān by justice and equity. He devised new regulations for world-ruling and world-subduing and framed the code of the Khāqāns of the world. He so carried himself towards his subjects that one and all were rendered happy by him.

DŪTAMĪN KHĀN.

Zūtamin² Khān was the upright son of Būqā Khān. When the father perceived his own life passing away, he appointed him his heir and successor. Zūtamin exerted himself in controlling the administration and in increasing the prosperity of the kingdom. He had nine sons, and on his death, their mother Manūlūn who was unique in wisdom and management, went into retirement and devoted herself to their upbringing. One day, the Jalāīrs who belong to the Darīgīn tribe, laid an ambush³ and killed Manūlūn and eight of her sons. Qāidū Khān, the ninth son, had gone off to China (Mācīn) in order to become his cousin's⁴ son-in-law and so escaped. With the

¹ Abū Muslim 'Abdu-r-rahmān, son of Muḥammad and called the missionary of the 'Abbasides, i.e., *Ṣāhib-i-da'wat* or author of the call of the 'Abbasides, (Gibbon cap. 52.) and also called جريان Jaryān. He was a general of the 'Abbasides and the origin of their power but was put to death 136 H. 753 by Khalīf Maṣṣūr. (Mas'ūdī, Meynard. VI, 58, 176, etc.) Merv was one of the four chief cities of Khurāsān and

its inhabitants were called Marwazī. (D'Herbélot art. Merou.)

² The Text follows the MSS. which spell the name in two ways.

³ The *Shajratu-l-atrāk* has a long story as to the cause of these murders.

⁴ The *Shajrat* makes Mācīn his grand-uncle's son, viz., son of Tūqtā or Tūqabā the brother of Būqā who was Qāidū's grandfather.



help of Macin, the Jalāirs were brought to rue their folly and induced to put to death seventy men who had been engaged in the murder of Manūlūn and her children. They also bound their wives and children and sent them to Qāidū Khān who marked their foreheads with the token of servitude. Their descendants remained for a lengthened period in the prison of slavery.

QĀIDŪ KHĀN.

Qāidū Khān after many adventures, sat upon the throne of sovereignty and supervised the world's civilization.¹ He founded 68 cities and had a following of many clans. He warred with the Jalāirs and firmly established his power. When he passed away, he left three sons.

BĀYASANGHAR KHĀN.

Bāyasanghar Khān was the eldest son and the unique of his Age for administrative capacity and for the management of subjects and soldiers. He sat upon the throne agreeably to his father's testament.

TŪMANA KHĀN.

Tūmana was the worthy son of Bāyasanghar Khān. When his father was departing from this world, he made over the kingdom to him. The divān of sovereignty and world-rule gained lustre during his reign. He graced it by his courage and wisdom, and augmented the glory of the Age by his magnanimity and bearing of burdens. By strength of arm and vigour of mind, he increased his hereditary kingdom by adding to it, much of Mongolia (Mughulistān) and Turkistān. There was not his like for might and prestige in all Turkistān. He had two wives by one of whom he had seven sons and by the other twins. One of the twins was named Qabal and was the great-grandfather² of Cingiz Khān and the other was named Qācūlī.

¹ The *Shajrat* says he dug a canal.

² Though he was only the third in ascent from Cingiz Khān, the latter was fourth in succession for Qūbila, the son of Qabal was succeeded by

his brother Bartān Bahādur and he by his son Yasūkā the father of Cingiz. This accounts for Cingiz being the fourth star which emerged from Qabal's bosom. (See *infra*).

QĀCŪLĪ BAHĀDUR.

69

Qācūlī Bahādur is the eighth ancestor of his Majesty the Lord of Conjunction (Timūr). He was a theatre of the lights of dominion and a station of the impressions of auspiciousness. The refulgence of greatness radiated from his countenance and the glory of fortune shone from his brow. One night he beheld in a dream¹ a shining star emerging from Qabal Khān's breast. It rose to the zenith and then was extinguished. This happened thrice. The fourth time, a wondrous bright star arose from his (Qabal's) breast and took the horizons with its light. The rays thereof reached and enkindled other stars, and each of them lighted up a region, so that when the globe of light disappeared, the world still remained illuminated. He awoke from his vision, and loosed the bird of thought that he might interpret the strange augury. Suddenly sleep again² overcame him and he saw seven stars rise in succession from his own breast and disappear. The eighth time, a mighty star appeared and lighted up the whole world. Then some small stars branched off from it so that every corner of the universe was illuminated. When the great star became invisible, these other stars shone forth and the universe remained bright as before. At daybreak, Qācūlī Bahādur reported the occurrence to his honoured father Tūmana Khān. The latter gave the interpretation that from Qabal Khān there would come three princes who should sit on the throne of the Khānāte and be lords of lands. But the fourth time, a king would come after these, who should bring most of the earth under his sway and should have children, each of whom would govern a region. From Qācūlī would come seven dominant descendants, bearing on their brows the dia-

¹ Khāfi Khān (I, 9) makes each brother have a dream but says that the stars seen by Qācūlī were less bright than those beheld by the elder brother Qabal. Apparently he either rejects the application to Timur or holds that he was descended from the elder brother (through Cingīz Khān). D'Herbélot has a full account of the dream. (Art. Toumanah Khān). See also Sharafu-d-dīn's

Zafarnāma, (*Prolegomena*), and Bābar and Humāyūn, Erskine I, 70 and *Shajratu-l-atrāk* (Miles). There is a good deal about the dream and the covenant between the brothers in the so-called Memoirs of Timur.

² There is a play on the word *bāz*, the other meaning being "the hawk" (*bāz*) of his sleep snatched at" the bird of thought.



tem of primacy and the crown of rule. The eighth time a descendant would arise who should exhibit world-wide sovereignty and exercise sway and chiefship over all mankind. From him would come descendants who should each rule a division of the earth.

When Tūmana Khān had made an end of his interpretation, the two brothers, in accordance with his orders, made a mutual league and covenant to the effect that the throne of the Khān should be committed to Qabal Khān and that Qācūli should be Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister. And it was established that the descendants of each should, generation after generation, observe this arrangement. They drew up a solemn compact (*‘ahd-nāma*) to this effect in Uighūr (Turkish) characters and each brother put his seal to it and it was styled the “*Āltamgha* of Tūmana Khān.” The illustrious ancestors of his Majesty, the king of kings,—who is the final cause of the series having been set in motion—were, from Adam to Tūmana Khān, distinguished by absolute sovereignty and by independent sway, and so established the throne of justice. Some members of the glorious company also attained to the spiritual world and so were, both outwardly and inwardly, plenipotent, as hath been set forth in ancient chronicles.

The Divine strategy—in providing for the apparition of the consummation of all degrees, spiritual and temporal, by the intervention of so many rulers of the visible and invisible worlds,—was awaiting the birth-time of his Majesty, the king of kings,—for, as being the quintessence of humanity, his robe must be gorgeously embroidered,—and so was day by day, accomplishing the preparations. Hence in order to completeness and to cause appreciation of the glory of service and the sweets of management, Qācūli Bahādur was arrayed in the disguise of vicegerency (*wakālat*) so that the grades of this status too might come within the purview of this glorious company and a provision of every stage of development accumulated for his Majesty, the king of kings. Thus, notwithstanding the guiding power, dexterity, greatness and high-mindedness of Qācūli Bahādur, Qabal Khān became the heir. Though the external point of age,—which is not regarded by the wise,—was greater, yet in reality, the controlling power of the Divine wisdom was engaged in completing the work (of preparation Akbar). When Tūmana Khān’s star set in the west, Qabal Khān

became established on the throne of rule and Qācūli Bahādur, in accordance with that fidelity to his promise which is the material of eternal bliss, undertook with concord and singleness of aim, the management of the State in conformity with the rules of loving-mindedness and king-making.

70 And when Qabal Khān went from this world of troubled existence to the peaceful home of nothingness, Qūbila¹ Khān who out of six sons was the one worthy of the throne and crown, obtained the sovereignty, and Qācūli Bahādur remained engaged in the same high office of Commander-in-Chief, observed his compact and, by help of wisdom and courage, carried on the affairs of the State. Qūbila Khān with the support of such a grandee, who was possessed both of God-given wisdom and a world-conquering sword, took vengeance for his brother from Āltān Khān (i.e., the Golden Khān) the ruler of Cathay and having made great wars which were masterpieces of men of might, inflicted a heavy defeat on the army of Cathay.

The abstract of this affair is as follows :—The rulers of Cathay always were in dread of this noble race and always kept on friendly terms with it. When Āltān Khān was confirmed on the throne of Cathay, he became much alarmed at hearing of the bravery and ability of Qabal Khān. By means of skilful embassies, he established concord between them to such an extent that he invited Qabal Khān to Cathay. The Khān with the sincerity and honesty which are the characteristics of this family, made over the care of the kingdom to Qācūli Bahādur and went to Cathay. His reception was very friendly and after indulging in pleasure and enjoyment,² he set his face homewards. Some of Āltān Khān's grandees of base and ignoble nature, disturbed his mind with improper words so that he repented having said adieu to Qabal Khān and sent a message to recall him. Qabal Khān saw through the plot and replied that as he had left in an auspicious hour, it would not be proper to return.³ This enraged Āltān Khān who sent troops with orders to bring him back by hook or by crook. Qabal Khān caused the officer in command to alight

¹ Text, Qūila, but a note says that *Zafarnāma* (*Prolegomena*) has Qūila and this appears the correct reading.

² The *Prolegomena* l.c. and the

Shajrat say that Qabal got drunk and insulted Āltān.

³ *Prolegomena* l.c. has *Shagūn na mūdānam* "I do not regard it as of good omen (to return)."



at the house of a friend of his named Sāljuqī who had his dwelling by the way-side, and agreed to turn back. Sāljuqī secretly told him that to return was not advisable and that he had a swift and enduring horse which no one could come up with and that the proper¹ thing for Qabal Khān was to mount this horse and get away as quickly as possible from this dangerous neighbourhood.

Qabal Khān acted on this advice and getting on the horse, proceeded to his own camp (*yurt*). When the Cathay messengers heard this, they pursued him with all rapidity but did not come up with him till he was in his own camp. Qabal Khān seized these wicked people and put them to death. Meanwhile his eldest child Ūqin² Barqāq who was matchless for beauty, was keeping company with the gazelles on the borders of the wilderness when a party of Tātārs surprised him and took him to Āltān Khān. The Khān put this delicate fawn³ to death⁴ in satisfaction for those dog-souled wolves.

When Qūbila Khān who was the second son, came to the throne, he collected an army and marched against Āltān Khān to revenge his brother's⁵ death. A great battle ensued and the Cathaians suffered a sore defeat and were plundered of their property.

When the onset of the army of death fell upon Qūbila Khān, his honoured brother Bartān Bahādur, was established on the throne, agreeably to the counsels of the nobles. He preserved the institutions (*yāsāq*, i. e. *yāsā*) of his father and brother and as in his time, he

71

¹ The meaning apparently is that when Qabal was on his way back with Āltān's officer he got the latter to halt at the house of a friend by the wayside. The *Prolegomena* (l.c.), tells the story somewhat differently, stating that Qabal evaded his pursuers by entering the house of a friend but was inclined to give himself up and return with them, etc.

² The *iqāfat* of the Text after *kalān* is wrong. See D'Herbélot art. Kil Khān and *Prolegomena* l.c.

³ *Qhazāl-i-shīrnizhād*. "a milk-born gazelle." Cf. Dryden's milk-

white hind.

⁴ It is said that Āltān nailed or sewed him to a wooden ass in revenge for the death of his messengers. One account says he was hunting but A.F.'s words seem to imply that he was too young for this, that he was, as it were, a fawn himself and so, sporting with the gazelles. The *Prolegomena* seems to say that the child had strayed into the pen.

⁵ The word *birādar* is loosely used and for the sake of assonance with *bahādur*. Qācūlī was really uncle of Bartān.



had no rival who could contend with him in war, the title Khān was marked in people's mouths by that of Bahādur and they stamped the coin of his courage with this awe-augmenting appellation. At this period, Qācūlī Bahādur who was at once a life-sacrificing brother and a Commander-in-Chief Bahādur, departed to the eternal world.

ĪRADAM-CĪ BARLĀS.

Īradam-cī Barlās was the upright son of Qācūlī Bahādur and was distinguished for his wisdom and military talent. On his father's death, the patent (*tughrā*) of the Commander-in-Chiefship was exalted by the entry of his name and he managed affairs according to the rules which his father had made illustrious. He was the first who bore the title of Barlās, the meaning of which fine word is brave and of noble lineage. The whole Barlās clan traces its origin¹ from him.

When Bartān Bahādur died, Yesugai² Bahādur, the third of his four sons, and father of Cingīz Khān, and who was adorned with the cuirass of wisdom and the helmet of courage, placed the crown of the Khānate on his head and graced the throne of world-sway. At this time Īradam-cī Barlās died, leaving twenty-nine sons.

SŪGHŪ CĪCAN (THE WISE).

Sūghū Cīcan was distinguished among the noble sons of Īradam-cī Barlās for courage, wisdom and administrative ability. He was also the eldest son. He took the place of his honoured father; ostensibly he was Commander-in-Chief, in reality he was sovereign. Yesugai Bahādur, by the world-adorning advice of Sūghū Cīcan marched against the Tātārs and trod under-foot their glory and their grandeur. When he had, by God's help and the might of good

¹ If so, it seems an anachronism to speak of Ālanquwā as belonging to the Barlās family in the way A.F. (according to the MSS.) has done in his account of that lady. And indeed there seems no doubt that Barlās is a clerical error for Qūrūlās which is the word in *Rashīdu-d-dīn*. The Text has *lafz-i-mu'allā* "lofty word," but Quatremère (*Rashīdu-d-dīn* 250n.) thinks that *mu'allā* is a

clerical error for *mughalī* and translates "un homme brave et d'une naissance illustre;" and adds "le mot *barlās* dans la langue des Mongoles désignait un homme brave et d'une naissance illustre."

² Text, Bīsūkā, but a note states that many MSS. have Yasūkā. It is Yasūkā in the *Prolegomena* i.e., Yesugai or Jesugai seems to be the correct form.



fortune, overcome the Tatars, he set out for Dilün¹ Buldaq. When he arrived there, his chief wife (*Khātūn*) Üläñ Anaga² whom he had left pregnant, gave birth to a noble son on 20th *zi-l-qa'da* 549³ (26th Jan., 1155), in the cycle-year of the Hog (*Tankūz*). Yesugai Bahādur called him Temücin.⁴ Süghū Cican, who possessed lofty intelligence and exalted understanding, told Yesugai Bahādur that by the secrets of calculation and the favourable aspects of the heavens, it was clear that this was the very star which had emerged the fourth time from Qabal Khān's breast.

CINGİZ KHĀN.

Though in the noble line of his Majesty, the king of kings, which in this book of Divine praise is the starting-point⁵ of utterance, it is unnecessary to mention Temücin who is a branch of the holy tree, yet as he was a ray of the divine light of Ālanquwā, a brief account of him is indispensable. The horoscope of Temücin was in Libra and the seven planets⁷ were in it. The Dragon's

¹ Text, *Dilün Yuldaq*. Howorth (I, 47) says the place is called Deligun Buldagha, near the Onon by Ssanang Ssetzen and that it is still known by the same name, *viz.*, Delün Boldaq. It is in northern Mongolia, near the Russian frontier and on the right bank of the Onon. D'Herbélot art. Genghiz Khān calls it Diloun Joloun.

² Called by Hammer Üläñ Ike and by Erdmann Ulun Egeh. Apparently the Turkish pronunciation of *anaga* is *enegeh*. The *a* is not long.

³ Chinese historians put his birth seven years later, *viz.*, 1162 A.D. for they say he died in 1227 at the age of 66 and not of 72, as Muhammadans state. D'Herbélot, *Supplément*, (Visdelou) art. *Ganghiz Khān*. Hammer-Purgstall (56) prefers the date 1155.

⁴ Howorth, Temudjin and Temüjin. The word is said to mean

"finest iron." It may be noted here that the best biography of Cingiz appears to be Prof. Franz von Erdmann's *Temudschin der Unerchütterliche*. (Leipsic, 1862.) There is a Chinese *Life of Cingiz* *trs.* by Prof. R. R. Douglas, Lond., 1877.

⁵ Gibbon, Zingis; Howorth, JIngis.

⁶ Meaning, I suppose, that the book is called the *Akbarnāma*.

⁷ *i.e.*, the five known to the ancients *plus* the Sun and Moon. Their conjunction is supposed to indicate a cataclysm. (D'Herbélot art. *Keran*). According to the *Ḥabībū-s-siyar*, the seven planets were in conjunction in Cancer—the horoscope of the world—at the time of the Deluge. See *History of the Golden Horde*, Hammer-Purgstall, 75 *n.*, for statement of position of five of the planets on 6th Jan., 1155, *i.e.*, shortly before Temücin's birth.



Head¹ was in the Third House and the Dragon's Tail² in the Ninth. But some say that in 581³ (1185), when he became head of the ? in tribe and family, the seven planets were in conjunction in Libra⁴.

QARĀCĀR NŪYĀN.

Qarācār Nūyān was the noble son of Sūghū Cijan and was of kingly mind and princely⁵ bearing. In the year of the Hog 562 (1167), Yesugai Bahādur died and in the same year, Temūcīn became thirteen and Sūghū Cijan, the centre of the sovereignty and administration and leader of the armies, marched nearly contemporaneously with this, to the camp of annihilation. Qarācār⁶ Nūyān was then of tender age. The Nairūn tribe left Temūcīn and joined the Tāijūts⁷ so that Temūcīn was in difficulties and entangled in misfortunes. At length, by heaven's aid, he was rescued from these whirlpools and terrible dangers and waged war with the Jāmūqa, Tāijūt, Qanqarāt, Jalāir and other tribes. When he was over thirty, he became head of his own clan and family (the Nairūn). On account of the opposition of various rulers of Turkistān, he went in his fortieth year, by the advice of Qarācār Nūyān to Āvang⁸ Khān, the chief of the Kerāyat tribe and who had an old friendship with Yesugai Bahādur. Temūcīn did good service for him and displayed pre-eminent excellence. His favour and intimacy with him and the loftiness of his rank came

¹ Anabibazon and Katabibazon. They are evil influences. The Third House is that of brethren and short journeys. D'Herbélot says that Libra which is regarded by us as the Sign of Justice, is considered by Orientals to be that of winds and tempests.

² I do not find this date in any of the lives of Cingīz Khān. He assumed the name of Cingīz, which apparently means the Powerful or Unshakeable, in 599 (1202). The period 581 seems again referred to a little lower where we are told that Cingīz became head of his tribe when over thirty. A.F.'s date does not differ greatly from the 1187 given by Marco Polo as that of

Cingīz', recognition nor from the 1189 given by Ssanan Ssetzen.

³ *Shahryār-nishān*. Qu. kingmaker.

⁴ If A.F.'s other dates are right, Qarācār must have been an infant at this time for,—if he died in 652 at the age of 98,—he must have been some 12 years younger than Cingīz.

⁵ Text, Tāljūt and another form is, Tānjūt. It seems a different word from Tangūt.

⁶ Or Wang,—the Prester John of mediæval writers and travellers D'Herbélot art. *Kerit* and Supplement (Visdelon) 279. Hammer-Purgstall says Toghril was the proper name of Āvang or Owang.