

fall from the Emperor's favour, and he took no further notice of me. Even to this day (P. 268) although a period of eighteen years has elapsed since that event, and eighteen thousand worlds have passed away, I continue still afflicted with this unrequited service, which offers neither chance of confirming myself in his favour, nor opportunity of leaving his service :—

" I have not the fortune to have intercourse with the Beloved,
I have not the fortitude to abstain from Love,
I have not the power to fight against Fate,
I have not the foot to flee from the field."

And while the Emperor was at Hâdî, at the time that he was on his way to the Panjâb, a despatch arrived at Court from Sher Beg Javâidî, to the effect that Muzâffer Husain Mirzâ having fled from Gujât and gone to the Dak'hin, had been captured by Ikâjâh 'Alî Khân, and was held prisoner by him. So at the beginning of Zâ hajjâh¹ in the year nine hundred and eighty-five (985) the Emperor despatched a *fermân* to Râjâh 'Alî Khân concerning *Muzâffer Javâidî*, which resulted in his sending the Mirzâ to the Imperial Court.

In the beginning of the sacred month of Muharram² in the year nine hundred and eighty-six (986) was the new year's day of the Jalâlî period, corresponding with the twenty-fourth year from the accession :—

"The Cafar³ of the throne wins the day over the Sultan of the sky
Verily his fame rises up to Arîen."

At Patan the Emperor had the honour of visiting the tomb of the saint Ganj Shakar (may God sanctify his glorious spirit !), and then went for a *Qamurghah* hunt in the neighbourhood of Nandah, and in the course of four days numberless game was enclosed.

¹ He seemed to mean that monstrous changes had taken place in the course of that time.

² The twelfth month.

³ See p. 266.

⁴ The first month.

⁵ The old name of Muharram. Whence the two first months are sometimes called *Gajardî*.

And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Qamurghah* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other ; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned :—

(P. 254) "Take care ! for the grace of God comes suddenly,
It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise."

And at the foot of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the faqirs and poor, and laid the foundation of a lofty building, and an extensive garden in that place. And he cut off the hair of his head, and most of the courtiers followed his example. And when news of this became spread abroad in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouths of the common people, and some insurrections took place among the ryots, but these were quickly quelled.

While he was at Bahrah the Imperial Begum arrived from the Capital. At this time he confided the government of the Panjâb to Sa'îd Khân Moghul, and appointed Qâzî 'Alî Baghdâdî (who is the grandson¹ of Mir Qâzî Husain Maibazî) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as *Madd-i-Matâh* and *Aymak* in the Panjâb and elsewhere, which had been encroached upon. He had orders to abolish the old boundaries and re-measure the enclosures, and to put them all together into one village. Thus an exact distinction was made between the different grant-lands of the empire, and all this was done in spite of Shaikh 'Abdunnahî, and the dishonesty of his subordinates. Thence the Emperor set out on his return to Fâthpûr. And near to Khirzâd Sâkhorah on the 5th of Jamada'-s-sânî² in the foresaid year the Emperor embarked on board ship and the Amîrs and nobles of the kingdom also went on board a vessel to accompany him, but the army went by land. And on the 29th of this month the Emperor arrived at Dîlî. During the first part of the month Rajâb he disembarking from the water-boat and mounted

¹ The Lak'hau edition has asterisks after the word *sabawh*.

² The 6th month.

a hand-lost (which is a figurative expression for a desert-travelling street), and on the 5th of this month he reached Ajmir and attended the festival held at the tomb of the Saint. The next day at the same hour he started for the Imperial Palace, and travelling each day 50 *cosas*, he arrived at day-break on Friday the 9th. The compiler of these pages, who had come from Basáwar to meet him, paid his respects to him at that time, and presented (P. 255) the Book of the *Akádís*, which contains forty of them treating on the merit of war with Infidels, and the advantages of archery, and its names includes the date of it. It was admitted into the Library, and no mention whatever was made of any fault on my part in delaying to redeem my promise. And later that day the Emperor came to Fakh-púr. There he used to spend much time in the *Tááda-khánah* in the company of learned men and Shaikhs. And especially on Friday nights, when he would sit up there the whole-night continually occupied in discussing questions of Religion, whether fundamental or collateral. The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battle-field of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunní, and Shíah, of Hanfí and Sháfi', of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief. And Makhdúm-ul-mulk wrote a treatise, to the effect that Shaikh 'Abdunnabi had unjustly killed Khizr Khán Sarwán, who had been suspected of blaspheming the Prophet (peace be upon him!), and Mir Habsb, who had been suspected, of being a Shíah, and saying that it was not right to repeat the prayers after him, because he was undutiful towards his father, and was himself afflicted with hemorrhoids. Shaikh 'Abdunnabi replied to him that he was a fool and a heretic. Then the Mullás became divided into two parties, and one party took one side and on the other, and became very Jews¹ and Egyptians for hatred of each other. And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious

¹ Mu'in-ud-din Chishtí Sijzi.

² See p. 207, note 1.

³ *Sahif* is from the Hebrew *Saddak* 'a tribe' and is applied to Israel as descended from the twelve heads-of-tribes (*Shabbátim*), the sons of Jacob.

ideas, and vain doubts, coming out of ambush decked the false in the garb of the true, and wrong in the dress of right, and cast the Emperor, who was possessed of an excellent disposition, and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro, and used to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity, till doubt was heaped upon doubt, and he lost all definite aim, and the straight wall of the clear Law, and of firm Religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islám was left in him: and every thing was turned topsy turvy:—

(P. 256) The matter of me and you has fallen upside down,

You purchase the very thing I blame!

Of this there were many causes and reasons, but in accordance with the Proverb 'A little guides to the much, and fear points out the culprit,' a specimen of them is brought forward in the course of this history (and God is the assistant!). In a word crowds of learned men from all nations, and sages of various religions and sects came to the Court, and were honoured with private conversations. After enquiries and investigations, which were their only business and occupation day and night, they would talk about profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, and the wonders of nature, subjects of which large volumes could give only an abstract and summary: and in accordance with the saying:—
 "These things are dangerous, Avarice satisfied: desire indulged:
 and a man's being pleased with himself" everything that pleased him, he picked and chose from any one except a Moslem, and anything that was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes he thought fit to reject and cast aside. From childhood to manhood, and from manhood to his declining years the Emperor had combined in himself various phases from various religions and opposite sectarian beliefs, and by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books. Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and the storehouse of his

¹ The word *yaq* 'blame' is *ya*: 'purchase' written backward.

² *Ex uno disce omnes*.

imagination, and from the general impression this conviction took form, like an engraving upon a stone, that there are wise men to be found and ready at hand in all religions, and men of asceticism, and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations and that the Truth is an inhabitant of every place: and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed, and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thousand years! And why assert one thing and deny another, and claim pre-eminence for that which is not essentially pre-eminant?

And Samansi' and Brahmans (who as far as the matter of private interviews is concerned (P. 257) gained the advantage over every one in attaining the honour of interviews with his Majesty, and in associating with him, and were in every way superior in reputation to all learned and trained men for their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and in religious ecstasies, and stages of spiritual progress and human perfections) brought forward proofs, based on reason and traditional testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacy of our religion, and inculcated their doctrine with such firmness and assurance, that they affirmed mere imaginations as though they were self-evident facts, the truth of which the doubts of the sceptic could no more shake—

"Than the mountains crumble, and the heavens be cleft!"

And the Resurrection, and Judgment, and other details and traditions, of which the Prophet was the repository, he laid all aside. And he made his courtiers continually listen to those revilings and attacks against our pure and easy, bright and holy faith, some of which are written in the book called "The Inspiration of Holy Scripture": and urged and excited them to his own path by speech both set and extempore:—

"The guardian gave advice to that fair one:

Do not smile on every face, as the rose through the wind.

When the advice became past endurance, that coquette

Knit her brow, and hung down her head."

Buddhist ascetic, Samak. *Pranama*.

Some time before this a Brahman, named Puruk'hotam, who had written a commentary on the book *Khwad-g'zai*, had had private interviews with him, and he had asked him to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence. And at one time a Brahman, named Deb, who was one of the interpreters of the *Mahá-bharata*, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a *shurpái* till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, such as Brahma, Mahádev, Vishnu, Kishnu, Rám and Mahámá (whose existence as sons of the human race (P. 258) is a supposition, but whose non-existence is a certainty, though some in their idle belief look on them as gods, and some as angels). His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, began to look upon them with affection. He became especially firmly convinced of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and he much approved of the saying:—"There is no religion in which the doctrine of Transmigration has not a firm hold." And insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to establish indisputable arguments in favour of this thesis. And having instituted research into doctrines of the sects of the Hindu unbelievers, of whom there are an endless and innumerable host, and who possess numbers of saured books, and yet do not belong to the *Ah-i-Kitáb*,¹ he took so much pleasure in such discussions, that not a day passed but a new fruit of this lustrous tree ripened into existence. Sometimes again it was Shaikh Táji-ud-din whom he sent for. This Shaikh was son of Shaikh Zakariya of Ajodhan. The principle of Utmán of the age call him *Táji-ud-din*? He had been a pupil of Rashid Shaikh Zamán of Panipat, author of a commentary on the *Tarodih*, and of other excellent works, was most excellent in Gúlfism, and in the knowledge of Theology second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabi, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Muzhat ul-awáil*. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle in a blanket, and his Majesty listened the whole night

¹ People of the Book, Jews, Christians, and Sabaites *Al Qur'an* 46 &c., xxix.

² Crown of the Gúlf.

to his Cûfic obscenities and follies. The Shaikh, since he did not in any great degree feel himself bound by the injunctions of the Law, introduced arguments concerning the Unity of Existence, such as idle Cûffs discuss, and which eventually lead to license and open heresy. He also interested the Emperor in the question as to the faith of Pharaoh (the curse of God be on him!), which is mentioned in the book *Fayûs ul-ikram*, and as to the excellence of hope over fear, and such like questions, to which people, who naturally turn themselves from the warnings of Reason and the prohibitions of the Law, instinctively incline. Thus he became a chief cause of the weakening of the Emperor's faith in the commands of Islâm. He allowed that infidels would be kept for ever in fire, but the eternity of the *punishment* he thought doubtful, and not actually established he also introduced many changes into the texts of the Qur'an, and (P. 269) the traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him!). And the expression *Jasûs i Kadim!* he said referred to the Khalîf of the age, explaining it in the sense of 'holiest,' and interpreting most things in a manner not wholly correct, and not a few of them quite wrong he uttered much such like nonsense. And he invented a *siyah* [prostration] for him, and called it *zamîn-boe* [kissing the ground], and looking on the reverence due to a king as an absolute religious command he called the face of the king *Kavâh i Murâddi* [sanctum of desires], and *Qiblah i Hâqîq* [Goal of necessities]. And in support of these matters he brought forward some apocryphal traditions, and the practice of the disciples of some of the Shaikhs of India. And thus after a time the titles The Only One, The Absolute, The Perfect Mûn became commonly applied to the just, majestic, and magnanimous Emperor. Similarly other of the great Shaikhs, such as Shaikh Ya'qûb of Kashmir, who is a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some of the opinions expressed by that chief of the Qizis, Hamadânî,¹ such as the following: that Muhammad the Prophet of God (may God bless him and his race and grant him peace!) was a personification of the title *Aliddi* [the guide], and that *Iblis* [the devil] is a personification of the title *Almuziri* [the

¹ Abdul-Jabbar Hamadânî, see D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* fol. 396.

² Al Qur'an xxviii 14.

temper], and that both names, thus personified, have appeared in the world, and that both personifications therefore are necessary.

Mullâ Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the castle wall in the same way, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the three Khalîfs, and called all the companions of the Prophet, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, (may God show favour to them!), infidels and adulterers, and represented the Sunnis and the *Ahl i Jamâ'at* as despicable and contemptible, and pronounced every sect except the Shi'ah as erring and leading into error.

The differences among the 'Ulamâ, of whom one would pronounce a thing as unlawful, and another by some process of argument would pronounce the very same thing lawful, became to his Majesty a cause of unbelief. And since he looked on each of the 'Ulamâ of his own age as superior in dignity and worth to Imâm i Ghazzâlî and Imâm i Râzî, and since he knew the worthlessness of those of his own time, he inferred the unknown (P. 260) from the known and rejected also their predecessors.

Learned monks also from Europe, who are called *Pâdres*, and have an infallible head, called *Papâ*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel, and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murâd to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul-fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismillâh-irrahmân-irrahîm* the following line was used:—

*As namî voy Goss Christa,*³

that is "O thou, whose name is merciful and very bountiful." Shaikh

Faiz added to this the hemistich:—

*Subhânaka lâ sindâka yâ hû.*⁴

¹ Those who in religious ordinances follow the *ymâd* 'agreement' or common consent of the 1st cent. of the Hejrah.

² In the name of the gracious and merciful God.

³ Our author seems to have imagined that "Jesus Christ" meant "merciful and bountiful."

⁴ Praise be to Thee, there is none like Thee, O He!

And the attributes of the accursed Antichrist and his qualities were ascribed by those accursed men to his lordship The Best of the Prophets (God bless him and his family and preserve him from all imposters !)

The accursed Bírbar tried to persuade the Emperor, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting¹ sun, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones, and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarian mark, and Brahmanical thread. Several wisemen at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was "the greater light" of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Yon-roz-i-Jaldí*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. (P. 261) Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of the regent-planet of the day. He began also, at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindús taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, and the eating of their flesh, because the Hindús devoutly worship them, and esteem their dung as pure. Instead of cows they sacrifice the flesh of cows to also assigned, that physicians have represented the flesh of cows to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

Fire-worshippers also came from Nowséri in Gujírák, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Káidians². At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abu'l-Fazl, and that after the manner of the kings of Persia, in

¹ *J. o.* towards Mecca.

² An old Persian dynasty.

whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation.

From early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of Rájahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *Asmi*, which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship ; but on the New-year of the 25th year after his accession he prostrated himself both before the sun, and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted.

On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans, by way of a blessing. The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the *rákhi* on the wrist, which means an amulet³ formed out of twisted linen rags. [P. 262.] Every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions he treated as manifest and decisive, in contradistinction to this Religion of ours, all the doctrines of which he set down to be senseless, and of modern origin, and the founders of it as nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels of highway-robbers, and the people of Islám as accursed. But in the course of time the truth of this verse⁴ in its hidden meaning developed itself : "Pain would they put out the light of God with their mouths ! but, though the Infidels abhor it, God will perfect his light." By degrees the affair was carried to such a pitch that proofs were no longer considered necessary for abolishing the precepts of Islám. I remember, that in the early days of these discussions I had an argument with Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl in the privy audience-chamber at Fatih-púr. He said : "It seems to me that there is a fair objection to be made to all writers [on such subjects] on two grounds. First—Why should they not have written as circumstantial histories

¹ The branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *Soma* juice.

² Sanscrit *rekháiká*.

³ *Al Qur'an* LXI, 8.

of the old prophets, as they have done in the annals of their own Prophet (God bless him and his family, and give them peace!)¹ I answered: "The stories of the prophets are numerous enough in all conscience!" He said: "Nay, they are too compendious, they ought to have been written more in detail." I answered: "In times gone by just the amount now extant must have been thoroughly sifted by critics and historians, and the rest not authenticated." He said: "This answer is not satisfactory. But secondly—There is no kind of handy-craft's man, who is not mentioned in the *kazirât-ul-anbiyâ*, and the *maghâzât-wi-ams* &c., but the people of the Prophet's own family what fault have they committed that they are not mentioned therein? This is a great subject of wonder." On this topic whatever the time allowed was said, but who will care to hear it! Afterwards I asked: "who-will ever have a greater passion for all these notorious heresies, than yourself?" He said: "I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport." I said: "It will not be a bad thing if you eventually take the yoke of marriage,² as they have said:—(P. 263).

He took upon him the yoke of the Law, by the help of God,
From off the neck of the world, Peace be to his memory!"

He smiled and went away, and as has been suggested by a man of the world:—

"One favour of the Judge is better than a thousand witnesses,"

he fell boldly into disputation in religious matters with such imbecile old men as the Qadr, the Qâzi, the Hâkim-ul-mulk, and Makh-dûm-ul-mulk, and had not the slightest hesitation in putting them to shame, at which the Emperor was pleased. They sent privately a message to Abu-l-Fazl by Kâfî Khân, *Bakhshî*: "Why are you always falling foul of us?" He returned answer: "The fact of the matter is I am the servant of a mere mortal, and not of an

¹ History serves as a kind of altar for each generation, removing the impurities of the traditions of the generation before. *Abbott*.

² *Viz.* to Orthodoxy.

egg-plant!" By dint of his own exertions, and the assistance of his father, and the patronage of the Khalif of the age, and by the favour of fortune, he cast them all in a short space of time down to the ground of scorn and contempt, as we have already stated. And not one of the people of Islâm, except Hakim Abu-l-Fath and Mulâ Muhammad Yazdî could keep pace with him in any of the discussions. When further enterprises and propositions were brought forward I retired into private life:—

"When the desire is great
Difficulties become light."

I read the verse of Rûm³, and fell altogether out of the Emperor's notice, and all that friendship became estrangement. But thank God that I am as well off as I am!—

"My heart did not go gadding about, and a good thing it didn't!
It settled on nothing but thee, and a good thing it didn't!
Thou saidest, 'I shall grieve if thine affair turn out well.'
Thou sawest that it did not turn out well, and a good thing it didn't!"

I did not consider myself a fit recipient of favour nor His Majesty a fit object of service, and I was quite content:—(P. 264).

"Come that we may wave all ceremony,
You shall not rise to me, I will not bow to you."

And at long intervals I used to come and prostrate myself in the ante-chamber, and was a witness to the truth of:—

"Companionship will not arise,
Where dispositions are not congenial."

¹ The egg-plant bears fruit all the year round, hence the Brahmans say (*Chandî* p. 69) when they fear that their patron is drowned, that he was an egg-plant to them, whereas his *frâddah* (funeral feast) will only yield once like a radish. Abu-l-Fazl seems to mean, that since his patron is a mere man and liable to die, or to change, he thinks it advisable to "make hay while the sun shines."

² "Where there is a will there is a way."

³ Compare p. 49, *note* 1.