QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ

also known as

HUMĀYŪN NĀMA

by

KHWĀNDAMĪR

Translated with explanatory notes by

BAINI PRASHAD

ISBN : 978-81-920615-7-3

BAINI PRASHAD • QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ

QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ

(ALSO KNOWN AS HUMĀYŪN NĀMA)

OF

KHWĀNDAMĪR

(DIED A.H. 942, A.D. 1535)

A WORK ON THE RULES AND ORDINANCES ESTABLISHED BY THE EMPEROR HUMĀYŪN AND ON SOME BUILDINGS ERECTED BY HIS ORDER

TRANSLATED WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY

BAINI PRASHAD, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I., F.R.S.E.

The Asiatic Society
1 Park Street o Kolkata 700 016

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QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ (ALSO KNOWN AS HUMĀYŪN NĀMA) OF KHWĀNDAMĪR
Translated with Explanatory Notes by BAINI PRASHAD

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QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNI

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH NOTES, PREFACE AND INDEX)

FOREWORD

TO THE SECOND REPRINT

The book *Qānūn-I-Humāyūnī* also known as Humāyūn Nāma was written by Khwāndamīr in 1533 during the reign of Humāyūn. In fact he was commissioned to write the book on Humāyūn. The manuscript of the book was available in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as the Society used to be known during the period 1832 to 1935. This manuscript was translated into English by Sadāsukh Lāl who was the private *Munshī* of Sir Henry Elliot and the translated version is preserved in the British Museum. Unfortunately the original manuscript was missing from the Society and was eventually located in the British Museum, London.

The Asiatic Society, in order to make these rare works available to students and scholars, published in its *Bibliotheca Indica Series* a carefully edited edition of this book after obtaining a rotograph copy of the manuscript from the British Museum, London in 1940. The edition with a detailed life of the author was written by Shams-ul-'Ulamā' M. Hidāyat Ḥosain.

In the same year i.e. 1940 an annotated English translation of the book by Baini Prashad was published by the Asiatic Society also in its *Bibliotheca Indica Series* based on Munshī Sadāsukh Lāl's translation, a rotograph copy of which was obtained from the British Museum, London. The author mentioned the following in the preface of this book: "Even a cursory study of the copy received showed that this translation, as has been remarked above, was not only incomplete, but greatly abridged, and though it has

served as the basis for the translation now published, an entirely new version has had to be prepared'' and he acknowledged gratefully the help he received from his friends Shams-ul-'Ulama' M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, and M. Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaqq in preparation of the book. A reprint of this book came out in 1996. This is the second reprint and I hope the book will be useful to students and scholars.

Kolkata
30.03.2011

Mihir Kumar Chakrabarti
General Secretary

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA
A COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL WORKS

QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ

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PREFACE

Only four contemporary works[1] dealing with the reign of Humāyūn Bādshāh have so far been discovered: (1) Khwāndamīr's *Humāyūn-nāma* or *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, (2) Jauhar Aftābchī's *Tadhkirat al-wāqi'āt*, (3) Bāyazīd Bayāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, and (4) Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma* or *Aḥwāl-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh*. With the exception of the first work, which Khwāndamīr was commissioned to write by Humāyūn at Gwāliār during February-March, 1533,[2] all the other works were written some thirty years after Humāyūn's death when the Emperor Akbar[3] ordered Abul Fadl to compile a history:

که سوانح احوالِ اقبال قرین و وقائعِ فتوحاتِ دولت افزای
ما را بخامهٔ صدق نگارش نماید ٥

Apparently at the same time his relations and officers, who, it was believed, had some knowledge of the history of the emperors Bābur and Humāyūn, were commanded to write down their accounts to provide the materials for Abul Faḍl's history. The first sentence of Gulbadan Bēgam's Memoirs[4]:

حکم شده بود ـ که آنچه از واقعهٔ فردوس مکانی و حضرت
جنت آشیانی میدانسته باشد بنویسید ٥

confirms this view, and the dates of composition of these works also lend full support to this suggestion. With the exception of Jauhar's work of which a number of manuscripts are known, the other three were till within recent years known from one or two manuscripts only.

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[1] For details see Storey, C. A.—*Persian Literature—A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Section II, fasc. 3, pp. 536–539 (London, 1939).

[2] For a detailed discussion of this date, see note 1, p. 13.

[3] Abul Faḍl *Akbarnāma*, Text, *Bibl. Ind. Ser.*, I, p. 9 (1877).

[4] *The History of Humāyūn* (*Humāyūn-nāma*), edited and translated by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, Text, p. 1 (London, 1902), reprinted 1927.

Of Khwāndamīr's *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, a single manuscript [1] was available in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This manuscript was translated into English by Sir Henry Elliot's private *Munshī*, Sadāsukh Lāl, and extracts from it were published by Dowson in the *History of India*.[2] The translation, Add. 30774, foll. 25–114, which is preserved in the British Museum, London, was described by Rieu [3] as complete, but a rotograph copy recently received from London was found to lack, pp. 56–71, 76–81, 83–88, 149, 150, 160–164, 168, 169, 209 and some pages at the end. Some of these lacunae were noted by Beveridge,[4] who apparently consulted the translation in connection with his work on *Akbarnāma*. Unfortunately the translation is not only incomplete, but several passages are missed out, and most of the Arabic quotations are left blank. The manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal referred to above appears to have been lost soon after the translation referred to above was prepared, but fortunately a manuscript found its way to the British Museum library, and an account of it was published by Rieu.[5] Mrs. Beveridge [6] mentions another manuscript which was obtained from a correspondent in India inscribed as Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma*, but which, on examination, turned out to be Khwāndamīr's work; this manuscript also is stated to be in the British Museum. Another manuscript is apparently in the library of the Institute of Oriental Languages, St. Petersbourg [7] (Leningrad).

The only known manuscript [8] of Bāyazīd Bayāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn* is in the Library of the India Office, London. This manuscript was recently obtained on loan by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a critical text based on this unique manuscript is being published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series by Shams-ul-'Ulamā'

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[1] See Dowson in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, V, p. 116 (1873).

[2] *Vide* Dowson in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–126 (1873).

[3] Rieu, C., *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III, p. 1024, Or. 1762 (1883).

[4] Beveridge, H., *Akbarnāma*, English translation in *Bibl. Ind. Ser.*, I, p. 646, note 4 (1907).

[5] Rieu, C., *op. cit.*, p. 1024 (1883).

[6] Beveridge, A. S., *The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-nāma)*, p. 78.

[7] Rosen, V., *Collections Scientifique de l'Institut des langues orientales* III, *Les Manuscripts Persans* (St. Petersbourg, 1886), No. 23.

[8] Ethé, H., *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, I, p. 95, No. 223 (1903).

Foreword

Of the four works available on the reign of Humayun only one has been commissioned by him in 1533 and this was Khwāndamīr's **QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ** (Humāyūn-nāma). The other three were written at the behest of Emperor Akbar who had ordered Abul Fazl to compile a history and who in turn got relations and officers of the royal family to provide him with written material for his work. A manuscript of Khwāndamīr's book was available in the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was translated into English by Sudasukh Lal, the munshi of Sir Henry Elliot and is preserved in the British Museum in London. The original manuscript also found its way to London and another copy is believed to be in the Institute of Oriental Languages, St. Petersbourg.

Khwāndamīr's manuscript was obtained from the British Museum and a carefully edited edition with a detailed life of the author was published in May 1940 by Shams-ul-Ulma' M. Hidayat Hossain in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. Written in highly ornate Persian, it deals with the first four years of Humayun's rule and restricts itself largely to observations on the life style of that era. He gives detailed accounts of the festivals, though the dates cannot be fully relied upon, and also of building activities including the laying of the foundation of the new city, Dīnpanāh, in Delhi. Dīnpanāh was demolished by Sher Shah but the Mosque, Jama Masjid, remains as also the library and observatory. Sudasukh Lal's translation, however, was a greatly abridged effort and Baini Prashad's translation of 1940 was an entirely new version prepared with help from, among others, the late H. Beveridge and Mrs Beveridge's monumental works on the history of the Moghuls.

The book has been long out of print and at the request of several eminent scholars the Society has decided to bring out a reprint of the work originally published in 1940 as Work No. 263 of the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

19 March, 1996

Chandan Roychaudhuri
General Secretary

عمارت طلسم, as it is called, which was of the nature of an assembly hall for festivities, on the banks of the Jumna at Āgra, apparently in Bābur's *Chār Bāgh*, in 940 A.H., and (3) a palace in the Fort of Āgra on the site of the treasury of the old Hindū kings. The details in reference to the foundation of the new city of *Dīnpanāh* in 940 A.H. in the environments of Delhī on the ruins of Indraprastha, which is associated with the Pāṇḍavas of *Mahābhārata*, are also of special interest. Almost one of Shēr Shāh's first acts after reaching Delhī was to demolish *Dīnpanāh*, and in its place to start building a new walled capital with a strong citadel for himself. Owing to his early death the city was not finished, but his mosque later became the *Jāmi' Masjid*, while his *Shēr Mandal* served as the library and observatory of Humāyūn. It was while coming down its steps on January 24, 1556 A.D., that Humāyūn stumbled and died of the injuries which he received. The remains of the citadel are known as the *Purānā Qil'a* of Delhī.

It was felt that the usefulness of *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* would be materially enhanced if, in accordance with the policy laid down and followed by the Society for nearly a century, an annotated English translation of the work is also published. With this end in view a rotograph copy of Munshī Sadāsukh Lāl's translation was obtained from the British Museum. Even a cursory study of the copy received showed that this translation, as has been remarked above, was not only incomplete, but greatly abridged, and though it has served as the basis for the translation now published, an entirely new version has had to be prepared. In view of the very classical and rather involved nature of Khwāndamīr's style this has not been an easy task, but I have carried out the work as well as I could, and in this have received a great deal of help from my friends Shams-ul-'Ulamā' M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, and M. Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaqq, to both of whom my grateful thanks are tendered for their invaluable help at all times. To facilitate reference the corresponding pages of the text-edition are indicated in the margins. The translation also owes a great deal to the works of the Beveridges (the late H. Beveridge and Mrs. A. S. Beveridge), which are mines of reference in connection with the period dealt with in Khwāndamīr's Memoirs, and I would be failing in gratitude if I did not express here my indebtedness to their monumental works on the history of the Mughuls.

BAINI PRASHAD.

M. Hidāyat Ḥosain. It is a history of the reigns of Humāyūn and Akbar from 949–999 A.H., 1542–1591 A.D.

Gulbadan Bēgam's '*Humāyūn-nāma* was rightly described by Mrs. Beveridge[1] as a 'literary *parda-nishīn*' till it was catalogued by Dr. Rieu in 1887, and it remained so till it was published with an annotated translation in 1902; a reprint of this edition was issued in 1927. A lithographed edition of the text[2] was published in 1925 at Lucknow, and an Urdu translation by Maulvī Riyāḍ Bārī has recently been published at Allahābād.

With a view to making these rare works available for students of history in the country, a rotograph copy of Khwāndamīr's manuscript was obtained from the British Museum, London, and a carefully edited edition with a detailed life of the author was published by Shams-ul-'Ulamā' M. Hidāyat Ḥosain in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series in May, 1940.

Khwāndamīr's work is written in a highly ornate style of classical Persian, full of metaphors, similies, allusions and antitheses, with numerous references to the *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth* and Muslim history, etc. Where a single phrase or word would suffice the author uses half a dozen, and invariably displays his learning by using strings of historical, theological, astronomical and other terms. The 'high flown strain of eulogy' in which the work is written is not restricted to the Emperor only, but is generally employed for all officers of high rank. Abul Faḍl's *Akbarnāma* appears to have been modelled on Khwāndamīr's style, and where the former has included entire passages or summaries from the latter's work it is almost impossible to differentiate between the compositions of the two authors. In accordance with the prevalent practice the prose composition is interspersed with numerous couplets, verses and even *Qaṣīdas*, either by the author himself or by other poets of Humāyūn's reign.

Khwāndamir started writing this work some time in March, 1533,[3] some three years after Humāyūn ascended the throne, and as far as can be judged from the contents and references to various dates in the work, he had completed it not long after May, 1534.[4] The memoirs,

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[1] Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 77 (1902).

[2] *Vide* Storey, *op. cit.*, p. 539 (1939).

[3] See note 1, p. 13.

[4] See note 1, p. 62. The date end of Shawwāl 940 A.H., middle of May, 1534 A.D., is mentioned in connection with the approaching completion of the building of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhī, and the hope is expressed that the work will

therefore, deal with only the first four years of Humāyūn's reign. It is not a strictly historical work, but is more of the nature of Abul Faḍl's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, and contains brief accounts of certain observances, rules and ordinances promulgated by the Emperor, description of various festivities in connection with the anniversaries of the dates of his accession, and birthday, and others in connection with the New Year and Prince Hindāl's marriage. Accounts of innovations in regard to dress, gardens, boats and markets are given, and finally the work provides very valuable information in regard to the buildings erected under Humāyūn's order and the foundation of the new city of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhi. The dates given by Khwāndamīr are often incorrect, while in one case he seems to have mixed up the accounts of two festivities, and described two of them as one.

The question of the name of Khwāndamīr's work has been discussed at length by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain in the Preface[1] to his text edition. Following Abul Faḍl,[2] he has selected the name *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*; this is more descriptive for the contents of the work, and leaves no possibility of confusing it with Gulbadan Bēgam's *Hūmāyūn-nāma*.

Including the introduction the work is divided into nine chapters, the main features of which have been summarized above. The author concludes the work with a long satirical poem in which after praising Humāyūn, he complains of neglect at the hands of his patron and prays for higher favours in view of his accomplishments. He offers to compose a *Ẓafarnāma* of Humāyūn on the lines of the famous *Tārīkh-i-Ṣāḥib Qirānī* which was written by Sharaf-ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī.[3] Apparently his prayers fell on deaf ears, and he gave up writing the memoirs which he had planned on a rather ambitious scale.

In addition to the descriptions of various observances and ordinances promulgated by the Emperor, which are not to be found in any other contemporary work, the importance of Khwāndamīr's memoirs lies in the details of various festivities celebrated during Humāyūn's reign. Still more valuable are the accounts of the following three edifices which were built by Humāyūn: (1) a building of chiselled stone in the Gwāliār Fort in 939 A.H.; (2) a wonderful building,

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soon be completed. If the author had continued writing the memoirs after this date, he would certainly have added to this account.

[1] M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's Text in *Bibl. Ind. Ser.*, Preface, pp. xxxiv, xxxv (1940).

[2] Abul Faḍl, *Akbarnāma*, Text, *Bibl. Ind. Ser.*, 1, p. 359 (1877).

[3] For details, see note 7, p. 12.

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KHWĀNDAMĪR'S *QĀNŪN-I-HUMĀYŪNĪ*

INTRODUCTION

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

This auspicious work [1] is a chronicle of the histories of the all powerful [2] sovereigns by the creative pen of distinguished historians, and this is the valuable manuscript in which the exertions of the intelligence [3] of learned historians of eminent experience have made the hidden knowledge generally available. Its beginning must be embellished and ornamented with the praise of that Creator, Who by His will: *from what staff hath He created* [4] all that exists in space, extending from the summit of the green vault of the heavens to the surface of the earth, and the pen of whose contrivance has painted pictures indicating the nature of all created things that are to be seen between the celestial vault above and the globe (which we inhabit) below. 1

Verses:—

From the height of the heavens
down to the centre of the earth

---

[1] The words *Humāyūn-Nāma* are a very good example of the form of Persian composition known as صنعت براعت استهلال. As used here, the two words, in accordance with their literal meaning, refer to the auspicious nature of the work and are not to be interpreted as meaning the chronicles of the Emperor Humāyūn.

[2] The missing words in the original Persian text appear to be و ملجا و ماوای صغار و کبار or some similar adjectives in praise of the sovereigns.

[3] The missing expression in the Persian text appears to be گرامی مورخین or some similar words.

[4] Shams-ul-'Ulamā' M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, the learned editor of the Persian text has given references to the various verses of the *Qur'ān*, but he has unfortunately not indicated the edition referred to. The references to pages and the verses in the following notes are to the excellent English-Arabic edition of the *Qur'ān* published by M. Abdullah Yusuf Ali at Lahore in 1938. The verse quoted is from Sūra LXXX, *'Abasa*, verse 18, p. 1689.

There is no God but the Holy Providence.
In His presence all creatures
are like particles of dust on a road;
All these bear witness to His singular nature.

This Creator made the management of the entire business of the world and the administration of all affairs of mankind contingent and dependent on kings, (who are) the fountains of generosity, and on emperors, (who are) the defenders of faith and religion. He encouraged and emboldened the warriors of the fields of crusades and the enthusiastic followers of the religious wars in accordance with His promise: *If God helps you, none can overcome you*[1]: and He exalted the standard of dignity of the defenders[2] of the true faith to the highest heavens.

Verses:—

He is the God who created these nine heavens,
The Moon, the Mercury, the Venus and the Sun.
In the world He exalts him,
Who honours the law.
This preserves peace in the dominions,
For dominions and religion are twins.[3]
To observe the holy laws and preserve the faith,
Are the essential duties of chiefs.
Happy is that king, conqueror of kingdoms,
Who strengthens the religion of the Chosen (The Prophet).

The Almighty God, the Creator *of all created beings*,[4] placed the crown of honour on the noble head of the chosen, exalted, selected and the holy Prophet, and when the All Powerful with His creative pen and productive pencil drew a picture of all things that exist in all

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[1] See *Qur'ān*, Sūra III, *Āl-i-'Imrān*, verse 160 (in pt.), p. 165. According to M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, the number of the verse is 154.

[2] According to the Muhammadan theology the title انصار was applied to 'the believers of Medina who received and assisted the prophet after his flight from Mekka'—*vide Encyclopad. Islām*, I. p. 357 (1913). In the text above it is used in the more general sense of a helper or defender.

[3] Apparently this is a reference to the *Ḥadīth* الملك و الدين توامان.

[4] From *Qur'ān*, Sūra II, *Baqara*, verse 117 (in pt.), p. 30; the translation given above is, however, not the literal rendering of كُن فَيَكُونُ, viz.: *Be, and it is.*

quarters of the celestial and earthly world, He recited the divine injunction: *We sent thee not, but as a mercy for all creatures*[1]; and for his handsome body He granted the elegant dress of *The Apostle of* 3
God, and the Seal of the prophets.[2]

Quatrain :—

The Chief of the prophets, and Sovereign of the kingdom of religion;
King of kings, and Minister of mercy for all inhabitants of the world;
The water of his face quenches the desires of all thirsty beings;
The dust of his street is the collyrium for eyes (that long for) experimental knowledge.[3]

The dust raised by the hoofs of his horse,[4] which was as swift as the lightning, served as the collyrium for the eyes of the angels, and the gems of his words, which were more valuable than rubies and pearls, formed ornaments for the crowns of the nobles of the omnipotent, Heavenly Court. He was the mighty flier, *Who did take His servant for a journey*,[5] he was impartial, true believer, and his *heart in no way falsified that which he saw*.[6]

Verse :—

Muhammad, the King of dominions, the earth and religion,
Prophet of man, and the last of the Apostles.

May the blessings of God be on him, his righteous descendants and friends particularly the first four Caliphs, and peace be to them 4
all, and *much God's grace descend upon them* ![7]

---

[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXI, *Anbiyā'a*, verse 107, p. 846.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXXIII, *Aḥzāb*, verse 40 (in pt.), p. 1119.

[3] عين اليقين or experimental knowledge as opposed to علم اليقين or inferential knowledge.

[4] براق *Burāq* was the name applied to the fabulous animal riding on which the Prophet Muhammad performed the journey to the heavens on the night of Ascension معراج. *Vide. Encyclopd. Islām*, I, p. 793 (1913). According to *Majma'-ul-Biḥār*, p. 89, it was 'a white animal between the size of a mule and an ass, having two wings'.

[5] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XVII, *Banī-Isrā'īl*, verse 1 (in pt.), p. 693.

[6] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LIII, *Najm*, verse 11, p. 1444.

[7] This is an اقتباس of part of verse 113, Sūra IV, *Nisā'* of *Qur'ān*, p. 216. The number of the verse, according to M. Hidāyat Ḥosain is 111.

After this it should not remain concealed and hidden from the transcendent minds of the planters of the tree of knowledge, and the notable intellects of those who understand the most subtle problems, that when the Creator of all classes of mankind and the Bestower of bounties and gifts—*Whose name is glorious and Whose favours are too numerous to enumerate*—drew with His mightly pen the picture of creation on the face of nature, and skilfully endowed the created beings with the attributes of existence; He made the bud of the body of man grow and bloom in the garden of His grace by the gentle breeze of His breath; and *breathed into him His Spirit*[1]; and having through the water of His benevolence given him freshness and capacity for producing fruit, He made the world resound with the decree: *We have indeed created man in the best of moulds*[2]; and exalted him by placing on his head the glorious crown of His benediction: *We*
5 *have honoured the sons of Adam*[3]; and by His judicious selection graced him with this special honour; and He opened the gates of the auspicious face of the earth with the fingers of His boundless generosity, and *conferred on them special favours above a great part of His creation*.[4] And from amongst the various classes of this illustrious and superior species, He conferred the greatest honour and rank on two, and enabled them to exalt the standards of their guidance and the flags of their good fortune to the top[5] of the Gemini[6] and the height of the Pleiades.[7] The first, the prophets, who were the selected favourites of the Court of the Almighty, and who pointed the right path to man; and second, the kings and the *sulṭāns*, who are the executors of His Commands and serve to preserve order and to cure the wounded of time among the various classes and sects of mankind

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXXVIII, *Ṣād*, verse 72 (in pt.), p. 1232.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XCV, *Tīn*, verse 4, p. 1759.

[3] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XVII, *Banī-Isrā'īl*, verse 70 (in pt.), p. 714. M. Hidāyat Ḥosain gives 72 as the number of the verse.

[4] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XVII, *Banī-Isrā'īl*, verse 70 (in pt.). See note 3, above.

[5] As noted by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, قبّه is a pinnacle erected on the top of a dome. In this case, however, it appears to be used in a more general sense, and I have, therefore, translated it accordingly.

[6] Gemini or the constellation Castor and Pollux, also the third sign of the Zodiac with which this constellation is associated by the eastern astronomers.

[7] For the constellation ثريا, Pleiades, or the seven stars closely grouped in Taurus, see *Encyclopd. Islām*, IV, p. 740 (1934).

in the world. He honoured the observers of the ordinances of the holy religion by choosing, selecting and separating them (from all others), for it is stated, *God did chose Adam and Noah, the family of Abraham and 'Imrān above all people.*[1] And He made the holders of sovereignties and caliphates the means of preserving order and the instruments for securing regularity amongst the people of the world, in accordance with His Command: *We made you heirs in the land after them.*[2] 6

Verses:—

With utmost kindness and favour,
He bestowed on them the requisites of sovereignty.
The reins of conduct for the affairs of mankind,
He entrusted into the hands of the sovereigns.

And of all these dignified sovereigns and kings, who are as powerful as the heavens, He generally endowed some with the attributes of justice, and made them the protectors of their subjects. He installed them on the thrones of equity and liberality, and enabled them to plant their world-conquering flags on the face of the earth; and they devoted their entire attention to taking care of the poor people, and having extended the shadow of their protection did not permit the Sun of injustice to blaze upon the wanderers in the desert of disappointment. With the exercise of their supreme wisdom, these kings took great pains in establishing the tenets of the righteous law, and spread the fame of their patronage for religion to the furthest extremities of the world. By the exercise of their superior talents they exalted their standards, led in wars and crusades and razed the edifices of the infidels and unbelievers.

Verses:—

Happy is that king and he shall have a glorious end,
Who adds to the strength of the religion of Islām;
Who, when he raises the standard of justice,
Affords protection to all that are helpless.

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra III, *Āl-i-'Imrān*, verse 33, p. 131. M. Hidāyat Ḥosain gives 30 as the number of the verse.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra X, *Yūnus*, verse 14 (in pt.), p. 487. According to M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, the number of the verse is 15.

Of these great sovereigns and princes of high dignity, he who
7 excels all in prosperity, is far in advance[1] of others in the field of justice, and ties the girdle of crusades round the waist of his life in fields of battles and crusades, and during fight cuts the bodies of his enemies to pieces with a sharp sword, is the perfect king. He is such a king, that since the pleasing sound: *I will create a vicegerent on earth*,[2] reached the ears of the devotees of the higher regions (the angels), the eye of the aged heavens had never seen any monarch equal to him on the thrones of sovereignty; and since the life-infusing voice: *We made you heirs in the land*,[3] has reached the inhabitants of this world, the ears of no created being have heard, that there ever was a king like him.

Verse:—

On the throne of royalty in any age,
There never sat a king like him, the protector of the world.

In view of his noble ancestry, both on the paternal and maternal sides, and the high and illustrious family from which he has descended, there can be no doubt that he is the most glorious of all the kings of
8 the world. His extensive dominions and large kingdom, his great justice and benevolence, and his boundless generosity and munificence, are far above those of the Sun.

Quatrain:—

The height of your station cannot be seen
Even by the eyes of the grey heavens
which are as quick-sighted as those of *Zarqā*.[4]
As compared to your rank that of others is so low,
That imagination regards it a desert as compared to the heavens.

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[1] قصب السبق according to Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary*, p. 972, is 'the reed of excellence (phrase taken from an Arab custom of planting a reed in the ground from which two horsemen race, trying who can first tear it out and throw it in front of him)'.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra II, *Baqara*, verse 30 (in pt.), p. 24.

[3] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra X, *Yūnus*, verse 14 (in pt. and slightly modified), p. 487.

[4] زرقا *Zarqā*, according to F. Johnson's *Dictionary—Persian, Arabic and English* (London, 1852), p. 653, was the 'name of a quick-sighted woman, who could see a distance of three days' journey'.

He is so just, that those scorched by the Sun of the calamities of the ages from the remotest borders of Turkistān to Hindūstān have found rest under the shadow of his never ceasing kindness; and wanderers of the desert of mischief from the extremities of Īrān and Āḏharbā'ījān, Kābul and Zābulistān seek protection of his everlasting government. In fear of the unrelenting nature of his punishment bold revolters withdrawing their feet have hidden themselves in corners, and out of awe tremble like one. In apprehension of the fire of his wrath rebels who were as proud as Fir'aun[1] have become as mellow as wax. Under the protection and shelter of his justice deer sleep carelessly in the lap of panthers, and fish fearlessly take rest near crocodiles; pigeons become friends of falcons, and sparrows chirp fearlessly in front of eagles.

Verses:—

Under his just administration deer in the forest
Go abreast with the male lion;
The waterfowl tells its secrets to the hawk;
The pigeon relates its story to the falcon;
If injustice is indicated in the actions of any government officers,
They receive from the hands of the subjects a slap (on the face).

He is a king with the dignity of Alexander the Great, and in whatever country the Moon of his all conquering flags appears according to the words: *a brilliant star lit from a blessed tree*[2], the darkness of ignorance and barbarity is replaced by the light of knowledge and guidance. In whatever place his victorious sword: *the vivid flash of His lightning well-nigh blinds the sight*[3], is drawn out of the scabbard of vengeance, the foundations of the power of the dark-hearted tyrants are erased from the page of existence. The fame of his government, like the sound of the trumpet[4] which shall be blown on the Day

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[1] فرعون Fir'aun, Pharaoh the king of Egypt in the time of Moses, who is considered to be the personification of wickedness. See *Encycloped. Islām*, II, pp. 108–110 (1927) and Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 452, (1885) article *Pharaoh*.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXIV, *Nūr*, verse 35 (in pt.), p. 908.

[3] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXIV, *Nūr*, verse 43 (in pt.), p. 911.

[4] For an account of the trumpet to be blown on the Day of Resurrection, see under *Trumpet* in Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 647 (1885).

of Resurrection, reaches the ears of the enemies of country and religion, and the fragrant gales of his kindness refresh the brains of the friends of faith and government. The dust of the hoofs of his fast horse embellishes like the collyrium the bright eyes of the heavens, and the roof of his high umbrella reflects light to the faces of the Sun and the Moon. The shoe of his horse, which resembled the *Burāq*,[1] had formed the ear-ring of Alexander the Great,[2] and the figure adorning the top of his lofty palace is brighter than the light of the Sun. The gales of his favour, like the cold breezes of the spring, bring verdure to the fields of prosperity and felicity; and the scents of his kindness, like the musk of Tartar, perfumes the brains of hope and security. The picture of the secrets of nature is clearly reflected in the mirror of his liberal heart, and figures of intricate questions are painted on the pages of his mind which is as enlightened as the Sun.

Verses :—

His mind is the seat of the secrets of eternity;
His appearance reflects signs of prosperity;
Light of fortune shines in his forehead;
Victory and conquest are his (constant) attendants;
His forum is the assemblage of great men;
The dust of his path is (used as) collyrium in all eyes.

He is a sovereign possessing the power of Solomon,[3] and his noble endeavours are always directed towards strengthening the pillars of faith, confirming the articles of the bright law, enlivening the brilliant doctrines of the Prophet and rooting out ill-conceived innovations. And all his valuable time and auspicious hours are devoted to comforting the aged saints, taking care of the noble *Saiyids*, patronizing

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[1] *Vide* note 4, p. 3.

[2] The name Jamshēd refers to one of three personalities in accordance with the words used with it. The Prophet Solomon (*vide* note 3, below) is meant when it is used in conjunction with words like خاتم - نگین - اسپ - تخت - باد - آصف - ماهی - طیور, while the Greek King Alexander the Great is indicated when words like آب حیوان - آئینه are employed, and finally it is the famous Persian King Jamshēd when the name is coupled with symbols of mirth, joy, enjoyment, etc., such as جام - شراب - بزم - جشن - نوروز, *vide Farhang-i-Anand Rāj*, I, p. 835 (1889).

[3] For a detailed note on the Prophet Solomon or Sulaimān bin Dā'ūd, see *Encycloped. Islām*, IV, pp. 519–521 (1934).

the learned and encouraging the *Qāḍīs* of Islām. His transparent mind is the place of descent for the Divine revelations, and his pure mind is the receptacle of boundless benedictions (of the Almighty). His fine judgment is the test of excellence and perfection, and his 11
great understanding the key to all intricate questions.

Verses :—

(He is) the heaven of justice and the Sun of the height of prudence;
The most valuable pearl in the ocean of Creation;
His heart the receiver of the rays of God's guidance;
His words (are) the discourses of the secrets of truth.

By his repeated favours and large rewards the horses of the hopes of the people are heavily laden, and from the rain of the clouds of his hand, which drops pearls, the gardens of the desires of the learned and clever men become green.

Verses :—

His hand scatters pearls as drops (of water) rain down from the clouds;
But the clouds of the spring are not so liberal as his hands.
The generosity of his hands shall last for ever;
For the clouds cannot let fall so many drops of rain.

He is the most dignified and just king, the mightiest pillar of religion and fortune; he has confirmed the rules of justice, and he strictly observes the duties of a chief. (He resembles) Solomon [1] in that he gives away countries (in reward); (he is) a Rustam [2] who has the heavens for his horse. He is an ornament of the crown of sovereignty, and was nourished in the lap of God's kindness. (He is the second) Ardshīr [3] and (is as) powerful as a lion. (He is) a

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[1] *Vide*, note 3, p. 8.

[2] Rustam son of Zāl, the celebrated Persian hero of the Oriental epic *Shāhnāma* is stated to have been born about 720 B.C., and lived for six to seven hundred years. For a detailed account see Robertson, *Roostum Zaboole and Soohrab*, footnote, pp. 1–3 (Calcutta, 1829); also Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I, p. 136 (1930), and Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 336 (1894).

[3] The reference is apparently to the courageous and intrepid Persian Emperor Bahman son of Isfandyār, surnamed *Ardshīr-i-darāzdast* (Artaxerxes Longimanus of Greeks) of the Kayānian dynasty and not to the Sāsānian king

Nūshirwān [1] (of his time) and has spread justice in the whole world. (He is) the chosen person of the house of *Ṣāḥib Qirān* [2]; the selected prince of a sovereign family; the destroyer of the power of the Akāsirah [3]; the light of the eye of the Caesars,[4] as firm as Farīdūn [5]; as resolute as Alexander the Great; as brave as Qubād [6]; as great in society as Parvīz [7]; head of the officers of eminence; strength of spiritual guides; and (finally) the honour of the kingdom, the world and the religion:

Ardshīr I, son of Bābak. See Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 77, 78 (1894) and Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I, p. 214 (1930).

[1] Nūshirwān or Anūshirwān is the Arabic form of the name of the famous Persian Emperor Khusrau I, the first king of the Akāṣirah or Fifth Dynasty (*vide* Raverty's translation of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 5, 1873). He is Chosroes of the Greeks, and was known as عادل or the Just. The Prophet Muhammad was born during the reign of Nūshirwān (20th August, 570 A.D.—*vide* Sykes, *History*, I, p. 508; Beale, however, gives 20th April, 571 A.D. as the date) and 'used to boast of his fortune in being born when so just a king reigned'. For further details see Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 307 (1894) and Sykes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 449–460 (1930).

[2] صاحب قران is literally the Lord of (auspicious) conjunction; the two auspicious planets being Jupiter and Venus. The title was applied to Tīmūr, and was later bestowed on Shāh Jahān with the suffix ثانی but Abul Faḍl in the *Akbarnāma* applied it to Akbar, *vide* Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 69, note 1, 1907, where the question is discussed in detail; he also suggests that *Ṣāḥib Qirān* may only mean Lord of epochs. See also *Encyclopd. Islām*, IV, pp. 60, 61 (1937).

[3] The plural of كسرا, the Arabic form of the name Khusrau of the Persian kings; it was later generally adopted as the title for the Persian kings, *vide Encyclopd. Islām*, II, pp. 1041, 1042 (1927).

[4] The plural of قيصر the usual Arabic title for the Byzantine Emperors, see *Encyclopd. Islām*, II, p. 659 (1927).

[5] Farīdūn or Thraetona of the Greeks, one of the ancient kings of Persia. He was noted for his justice and virtues. *Vide* Beale, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130 (1894) and Sykes, *op. cit.*, I, p. 135 (1930).

[6] Qubād, the father of Nūshirwān the *'Ādil*, 487–531 A.D., the mighty warrior king of Persia. See Sykes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 441–448 (1930).

[7] The full name of this Persian king was Khusrau Parviz, and according to the Greeks Chosroes II. He reigned from 590–628 A.D. He 'was famous alike for his power, his magnificence, his treasures, his love for his Christian wife the beauteous Shirin, and his deep affection for his black horse Shabdiz'. *Vide* Sykes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 478–487 (1930).

Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzī. 12

May God grant stability to the throne of his kingdom extending to the fourth Heaven, and to his dominions consisting of seven kingdoms:

Verses :—

Oh God, so long as the Sun is shining
And traverses from the east to the west,
May the light of the King's mind
Brighten all from the Moon to the fish.[1]
May his hands, like the spring-rains,
Scatter pearls over persons of eminence!
May the shadow of his riches remain stationary!
May the Heavens be always at his command!

When this slave and insignificant particle, who is conscious of his humility and shortcomings, Ghiyāth-ud-dīn *bin* Humām-ud-dīn, generally styled Khwāndamīr:

Hemistich :—

Oh God! make his path easy!

was honoured by being taken into the service of the King, the defender of faith; and the light of the Sulṭān's favours, from the fountains of desires and trust, was directed towards the amelioration of this humble servant; I had only this wish in my head, and this thought in my mind, that I should write in the history of the world and on the leaves of day and night an account of at least some of the works which emanated from him, the details of the events, the inventions of his clever brain, and the miscellaneous devices of his adept mind, as 13
the glorious histories of the great kings are eternally preserved through the fountain of the dark inkstand and the indelible ink. And the eminent names and sublime chronicles of the elegant, creative minds and learned people are perpetuated in pages of history through the high encomiums of the noble emperors; for example, the eulogistic

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[1] The ماهی referred to here is not the sign Pisces, but the mythological fish known to the Arabs as بهموت *Bahmūt*, on the back of which the earth rests through the intermediation of the ox ليونان *Liyūnān*, *vide* Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad *bin* 'Abdullāh al-Kisā'ī's work *Bad' ad-Dunyā wa Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, R.A.S.B. MS. No. 612, Fol. 4*b*.

pages of 'Utbī[1] and 'Unṣurī[2] narrate and preserve the glories of
15 Maḥmūd,[3] while the matchless compositions of Mu'izzī[4] and Anwarī[5] record in detail the gallant deeds of Sanjar.[6]

Verses :—

Who would remember Ḥakīm Anwarī
Had he not composed the epic about Sanjar and his deeds ?
'Utbī by recording praises of Maḥmūd,
Fully realized his objective.
17 Sharaf[7] became famous in the world,
For he wrote in praise of Tīmūr[8] Gūrgān.[9]

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[1] Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, son of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbī. He was one of the most celebrated writers of the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Among other works he was the author of the well-known Tārīkh-ul-Yamīnī, *vide* Prashad, Preface of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. xxii (1939). For further details see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Persian text, p. 13, note 2 (1940).

[2] Abul Qāsim, son of Aḥmad al-'Unṣurī, was the Poet Laureate and a grandee of the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. The work referred to above is the قصائد حکیم عنصری an epic poem of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. For details, see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 410 (1894), Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III, p. 1031 (1883), and M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, *loc. cit.*, p. 14, note 3 (1940).

[3] The famous king of Ghazna, Maḥmūd the Iconoclast. For detailed accounts of his reign, see in addition to the *Tārīkh-ul-Yamīnī*, Raverty's translation of *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I, pp. 75–88 (1873), Ranking's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, pp. 15–33 (1898), De's translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, I, pp. 4–17 (1911), and Nazim's *Life and Time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931.

[4] For Mu'izzī Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad, the Poet Laureate of the Saljūq Emperors Jalāl-ud-dīn Malik Shāh and Mu'izz-ud-dīn Sanjar, see Browns, *Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 327 (1906) and M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15-16, note 2 (1940).

[5] For Anwarī, the famous poet of Khurāsān, see Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 365 (1906), M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, *loc. cit.*, p. 16, note 3 (1940), and Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 75 (1894).

[6] Mu'izz-ud-dīn Abul Ḥārith Sanjar the famous Saljūq king reigned from 511–552 A.H. (1117–1157 A.D.). He was well known for his 'valour, justice, magnanimity and kindness'. See Sykes, *loc. cit.*, II, pp. 38–52 (1930).

[7] Sharf-ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī, the author of *Ẓafarnāma* or the *Tārīkh Ṣāḥib Qirānī* (for details see Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 23, 24, 1924). He has been described as 'the panegyrist of Tīmūr'.

[8] Tīmūr Lang or Tamerlane, the celebrated conqueror of Asia whose dominions extended from the borders of China to the shores of the Mediterranean; 736–807 A.H. (1336–1404 A.D.). *Vide Encyloped. Islām*, IV, pp. 777–779 (1934).

[9] The exact meaning of the Mongol title Gūrgān or Kūrkān has been much discussed, and details will be found in the elaborate note in *Tārīkh-i-*

While the paucity of my learning and the lack of power of description did not permit of my writing in detail of the glorious deeds of this famous monarch, and did not allow the two-tongued pen to write about the laudable characteristics of this prosperous ruler, notwithstanding these shortcomings the wish was always uppermost in my sincere mind, and this determination was never shaken, even for a moment, from my anxious mentality. During this time on a glorious night [1]

Rashīdī by Elias and Ross, pp. 278–280 (1895); see also Ranking's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 353 (1898). The Mongol title 'was bestowed only on princes allied by marriage with the house of Chinghiz Khan. In modern mongol *Khurghen* means son-in-law'.

[1] The exact date of the event is uncertain. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III, p. 1024 (1883) gives 941 A.H. (1535 A.D.) as the date, but M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xxxiv, footnote 1, and p. 17, note 2 (1940), basing his argument on the statement in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's text-edition in the *Bibl. Indica Ser.*, II, p. 31, and English translation in the same series by the same author, II, p. 47, 1936)

در همین وقت، رایات فتح آیات، بجانب گوالیار نهضت فرموده، دو ماه بسیر و شکار گذرانیده، معاودت کرد،

gives 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.) as the year for this visit of Humāyūn to Gwāliār, and is of the opinion that it was during this period that Khwāndamīr was commissioned to write the *Humāyūn-nāma*. This view appears to be incorrect, as neither in the carefully compiled chronological summaries of the events of Humāyūn's reign in Banerji's *Humāyūn Bādshāh* (1938), pp. 50, 67, nor in any other of the contemporary histories I have been able to find any mention of the Humāyūn's visit to Gwāliār till 1533 A.D., when, on hearing of the reports of Sulṭān Bahādur's advance towards Chitor, he moved southwards and stayed for two months, February and March, at Gwāliār. This is confirmed by the account in the *Ṭabaqāt* as the next sentence to the one quoted above reads:

اتفاقاً درین حل سلطان بهادر با لشکرهای گجرات و مالوه، قلعه چتور را محاصره نموده،

The siege of the Chitor referred to in this sentence apparently formed part of Bahādur's campaign in 1533, and which he hastily concluded by signing a treaty with Rānā Vikramājīt on 27 Sha'bān 939 A.H. (March 24, 1533 A.D.) on hearing of Humāyūn's advance to Gwāliār (*vide* Banerji, p. 87). Burn's date 'late in 1534' (*Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 22, 1937) for the march to Gwāliār is, in view of the above facts, certainly incorrect. Against the acceptance of 937 A.H., the year of accession of Humāyūn to the throne, as the date on which Khwāndamīr was commissioned to compose the *Humāyūn-nāma* is further the statement of the author himself (Text, p. 18)

این بندهٔ مهجور که مدتی در آرزوی صدور این فرمان واجب الاذعان بسر می‌برد،

The date of the شب in Gwāliār referred to may, therefore, be placed some time

in the fort of Gwāliār[1] this insignificant and humble servant was honoured with permission to take a seat in the heavenly assembly, and the merciful fingers of that Sun of heavenly fortune (the King) opened the doors of perpetual favours in respect of my hopes. The tongue of revelation of that Emperor, who is as dignified as Alexander the Great and had kings as his slaves, made the following auspicious statement: 'It is right and proper that the inventions of my auspicious
18 mind and the discoveries of my erudite understanding should be chronicled in the proper order of their announcement and currency, so that the light of these happy works may eternally shine near and far in the pages (of the history) of the world.' Therefore, this humble servant, who all these days had been praying for this command to be issued, girded his loins to write about this very interesting subject. And having arranged the narratives and details of those uncomparable

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during February and March, 1533. Khwāndamīr also later (text, p. 83) mentions Sha'bān 939 A.H., February-March 1533 A.D., as the date on which the idea of building the *Dīnpanāh* came into Humāyūn's mind at Gwāliār. It is also confirmed by Gulbadan Bēgam (*The History of Humāyūn, Humāyūn-nāma*, Text p. 29, Translation p. 115 by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, 1902). According to her, Humāyūn after the expedition against the Afghāns, Biban and Bāyazīd which ended with the battle of Dādrah in August, 1532, stayed at Āgra for about a year when he asked Māham Bēgam's permission to go over to Gwāliār. He stayed there for two months, but the date of his return to Āgra as given by Gulbadan Bēgam, Sha'bān, 940 A.H., is, as Mrs. Beveridge pointed out, incorrect; it should be Shawwāl 939 A.H., April 1533 A.D. The period of his stay at Āgra also could not have been about a year, as Humāyūn was at Chunār from September–December, 1532 (*vide* Banerji, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47–50. The reference in Khwāndamīr (Text p. 102) to a visit of Humāyūn to Āgra in Dhul Qa'da 940 A.H. is certainly a mistake. *En passant* it may be noted that Banerji's date of the completion of *Dīnpanāh*, April, 1534 (pp. 58, 62) is certainly incorrect, for Khwāndamīr (pp. 85, 86) remarks:

تا اکنون که اواخر شوال سنه مذکور است فصیل و باره و سور و دروازهٔ شهر
دین پناه نزدیک باتمام رسیده،

the end of Shawwāl (اواخر شوال سنه ۹۴۰) would be about the first half of May, 1534, and in view of the festivities at *Dīnpanāh* in June, 1934 (Banerji, p. 67), M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's conjectural date of June, 1534, for the completion of the new town appears to be more feasible.

[1] In my transcription of Gwāliār I have followed the Persian writing گوالیار, though it is now commonly spelt as Gwalior. It is the capital of the Gwāliār State, situated in lat. 26° 13′ 0″ N. and long. 78° 12′ 0″ E., some sixty-five miles south of Āgra; *vide* Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, p. 494 (1881).

discoveries began writing them with all his descriptive skill. Through God's grace it is hoped that the eminent courtiers of his noble assembly will honour these accounts of the beneficial things of the age with their acceptance, and having favoured the eloquent statements in these narratives will overlook the shortcomings of the broken pen.

Verses :—

Oh God! when through Your kindness
And Your benevolence, which is endless,
You have granted me the power of compilation,
And most of my life has been spent in writing,
Whether I was a wanderer or a recluse
From the tip of my pen compositions appeared.
May my compositions receive acceptance
At the hands of the learned authors!
May the door of mercy be opened in our favour,
And the shortcomings of my pen be pardoned!

THE FRAGRANT ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY THE BLACK PEN IN THE GARDEN OF ACCESSION OF THAT SUN, THE HEAVEN OF BENEVOLENCE AND MUNIFICENCE.

God! The Kind, The True and the Infallible, (commanded): *The Earth is God's, to give as a heritage to such of His servants as He pleaseth; and the end is (best) for the righteous.*[1]

Verses :—

The God, who has created the Kingdom of the earth,
The head of the heavens is under His Orders;
When He wills that the world should become inhabited
There remains not a trace of disorder in the world.
He places the crown of royalty on the head of a person
Who is matchless in the administration of justice.
When he occupies the throne of dignity and grace,
He punishes the tyrants;
He exalts the standards of justice and impartiality;
Makes the people happy by his liberality;
Adorns his head with the crown of power;
Ties round his waist the girdle of abstinence.

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra VII, *A'rāf*, verse 128 (Rodwell), p. 377.

Stands in obedience to the command of God;
Always abstains from prohibited things;
The vaulted arch of a devotee
Is dearer to him than the arc of his friend's brow;
By dispensing liberality to the learned and philosophers,
And by rewarding the religious and pious men (he),
Revives the law of munificence,
And increases the means of prosperity;
Washes away, with the water of the rain of (his) generosity,
The dust of distress from the face of the country.
When he begins the conquest of countries,
The people of the world receive fresh life;
The armies are made happy by his gifts;
The subjects are saved from oppression;
He hesitates not in assigning estates (to the chiefs),
And granting cash and robes of honour to swordsmen;
He gives place, in the shadow of his kindness and favour,
To those who are the masters of pen.
He only loves sovereignty for this,
That he may reform the law of the religion.
(He) exalts the standards of Islām,
And uproots the infamous idols;
With sword in battle and spear in crusade;
He eradicates the infidels and the enemies.
By shedding the blood of the rebels and insurgents
He saves the country from disturbances.
He associates with the virtuous,
For fortune and virtue are close companions.
He rewards him with riches,
Who understands his business properly.
By his rising fortune and ripe understanding,
He affords satisfaction to all wishes of the rich and the poor.
He elevates the ranks of the skilful,
Also those of the clever artisans.
He looks at people with a merciful eye
Gives silver and gold to the poor.
Puts ointment on the wounds of hearts
And takes painful thorns out of hearts.
Effaces from the page of the world
The tribal customs that are useless.

Through his understanding and perfect wisdom, the King,
Introduces useful customs.

As to the excellent and auspicious personage of His Majesty the King, the defender of religion, the lord of the real and metaphoric world, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzī.

Hemistich :— 21

He is adorned with the virtues detailed already.

When in the beginning [1] of Jumādā I of the Year 937 A.H., the Emperor, who was as magnificent as Solomon, and whose justice was as weighty as the two worlds, found abode in the heavens, that is Ẓāhīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Bādshāh Ghāzī left the throne of conquest for the eternal heavens; the heavenly herald of the Supreme Lord of Kingdoms sounded the glorious message: *We made you the vicegerent on earth* [2] in the wise ears of this deserving Bādshāh, and the tips of the fingers of benevolence of the Creator of persons and universe, placed the happy robe of royalty on the body of this all-conquering Sovereign, for *He givest the kingdom to whom He pleases.*[3]

Verse :—

The joy, (which) prosperity demanded, has now been fulfilled,
And that object which the times longed for has been realized.

On Friday the 9th [4] of the aforementioned month the *Khuṭbah* [5] 22
was publicly read in the name and title of this Bādshāh of noble descent in the *Jāmi'* Mosque in the capital city of Āgra, and the uproar of felicitations and congratulations extended from the innermost recesses of the people to the sacred pinnacle of the heavens.

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[1] Khwāndamīr states that Bābur died in اوایل جمادی الاول سنه ۹۳۷ without giving the exact date. The date of his death, according to most authorities, was 5th Jumādā I, 937 A.H., December 26, 1530 A.D., but *Akbarnāma* and *Maā'ṯir-i-Raḥīmī* put it one day later.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXXVIII, *Ṣād*, verse 26 (in pt.), p. 1223.

[3] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra III, *Āl-i-'Imrān*, verse 26 (in pt.), p. 128.

[4] 9th Jumādā I, 937 A.H., December 30, 1530 A.D., was the Friday on which Humāyūn ascended the throne; see Banerji, *loc. cit.*, p. 18 (1938).

[5] For detailed descriptive notes regarding *Khuṭbah*, the prayer and oration, see Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islām*, pp. 275–277 (1885) and *Encycloped. Islām*, II, pp. 980–983 (1927). See also Beveridge, A. S., *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 84, note 3 (1902).

Verse:—

The sound of the *Khuṭbah* reached the Moon;
Gold was scattered in the name of the King.

The Emperor, the asylum of the world, after saying the prayers and offering thanks at the threshold of the munificent Deity, came out of the *Jāmi'* Mosque and honoured and exalted the throne of royalty and gratification, fortune, and conquest with his prosperous feet; gave tidings of justice and impartiality to his subjects; pronounced with his inspired tongue some very wise sentiments in respect of strengthening the tenets of the bright law, and enforcing the regulations of the shining religion. The throne of royalty attained honour from his person which embraces the qualities of Solomon, and the crown of sovereignty was exalted by being placed on the head of this King. The beauty of precious metals was enhanced by the impression of his auspicious name, and the engraving of his successful titles opened the gates of happiness on the face of the coins.

Quatrain:—

Crown was dignified by being placed on your head, O King!
Throne gained honour from your feet, O King.
Gold when it received embellishment from your name, O King;
Became most valuable of all things, O King.

From the gales of these tidings the buds of hearts expanded with
23 pleasure just as the buds bloom with the strong morning breeze; and on receiving this happy news the lives of the people flourished, as in spring. The revolving heavens ceased distressing the small and great men. The great poet Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu immā'ī[1] (the Enigmatist) says:—

Verses:—

What heart was that which was not pleased by these tidings,
That the master of the kingdom of life has obtained mastery of the world.

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[1] Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad came to India from Herāt with Khwāndamīr in 1528 A.D. His poetical name was Ḥaqīrī, and according to Abul Faḍl 'had an abundant share of learning and poetry'—Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 280, note 7. The nickname معمّائی or the enigmatist, had reference to his skill in the composition of enigmas; see Ranking's edition of *Muntakhab-uṭ-Tawārīkh*, I, pp. 449, 450 (1898). He died in 942 A.H., 1536 A.D.

An angel, who possessed the beauty of a fairy and the appearance of a nymph,
Assumed corporal form and became the King of the descendants of Ādam.
The centre of peace and security (is) the King by the name of Humāyūn, 24
From the weight of whose obedience the back of the heavens became arched.
It will be sufficient glory up to the day of resurrection for the people of the world,
That such an august person has become the King of the world.

The King, with the pomp of Jam, at the commencement of his august reign, distributed largesses to all from the cloud of his generosity, and the desires of the high and low were fully fulfilled; and by the light of his judicious administration he made the entire country of Hindūstān as rich and prosperous [1] as the Garden of Iram.[2] Having adopted the correct perspective of assigning people their proper positions, he, in connection with his subjects, protected and patronized all according to their respective stations and ranks. To the nobles, who were as powerful as Bahrām,[3] and without the use of whose swords and spears no country could be conquered, and no management of the kingdom effected, he entrusted the government of the most populated provinces and favoured them with large rewards. He exalted with increased confidence the ministers of the State, who were as shrewd as the planet Mercury,[4] and without the assistance of whose judicious wisdom

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[1] The missing word here appears to be آباد or prosperous.

[2] Iram or the Garden of Paradise, which Shaddād *bin* 'Ād attempted to emulate by constructing a terrestrial paradise in the desert of 'Adan. See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islām*, p. 215 (1885) and *Encycloped. Islām*, II, pp. 519, 520 (1927).

[3] Apparently the reference is to the great Persian monarch Bahrām Gūr, who reigned from 420–440 A.D. 'He administered justice without partiality, he encouraged agriculture, science and letters ..... When he died in A.D. 440, Persia was at the zenith of her power and prestige.' Sykes, *op. cit.*, I, p. 435 (1930).

[4] The planet Mercury, also known as دبیر فلک and noted for its learning, wisdom and shrewdness. By the astrologers it is regarded as a planet of mixed disposition. For a detailed account see *Encycloped. Islām*, IV, pp. 1058, 1059 (1934).

25 and prudent devices no revenue could be collected, or stability established; and promoted them from their ranks. He honoured and respected the great Saiyids and noble Shaikhs, who are the fruits of the gardens of friendship (with God), and the stars of the heaven of guidance; and opened for them the gates of generosity and reverence. He showed great kindness and favour to the respected philosophers and the great literary men, who are, in fact, the lamps of the chambers of knowledge and the keys of the doors of the garden of instruction; he benefitted them with his liberality and himself with their knowledge. He gave his protection and patronage to the *Qāḍīs* and the law officers of Islām, who are the expounders and promulgators of the Muhammedan Law. He granted all requests of these good people, and placed the cash of their satisfaction in the sleeves of their desire. He exalted and honoured with all kinds of favours and kindness the poets and prose writers whose compositions are *as though they were rubies and coral* [1] properly arranged for the manufacture of the crowns of *the pure ones confined to pavilions*,[2] and whose jewels and illumina-
26 tions *like unto pearls well-guarded* [3] adorn the ears and necks of *youths of perpetual freshness*; [4] and, as is proper, he made the hearts of these respective classes happy by rewarding them with *Dīnārs* and *Dirhams*.[5] He comforted and tranquilized the agriculturists and tenants, upon whose exertions and labours the management and existence of the world depends, by the shadow of his generosity, and by the drops from the clouds of his benign grace made the trees of their hopes fruitful, and sowed the seeds of his kindness and favour in the fields of their hearts. He loved and respected merchants, who came from overseas and various countries, and who by their exertions and overcoming difficulties had navigated and travelled to the countries of Persia and Arabia; he granted them much protection; and by giving them charters and reducing their taxes, he gave proofs of his generosity, and observed all rules of hospitality (towards them). He exempted artisans and tradesmen, who endure much labour and

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LV, *Raḥmān*, verse 58, p. 1480.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LV, *Raḥmān*, verse 72, p. 1481.

[3] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LVI, *Wāqi'a*, verse 23, p. 1486.

[4] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LVI, *Wāqi'a*, verse 17 (in pt.), p. 1486.

[5] For *Dīnārs* and *Dirhams*, see *Encycloped. Islām*, I, pp. 975, 976 and 978, 979 (1913) and Ranking's Translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 18, note 1 and p. 24, note 2 (1898). Also see Phillott's edition of Blochmann's Translation of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, I, pp. 36-38 (1939).

undergo great risks from all kinds of burdens and expenses, and having fixed reasonable duties and rates afforded them protection 27
and encouragement in all their affairs.

Verses:—

He assisted people by his gifts;
Freed the country from disturbances;
As he always afforded protection to the oppressed;
People forgot the justice of Nūshirwān.

It is hoped that through the mercy of the great Creator, and by virtue of these excellent qualities, and his laudable deeds, the light of government of this Sun of the heaven of sovereignty and power shall never cease to shine, and the necks of rebels in different parts of the world shall be bound with the rope of obedience and submission towards the officers of his august throne.

Verse:—

May all his days and nights be happy and auspicious!
The pillars of his dignity be higher than the heavens!

The great respectable noble Amīr Uwais Muḥammad [1] composed the following verses in honour of this accession:—

O King, asylum of the world, O Sovereign, 21
It befits you to sit on the throne of royalty.
You are the pole of the earth, and through you the world is so flourishing.
Otherwise this ancient building would fall into decay.
May God grant you victory in battles, fought both for religion and conquest!
May you, the Sovereign of the world be blessed with Solomon's throne!
What show of dignity is this, what management and order,
Wonderful is the government, wonderful the pomp, wonderful the King's law.

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[1] For a detailed note about Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Uwais, see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, *loc. cit.*, p. 27, note 1 (1940). He is later (Text, p. 50) mentioned as the officer in charge of all the four departments of Fire, Air, Water and Earth. He is called Amīr Waisī in *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 645) and Ranking's Translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, pp. 584, 585.

29 (The King) is the pearl of the river of religion and the Sun of the heaven of glory,
The phoenix of the height of ostentation, the pole of the world, and the shadow of God.
With his moon-like face the King[1] of the world is the eye and the light of the holy world,
His heart-attracting stature is a beautiful tree of the garden of nature,
Why are the eyes of man unable to look into his eyes,
Because his forehead is refulgent with supreme light.
The eyes of the world received light from the Sun of his beauty,
Just as those of Jacob[2] did from the shining Moon of Kin'ān (Joseph).
As I see, a world is supported by him,
O God! preserve his holy person in the world.

The elect of the learned, the prince of wit, Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu'immā'ī wrote an elegant strophe which forms the chronogram of this happy event. It is:

The King of Kings, Bābur, who had
Two hundred slaves like Jamshēd and Kai.[3]
His seat became the exalted Paradise,
When the long roll of his life was wrapt up by death.
Muḥammad Humāyūn sat in his place.
May his dominions extend from China to Turkey and Raiy![4]
30 If the date be asked, my heart, you tell
Humāyūn is the heir of his kingdom.[5]

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[1] The missing words may be شه عالم and these have been adopted.

[2] The reference is to the patriarch Yā'qūb (Jacob) regaining his eyesight, which he had lost through sorrow for his son Yūsuf (Joseph) on the latter's shirt being cast on his eyes. *Vide* A. Yusuf Ali's edition of the *Qur'ān*, Sūra XII, *Yūsuf*, verse 96, p. 585 (1938). Also see *Encycloped. Islām*, IV, p. 1152 (1934).

[3] Either Kaiomurs the first monarch of the Pīshdādiāns or Kaiqubād the founder of the Kayānīān dynasty may have been in the mind of the author. Both of them (*vide* Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 205) were great monarchs and may easily be compared with Jamshēd.

[4] The ancient Ragha, a town in Media. Its ruins are situated about five miles S.S.E. of Ṭehrān. For details, see *Encycloped. Islām*, III, pp. 1105–1108 (1936).

[5] According to ابجد the sum total of the verse همایون بود وارث ملک وی comes to 937. The exact date of the accession of Humāyūn, however, was

The eloquent and wise Maulānā Yūsufī,[1] the physician, composed an elegant quatrain on the subject:

Bābur, a king most just and religious,
And that prince Humāyūn, who shut the gate of tyranny,
In the year nine hundred and thirty-seven suddenly, by destiny,
That departed from the world, and this sat in his place.

The following quatrain had also come to the mind of the writer of these lines during these days:

That King whose awe broke the heart of the enemy,
Before whose dignity that of the seventh heaven is low.
When God's grace assisted him
He sat upon the throne in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven.

Thanks be to God, the most Gracious and Glorious, and blessings on our Prophet, Master of excellence and superiority, and on his descendants and companions who were the stars of the heaven of guidance and good luck. 31

An account by the eloquent pen of certain Innovations by the King, the Regulator of Human Affairs of Fortune and Desires.

It would be clear, apparent, evident and manifest to all who possess sufficient intelligence and who are blessed with a knowledge of the glorious deeds of the Prophet and observe the traditions of the apostles, that the Chief of the prophets and Lord of the chosen ones, who had received merciful favours and pious benedictions, had taken auguries from a judicious consideration of the names of the people, and while regarding ill omens inauspicious, lauded the good ones. His Majesty the King, the shadow of God, spends all his time in a diligent study of the religious laws of the chosen Prophet of

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9 Jumādā I, 937 A.H. (*vide* note 4, p. 17). For ﻳﻮﺳﻒ, see Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islām*, p. 3 (1894).

[1] Maulānā Yūsuf I, the physician, whose full name was Yūsuf *bin* Muḥammad Harwī, was, according to *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 280, 281 and note 1, p. 281), 'distinguished for good qualities, for dexterity as an operator and for assiduity'. For further details, see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, *loc. cit.*, p. 30, note 1 (1940).

Islām, and always takes auguries, while riding for pleasure and exploration, by enquiring the names of various people (whom he may meet),
32 and on the warning of evil omens desists (from carrying out his intentions). Among other wonderful happenings to this great Sovereign in this line, which was observed, was, that in the year[1] in which the (late) King,[2] who was as great as Solomon, who was destined to enter Paradise and was associated with fortune and prosperity, marched from Kābul towards Qandahār; and left[3] this Sun of the heaven of power and sovereignty at Kābul for the advancement of the affairs of the country and the possessions. One day he riding on his Vēnus-[4] like horse went to ramble about in the forests, hills, gardens and meadows. On the road his prosperous mind becoming desirous of
33 taking an omen,[5] he addressed the protector of nobles, Maulānā Masīḥ-ud-dīn Rūḥ-Ullāh,[6] who had the honour of being the tutor of that fountain of favours and protection, and who was the maker of his dress of attainments, that it had come into his gracious mind that he should ask the names of three persons whom he may meet, and

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[1] Unfortunately there is a gap in Bābur's *Memoirs* between 2nd January, 1520, and 16th November, 1525 (November 17 according to Mrs. Beveridge, see Mrs. Beveridge, *The Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 426, 1914, Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, pp. 266, note 5, 267, and Sir Richard Burn, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 10, 1937), but it appears certain that the march referred to must have been during this period.

[2] Emperor Bābur.

[3] I have not been able to find any details about Humāyūn having been left in charge of Kābul. It is mentioned by Abul Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (*Bibliotheca Indica Ser.*, Text, I, p. 357, 1877, and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 642), but his account is almost a verbatim copy from Khwāndamīr, and no date is mentioned.

[4] The planet زهره or Venus is also called سعد اصغر or Lesser Fortune. It is the Star of Amusement and Joy—*vide* Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 72, notes 6 and 8.

[5] In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's Text edition, II, p. 80, 1931, and Translation, II, pp. 130, 131, 1936) and *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* (Bombay Lith. ed. I, p. 456, 1832) this taking of omens is wrongly assigned to the period just before Humāyūn's return march to India in 1554 A.D. Erskine, *A History of India*, II, p. 531, 1854, mentions it as 'an incident that occurred in his early years'. For فال see *Encycloped. Islām*, II, pp. 46, 47 (1927).

[6] In *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 357, Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 643) the name is مولانا روح الله. I have not been able to find any further account of this teacher of Humāyūn.

take an omen from it. The Maulānā said it would be enough to ask the name of one person, but he (Humāyūn) was firm in his intention. After traversing a short distance they saw an aged man; and on their asking him his name, he replied Murād Khwājah. After him another person, driving a donkey loaded with wood, came before them; when they asked his name, he said, Daulat Khwājah. After this the inspired tongue of the prince said that 'if the name of the next person that comes be Sa'ādat Khwājah it will be a strange and beautiful coincidence, and the star of hope of the high and prosperous omen will ascend from the high horizon[1] of fortune. At the very moment a boy,[2] who was grazing some cattle, appeared before them, and when they asked him what his name was, he replied Sa'ādat Khwājah. This, of course, excited great wonder and surprise in all the servants who were in attendance, and they were all sure that this King of auspicious 34
fortune will soon by Divine favour attain the highest pitch of fortune and glory; and the hand of the ever-lasting favour of God would open to him the gates of success in all his sacred and worldly hopes. When afterwards the throne of fortune and glory was filled by this valiant and exalted *Bādshāh*, he divided all the officers of the State, or rather all the inhabitants of his dominions into three classes.[3] He called his brothers and other relatives, his officers (*Umārā*), his ministers (*Wazīrs*) and his soldiers *Ahl-i-Daulat* (officers of the State), because it is evident and patent to the acute minds, according to the words—*There can be no dominion without men*—that without the assistance of these brave people no degree of prosperity and wealth can be attained; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the help of warriors and heroes.

Verses:—

Sulṭāns, with the assistance of (their) army and retinue
Place their feet on the thrones of empires.
He alone can attain wealth and rank,
Who is assisted by an army.

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[1] The missing words here appear to be از افق .

[2] مردی instead of پسری in *Akbarnāma* appears more suitable.

[3] The account of the division of the inhabitants of his dominions into three classes is also copied by Abul Faḍl with slight alterations in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, pp. 357, 358. Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 643, 644).

The holy persons, the great Shaikhs, the respectable Saiyids, the
35 learned men, the *Qāḍīs* of Islām, the band of philosophers and poets, the judges, the nobles and worthy people were called *Ahl-i-Sa'ādat* (good men), as a regard for this honourable band, and an association with this revered class secures eternal prosperity, and enables one to rise to everlasting dignity and rank.

Verses :—

Virtue is the gift of God:
It is not in the power of the strong men to obtain it.
If you wish to obtain fortune,
Always associate with virtuous men.

Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and handsome, also clever musicians and sweet singers were named *Ahl-i-Murād* (people of pleasure), because most people desire and derive great pleasure from the company of such white-cheeked young persons and rosy-cheeked sweet singers, and cherish and covet to hear songs and poesies and the pleasing sounds of the harp, sackbut and the lute.

Verses :—

The hope of the heart of lovers
Is not (realized) without meeting rosy-cheeked beloveds.
36 He who is fond of hearing songs and music
Has the gates of happiness open to him.

And in a similar fashion this sage King considered the division of days of the week, and appointed each day to one of (the three classes), the *Ahālī-i-Daulat*, *Sa'ādat* and *Murād*. Thus Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for the pious people, and on these days audiences were granted to the literary and religious persons; and the tree of hope of this estimable body bore fruit of eternal prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-like (court). And the reason why these two days were allotted to this class was, that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn,[1] who is the patron of the respected Shaikhs and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter,[2]

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[1] The planet Saturn, one of the two infortunes (the other being Mars), is 'the larger star of misfortune' and to it are ascribed 'devastation, ruin, grief and cares', *vide Encycloped. Islām*, IV, pp. 1237–1239 (1934).

[2] Jupiter or سعد اکبر the Greater Fortune 'signifies justice, integrity, magnanimity, firmness of soul and civilization', *vide* Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 74.

which is the star of the Saiyids, the learned and the strict followers of the Muhammadan Law. Sundays and Tuesdays (were fixed) for the State officials; and all royal affairs and the duties connected with the management of the government were discharged on these days; and on these two days as a result of the *Bādshāh*, the destroyer of the enemies, holding a public court, all the nobles and plebians were able to attain the honour of his audience. The advantage in appointing these two days for the holding of the court, and for the issue of orders and commands was, that Sunday appertains to Sun,[1] who in accord- 37
ance with the pleasure of the Almighty regulates the destinies of the rulers and the Sulṭāns; while Tuesday is the day of Mars[2]; and Mars is the patron of warriors. Hence it is clear and evident from this definite statement, that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public court-hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the duties of government and issuing commands, was more appropriate than on other days.

Amongst other customs[3] introduced by this just and generous King and which were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he adorned the throne[4] of royalty by sitting on it, drums were beaten to inform all the people that they should without unnecessary delay come to his presence; and when he left the court, the gunners fired guns to let people know that they could retire. Also on these days the keepers of the wardrobe used to bring to the royal 38
court some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurers several bags of money, so that whoever may be rewarded with money and robes, may receive it without delay. Also on those days several persons, who having put on coats-of-mail resembled Bahrām, stood before the throne with blood-drinking cuirasses in their hands so as to punish those who might be proved[5] guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays, on

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[1] For details in reference to Sun, see the article *al-Shams* in *Encycloped. Islām*. IV, pp. 308, 309 (1934). Sun is supposed to be 'the special bestower of glory, power, pomp and prestige'.

[2] The planet Mars next to Saturn is credited with most ominous omens and effects, war, revolutions, death, conflagration, etc. *Vide Encycloped. Islām*, III, pp. 515, 516 (1936).

[3] This innovation also is mentioned by Abul Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 358 and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 644). Beveridge transcribes دیوان indiscriminately as *Dīwān* and *Dīvān*.

[4] The missing words here appear to be بر سریر.

[5] The missing word is apparently the verb شود.

the other hand, were designated the days of pleasure (parties), and on these two days some of the old companions and chosen friends and parties of people of pleasure and distinction were invited to the heavenly assemblies, and all their wishes fulfilled. The reason for apportioning these two days to the *Ahl-i-Murād* was that Monday is the day of Moon [1] and Wednesday of Mercury; [2] and it was, therefore, proper that he should spend these two days in the company of young men, as beautiful as the Moon, and hearing sweet songs and delightful music help in advancing their beauty and elegance, while for Friday, which as its name (*Jum'a*) [3] indicates, is the assemblage of all above-mentioned affairs, the session of the day, subject to the limitation of time, surpassed all others.

39 Another invention [4] of this King was, that he had three arrows made of gold, and in reference (to the three classes mentioned above), named them respectively the arrows [5] of *Sa'ādat*, *Daulat* and *Murād*. Each of these three arrows was handed over to one of the firmly established [6] leaders of the three classes, so that through his agency the affairs of that class could be regulated. Further it was provided that so long as each of the holders of these arrows conducted the duties appertaining to his division with such care as to ensure the pleasure of God and to the satisfaction of the King, he as the subject of royal favours, should remain securely and firmly established in his position of authority. But if intoxicated by the wine of authority and arrogance, his foresight was obscured by the cover of negligence, or if out of some evil motive he did not attend to the affairs of State, and through misfortune made the collection of riches his main objective, then the arrow of his design would not reach the target of success; and the writing of deposition was written by the pen of fate on the page of his sordid circumstances. So it was possible that bliss, which

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[1] In reference to the Moon, see *Encycloped. Islām*, II, pp. 705, 706 (1927).

[2] *Vide* note 4, p. 19.

[3] This pun on the word جمعه refers to the assembling together or collecting for prayer or otherwise on Friday.

[4] Abul Faḍl mentions this arrangement in almost identical terms in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 358, and Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 644, 645) This is also briefly referred to in Erskine, *A History of India*, II, p. 533 (1854).

[5] سهم, plural سهام, properly means an arrow or a divining arrow, and hence a lot, part, segment or a class; *vide* Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, I, pp. 99, 644.

[6] The correct expression here would be راسخ البنيان and not راسخ البيان as printed in the text.

had dignified any of the three officers, even were the innermost recesses of Humāyūn's heart not so inclined,[1] so arranged this affair for more than a day or a week, that by the force of its alliance it 40
should make it possible for the management of the affairs of the State to flourish through his vigilance and skilful handling; and the benevolent King would, in proportion to the service rendered, raise his office. And similarly it may happen that a person smelling the fragrance of power may lay the foundations of conflict and dispute with either the *Ahl-i-Sa'ādat* or *Daulat* or *Murād*, and act so madly on the very first day, owing to the intoxication of his senses, as to stray from the path of confidence, and be censured and dismissed.

Hemistich:—

A little smell of wine is enough for the intoxicated.

During the time while the pen of the author was busy in compiling this treatise, the affairs of the people of *Sa'ādat* were assigned to the greatest of all the learned and clever men, the most renowned of all nobles and dignified officers, one who embodied all perfections of mind and was the shelter of the virtuous among mankind, lord of fortune, mine of benevolence, associate of the King, Jupiter[2] of learning, and the highest officer of the government Maulānā Muḥī-ud-dīn Muḥammad Farghārī.[3] And the shutting and opening, the binding 41

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[1] The missing word here appears to be مایل .

[2] For Jupiter, see note 2, page 26.

[3] The name in *Akbarnāma* is variously written مولانا محمد پیر علی (Text, p. 133), مولانا محمد پرغلی and محمد پرغلی (p. 140), مولانا محمد پرغلی (p. 159) and مولانا محمد فرغلی (p. 359). Beveridge in the English Translation, following Elias and Ross's Translation of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1895), writes the name as Maulānā Muḥammad Parghālī or Parghālī (pp. 304, 315, 344), but later transcribes it as Maulānā Farghalī. Mirza Haidar in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (*op. cit.*, p. 468) describes him as one of the 'sensual and profligate' servants of Humāyūn. He was a follower of Shaikh Buhlūl, and a favourite of Humāyūn, and was sent to Shēr Khān for concluding a peace (*vide* Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 225, who calls him Mulla Mir Muhammad Parghari). He had previously acted as Humāyūn's agent in negotiations with Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarāt, and the only redeeming feature of his character mentioned anywhere was his courageous defence of the *Imām* who had unfortunately recited an objectionable *Sūra* (*Fīl*) at the time of the evening prayer, and who was, therefore, ordered by Humāyūn to be thrown under the feet of an elephant (*vide* Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 315, and Banerji, p. 149). He was drowned at Chausa after the battle in

and unloosening of the great affairs of the aged Shaikhs, the noble Saiyids, the liberal professors, the honest Qāḍīs, the great teachers and the expounders of law, devotees and pious men, as also the duties appertaining to the laity, the appointment and dismissal to the law officers, and the managers for various religious duties, the assignment of pensions and granting of lands in charity to this class was entrusted to him, while the conduct and superintendence of all government affairs and the duty of superintending the management of the State officials were placed in the hands of the great general of the field of prosperity, and the conqueror of the flags of fame, the lord of wealth and a noble worthy of rank, associate of the King, the most noble pillar of State and hero of the fields of bravery, Shujā'-ud-dīn Amīr Hindū Bēg Bahādur.[1] He in accordance with the royal command superintended the contraction and expansion, the opening and shutting of the offices of the great *Amīrs*, nobles and ministers, all administrators of the State, and the judicial officers. He also fixed the salaries of all military personnel in the ever-victorious armies, and appointed
42 guards for all officers of the heavenly throne. And the weighty affairs of *Murād* and of the public works of the King, both religious and legislative, were conducted by the protector of the learned, the very capable, the very successful, worthy and trustworthy, deserving of regard and respect, the close associate of the King, member of the select assembly, glory of wealth, country and religion, Amīr Uwais Muḥammad,[2]

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which Humāyūn was defeated by Shēr Khān on 9th Ṣafar 946 A.H. (26th June, 1539 A.D.)—*vide* Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 344; his date of this battle 7th June, 1539 is, however, incorrect.

[1] One of the very influential *Amīrs* of Bābur and Humāyūn. He is often mentioned in *Bābur-nāma* and *Akbarnāma*, and held various important offices, such as the governor of Bhēra in 1519, Humāyūn's deputy for his *Jāgīrs*, and finally as the governor of Jaunpūr since Junaid Barlās's death (June 20, 1536—June 10, 1537) with the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā. He was also a military commander of repute having been present at the battle of Panīpat in 1526, Chief of Humāyūn's military staff in the battles against the Afghāns (according to *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Ranking's Translation, I, p. 471, 'Commander-in-chief of the Mughūl army'), and later in the Gujarāt campaign against Sulṭān Bahādur. He was appointed 'Askarī's adviser after the latter's appointment as the Viceroy of Gujarāt in 1535, and advised him to assume sovereignty independent of the Central Government at Delhī. His death led to the dislocation of the administration in the eastern provinces and the rise of Shēr Khān. See Mrs. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur*, pp. 368, 465, 472, 528, 1914–17; and Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 44, 130, 152, 161, 199, 204, 217.

[2] See note 1, p. 21.

may the Almighty grant him eternal honour! It may be stated without any exaggeration and flattery that, so far as was possible, he performed satisfactorily the duties attached to this office, and the public works of the strong and prosperous King, and in connection with the arrangement of the articles of ostentation and dignity, and the construction of the paraphernalia of magnificence and pomp. It is hoped by the everlasting favour of God that these three rich and virtuous officers will always, under the shadow of prosperity of this excellent Monarch, continue to perform the political and revenue duties in so efficient a manner as to conduce to the happiness of both the army and the subjects; and result in the increase of wealth and unlimited prosperity from day to day. Also all the religious and worldly desires, and the secular and profane prospects of all the servants of the sacred throne of the noble King, the shadow of God, will be realized through their ceaseless endeavours and in the best possible manner.

Verses:—

O God! this exalted Sovereign,
Whose palace resembles that of Solomon, and whose nature is like that of Alexander the Great,
May he retain his fortune for countless years!
Through his prosperity the distinguished may be contented.
Eternal felicity be his companion, 43
And the desires of the two worlds be his associates.

And among the customs introduced by this fortunate and ingenious King was that of the distribution of arrows[1] by means of which the distinction of the rank of each of the servants of the holy throne was marked. The pen of eloquence thus writes on and describes in full detail this particular head. According to the different standards of gold, the ranks of the people composing the classes of *Daulat*, *Sa'ādat* and *Murād* are divided into twelve distinctive arrows (or classes), and every one receives a rank or grade in conformity with his position. The twelfth arrow, which is made of the purest gold, is reserved for the quiver of this powerful King, and no one is allowed to share it with him. The eleventh arrow to (His Majesty's) relations, brethren and all the *Sulṭāns* who are in the employment of this throne, the nest of the angels. The tenth is designated by the Old Man of Wisdom to the great Shaikhs, the Saiyids and the great learned and

[1] See note 5, p. 28.

religious men. The ninth is connected with the great nobles. The
44 eighth was given to intimate (courtiers) and to headmen[1] with offices; and the seventh was reserved for headmen in general. The sixth was assigned to the heads of clans and the good-tempered Uzbegs,[2] and the fifth was given to young volunteers.[3] The fourth was granted to the treasurers. The third was assigned to the soldiers. The second was denominated by the Writer of Destiny for the menial servants, while the first was attributed to the watchmen, camel drivers and the like. Each of the three arrows of the specified classes were further assigned and classified into three grades, the highest, the middle and the lowest; because *He is* the *Lord of all He surveys.* And it should not remain secret and hidden from the intelligent and sagacious minds, that these numerals, which the illustrious *Bādshāh* has adopted for classifying the positions of the courtiers and all servants of the holy throne, are an inspiration from the heavens and a Divine dispensation. For, twelve is the number of digits on which the regulation of most worldly affairs, and of every momentous business has been ordained since the creation of the world to the present time.
45 Firstly because the eighth heaven is divided into the twelve Signs of the Zodiac,[4] and the direction of the revolutions of the Sun, the Moon

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[1] Beveridge in *Akbarnāma* (Translation, I, p. 646, note 1), explains ایچکی by reference to ایچی brother-in-law, as intimate associates of some kind, but follows the text in writing *ankacian*. The word however, as M. Hidāyat Ḥosain has shown, is of Turkish derivation and means داروغهٔ شهر headmen; it may also mean superior or principal officers in general.

[2] Spelt as Uzbeks or Uzbegs. I have followed the *Cambridge History of India* in adopting Uzbeg as the more correct rendering.

[3] I have followed Beveridge (*Akbarnāma*, Translation, I, p. 646, note 2) in translating یکه جوانان as young volunteers. The translation in *History of India as told by its own Historians*, V, p. 213; 1873, of this term as young maid-servants is certainly incorrect.

[4] The twelve Signs of the Zodiac or منطقة البروج are: (i) حمل Ram or Aries; (ii) ثور Bull or Taurus; (iii) جوزا Twins or Gemini; (iv) سرطان Crab or Cancer; (v) اسد Lion or Leo; (vi) سنبله Virgin or Virgo; (vii) میزان Balance or Libra; (viii) عقرب Scorpion or Scorpio; (ix) قوس Archer or Sagittarius; (x) جدی Goat or Capricorn; (xi) دلو Watercarrier or Aquarius; and (xii) حوت Fish or Pisces. The Signs of the Zodiac were further divided into three or four groups of four or three stars each—*vide* Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 71, note 1.

and the stars, and the seven planets[1] is contingent on the Signs of the Zodiac. And the calculations for months and years are based on their revolutions, and the light of the truth of this idea shines as the passage of days and months in different parts of the universe.

And further the regulation of some of the most important occupations of the world is dependent upon the division of time; and time means the hours of nights and days. And nights and days, in their mean lengths, at the commencement of spring and autumn, consist each of twelve hours. The months also are not more than twelve in number, as is clear from the oracular text (in the *Qur'ān*): *The number of months in the sight of God is twelve (in a year).*[2]

And further the tribes of Israel, that is of the sons of Jacob, May peace be on him! were twelve[3] in number, as the holy words indicate: *Of the people of Moses there is a section who guide and do justice in the light of truth; we divided them into twelve tribes*;[4] and also according to the very fortunate verse: *God did aforetime take a covenant from the children of Israel and appointed twelve captains among them.*[5] 46
The commentators of the words of the Almighty God, and the reliable authorities of the religious works have circumscribed the number of the chiefs of the tribes of Moses[6] to twelve.

And further the Best of Mankind,[7] May God's blessings be on him up to the day of resurrection! also appointed out of his friends twelve persons as his agents on the night of *'Aqba*;[8] and similarly 47

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[1] سبعه سياره or النجوم السيارات the wandering stars, as distinguished from the fixed stars النجوم الثوابت, according to the Arabian astronomers, following that of Ptolemy, are: (i) قمر Moon; (ii) عطارد Mercury; (iii) زهره Venus; (iv) شمس Sun; (v) مريخ Mars; (vi) مشترى Jupiter; and (vii) زحل Saturn. For further details, see Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 459.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra IX, *Tauba* or *Barāt*, verse 36 (in pt.), p. 450.

[3] Apparently this is a reference to the tribal organization of the Jews. The twelve tribes were derived from the sons of Jacob, whose name was changed to Israel (soldier of God).

[4] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra VII, *A'rāf*, verses 159 and 160 (in pt.), pp. 389, 390.

[5] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra V, *Mā'ida*, verse 13 (in pt.), p. 244.

[6] The reference is to *Qur'ān*, Sūra VII, *A'rāf*, verses 159, 160, pp. 389, 390. The twelve tribes are identical with those discussed in note 3 above.

[7] The Prophet Muḥammad.

[8] See M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's detailed note, Text, p. 46, note 4, in reference to *'Aqba*. The twelve agents referred to by Khwāndamīr are apparently those who

the number of the chaste *Imāms*.[1] May God be pleased with them! was twelve.

Further the letters of the words of each half of the Creed of Faith,[2] which is the true foundation of religion, is computed at twelve. And the truth of this assertion will be confirmed by evidence to everyone who should count the letters of the two halves of the Creed.

Finally after this division was effected, the arrows (clans) of *Daulat* and *Sa'ādat* of the servants of the threshold, which was as dignified as the seventh heaven, had all their desires gratified. The great *Bakhshīs*[3] gave to each the stipend and rank as assigned for this (division), until all became acquainted with their respective
48 positions, and being agreed and contented and helped and satisfied, they began to say prayers and praises in honour of the all-conquering Sovereign:

Verses:—

O King! May you live always,
The satellite of the Sun be your standard.
May Saturn[4] sing your praises.
Prayers for you be on the tongues of the angels.
Your face be full of joy,
The heart of your enemy be consumed by the arrow of sadness.
All good fortune, according to your desires,
May with prosperity and riches be granted to you!

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came for pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca in the first meeting (*'Aqba ūlā*) in 12 A.H.

[1] Literally امام is one whose leadership or example is to be followed. The twelve leaders of the sect, according to the *Shī'ah* tradition, are: (i) 'Alī; (ii) al-Ḥasan; (iii) al-Ḥusain; (iv) 'Alī *bin* al-Ḥusain (*alias* Zain-ul-'Ābidīn); (v) Muḥammad al-Bāqir; (vi) Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq; (vii) Mūsā al-Kāẓim; (viii) 'Alī *bin* Mūsā ar-Riḍā; (ix) Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭaqī; (x) 'Alī an-Naqī; (xi) al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī; and (xii) al-Mahdī (*vide Ḥaydu'l-Qulūb*, Merrick's edition, p. 203 and Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 203, 204). For details of their lives, see Dārā Shikuh, *Safīnat-ul-Auliyā*, pp. 20–35 (Āgra, 1853).

[2] كلمه literally means the word, the Creed of the Muslims. For a detailed note see Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 260. Each half of the كلمه consists of twelve letters.

[3] With reference to *Bakhshī*, see Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37–40 (1903); Prashad, *Ṭabāqat-i-Akbarī*, Translation, III, Preface, pp. xii, xiii, note 2, and M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 47, note 1.

[4] According to Johnson's *Dictionary—Persian, Arabic and English*, p. 291 (1852) پیر هفت فلک (apparently here abbreviated as پیر فلک) is either Saturn

Another of the innovations[1] of this King of angelic frame of mind, was that he divided the affairs of the State into four departments, corresponding to the four elements, *viz.*, the *Ātashī* (fire), *Hawā'ī* (air), *Ābī* (water), and *Khākī* (earth). And for transacting the business of each of these four departments a *wazīr* (minister) was appointed. The department, which dealt with the artillery, direction of armour and arms, making of weapons of war, various types of engines and such other things which were connected with fire, was designated the Fire Department; and Khwājah 'Amīd-ul-Mulk[2] was appointed as the minister-in-charge, and the fire of his care inflamed the hearts of those who were employed on these works. The duties connected with the wardrobe, the kitchen, the stables, and the necessary management of mules and camels were assigned to the section named the Air Department; and the charge of this office was entrusted to Khwājah Luṭf Ullāh.[3] And the affairs of the syrup manufactory, the wine-cellar[4] and the digging of canals and all works relating to water and rivers formed the portfolio of the Water Department; and Khwājah Ḥasan[5] was in its charge. The affairs of agriculture, building, and the administration of the exchequer, lands, and of some of the buildings were assigned to the office called the Earth Department; and the management of the work of this department was under the ministry of Khwājah Jalāl-ud-dīn Mīrzā Bēg.[6] And formerly an *Amīr* was employed in each of the departments mentioned above. For example Amīr Nāṣir Qulī[7] was the head of the Fire Department, and was always dressed in red. After his death the cypress of the garden of dignity and grandeur, Amīr Nihāl[8] was appointed to the same

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or Jupiter. The more appropriate of the two here would be Jupiter, مشتری, singing brilliantly the praises of Humāyūn; and I have, therefore, adopted it. In reference to Saturn and Jupiter, see notes 1, 2, p. 26, respectively.

[1] The account of the division of the affairs of the State into four departments corresponding to the four elements is copied almost verbatim in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, pp. 359, 360 and Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 646, 647).

[2] The name is Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Malik in the printed Text of *Akbarnāma*, but some MSS. have 'Amīd-ul-Mulk. I have not been able to find any account of this officer.

[3] Beveridge's rendering of the name as Laṭīf Ullāh is certainly incorrect.

[4] For the derivation of the word سوچی *sūchī*, see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's Text, p. 49, note 2.

[5–8] It has not been possible to trace any accounts of these officers of the State.

office, but during the days when these pages were written, the superintendent of all the four Departments is the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amīr Uwais Muḥammad, May God keep him safe from all harm and dangers, and may his future be more propitious than the present!

Verses:—

O God! Since from workmen and elements
Wonders are produced in the world of possibilities
May this glorious King enjoy (the products)
Of air, fire, water and earth.

Scattering the shining jewels of description in Praise of the Assembly of Entertainment and Banquet; and receiving the cash of consummation of desires from the Innovations of the Victorious and Triumphant Bādshāh.

The Bādshāh, the protector of the world, the manifestation of the phrase, *the king is the shadow of God*,[1] in the same year[2] when the happy tidings of the increase of the kingdom and power became apparent from the rise of dignity and grandeur; and from the rising of the Sun of religion and power, the entire extent of the kingdom of India was brightened up to borders of Qandahār and Zābulistān;[3] he hinted at the preparation of the paraphernalia of entertainment and banquet and for unfurling the carpet of music and
51 singing. All the devotees of the State from amongst the nobles, the subjects and the soldiers were engaged in arranging for the festivities; all the shops and street of the capital city of Āgra were adorned.

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[1] This is a reference to *Ḥadīth* which is narrated by Ibn 'Umr in reference to the kings being the shadow of God on earth and protectors of the oppressed. See *Mishkāt*, II, كتاب الامارة و القضاء fol. 97. R.A.S.B., *MS*. Sa'dī expresses the same in his verse: بادشاه سايهٔ خدا باشد ٥ سايه با ذات او آشنا باشد

[2] Apparently the reference is to 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.), the year of accession of Humāyūn to the throne. For a description of the extent of his kingdom at this period see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 29, 30.

[3] Zābulistān was the name given to a tract of country north-east and south-east of Ghazna in Afghānistān.

Hemistich:—

Like a picture-gallery of China,

with silken embroideries, European *Kimkhābs* and woollen cloths, and cloths of seven colours. And the skilled masters and great artists constructed various ingenious furnitures and curious handiworks; and 52
the gates of happiness were opened to all classes of mankind.

Of all the wonderful inventions[1] which were prepared in those days at the instance of this King of the world, and which owing to their novelty and beauty have spread to all parts of the world, were four large barges which, according to the royal directions, were prepared by master carpenters in the waters of Jawn (river Jumna). In each of these boats a two-storied square apartment (*Chahār Ṭāq*) of very elegant design was constructed; and these barges were so joined together that the four apartments faced each other, and thus between each two of the four barges another apartment was produced; consequently an octagonal courtyard appeared between these barges.[2] And the four compartments were so adorned with nice cloths and other valuable objects that understanding was puzzled by the sight of 53
their beauty and magnificence. The great physician Maulānā Yūsufī said:

There was made by the King, the honour of the country and the angels
A square house which abashed the nine heavens,
Its bottom rested on the fish,[3] and its top reached the skies;
Man has never seen anything like it from the heavens to the fish.

The most dignified noble, Amīr Jalāl-ud-dīn Uwais Muḥammad composed the verses reproduced below on the merits of the square house, and in praise of the Bādshāh, the great conqueror, and recited it before His Majesty.

Verses:—

This gilded and beautiful figure, as high as the Saturn,
Resembles the heavens in loftiness and magnificence.

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[1] A short account of these barges is also included in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 360, Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 647).

[2] It is not possible to follow the author's description of how the octagonal courtyard was produced by joining together the four barges.

[3] By ماهی the reference is apparently to the fish *Bahmūt*, see note 1, page 11.

Its builder is the equal of the full Moon in beauty, and has an auspicious face.
Because of his presence this structure surpasses the heavens,
With the light of the world-adorning Sun of his face,
Day and night are as beautiful as the garden of Paradise.
Apparently it is *Chār Ṭāq*, but in reality
Each of them excels the golden heavens.
A wonderful garden is created out of dry wood,
And more surprising is that it is filled with persons as beautiful as the Moon.
And by the union of the *Chār Ṭāq* eight heavens have appeared there.
A reservoir like the *Kauthar* [1] has appeared between them,
By the hand of contrivance of Him, Who made the nine heavens, on each
There shines a brilliance like that of the Sun.
If you spread on it the green satin of all the heavens,
It will not suffice for the footmats of the (numerous) slaves (on it).
As a result of its elegance, beauty and pleasing form
(Even) the garden of Paradise cannot be reckoned as its equal.
Whoever gains admittance into this place, it would be no wonder,
If he forsakes this world completely.
There remain like myself at the knocker of its door
(Numerous) suppliants with their hands lifted up in prayer.
It may be said of this house of wealth, that out of yearning
Fortune has settled at its privileged threshold.
This place was honoured by the feet of the great man,
The brave King, the famous Humāyūn Bādshāh:
55 The Joseph of the Egypt of elegance, the Sun of the constellation of sovereignty:
Cloud of generosity and munificence, ocean of modesty and mine of greatness.
It serves as the collyrium for the pupils of the eyes of heaven,
The storm of dust of his threshold which is raised by the morning breeze.

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[1] *Al-Kauthar* or *Ḥauḍ-ul-Kauthar*, literally meaning the pond of abundance is the pond in Paradise mentioned in the *Qur'ān*, Sūra CVIII, *Kauthar*, verse 1, p. 1798. See also *Encycloped. Islām*, II, pp. 834, 835 (1927).

Happy is the country in which there is such a place,
Happy is the place in which there is such a King as you.
In the garden of your beauty, O rose, the nightingale of my imagination has with eagerness
Composed these verses to commend your excellence.
Your mouth is like a smiling bud, and your face resembles the red tulip,
Your beauty, by its elegance, has abashed the splendour of garden and spring.
The world-adorning Sun as compared to the Moon of your face
Appears to the eyes of spectators as insignificant as a particle of dust
On the white page of your lovely face.
The verse (of the Qur'ān entitled) *Wa'l-lail*[1] is written in a *Ghubār* (dark) hand.[2]
O cup-bearer, in memory of his lips, which have the effect of wine, every moment
Give (me) an ocean of wine and bring (me) the vessel of the cup.
Every moment the nightingale tells me with a loud voice.
Wine is good if it is taken from the hand of the beloved.
O life giving spring, grant this beggar a favour,[3] 56
I fear the wave which rises from the tears in my eyes;

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[1] The reference is to *Qur'ān*, Sūra XCII, *Dhuḥā*, verse 2 (in pt.), p. 1751; literally the phrase means—and by the Night.

[2] Apparently meaning the black beard and whiskers on the face of the Emperor.

[3] The lacuna as printed in the text appears to be incorrect, the word رحمی should be the last word of the line, and the missing words before it may have been بر این گدا کن . The whole line would then read ای بهار زندگی بر این گدا کن رحمی . The metre is فاعلات or فاعلن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن . The scansion of the verse would be:— ای بهار فاعلاتن ـ زندگی بر فاعلاتن ـ این گدا کن فاعلاتن ـ رحمی فاعلن فاعلن ; on the measure of the last word of the next half of the verse, however اشکار may be changed into فاعلات . بحر رمل مثمن it may be noted, is a common metre in Persian, while the common Arabic metres are بحر رمل مسدّس and بحر رمل مربّع

If the breeze of kindness does not blow from the garden of your benevolence;
How can the vessel of my body be taken ashore from the waves of my tears.
Don't you know that I at your gate am very insignificant;
My rank is so low that no one takes any notice of me.
I am taking the burden of my existence to the lane of nonentity.
How long shall I suffer at the hands of time?
O Uwais, language cannot express his virtues
So it is better that you cut short (your speech) by praying for him.
So long as this revolving tower (the heavens) continues to exist,
May the King be prosperous in the *Chār Ṭāq* (built of) the four elements!
May he remain (to rule) so long as these days continue to exist!
This shadow of Providence at the head of all the creatures of God.

In short the festival was prolonged for about one month, during which time the King, who equalled Solomon in pomp, often arranged
7 convivial and musical parties, and allowed the nobles, officers, superintendents of the wardrobe and courtiers to sit down in these assemblies, which had the dignity of Paradise, and often favoured them with handsome rewards. Also on some of these days the *Chahār Ṭāqs* of the boats were made the envy of the workshop of the heavens by the brilliance of Humāyūn's appearance; and having exalted one of the four apartments by taking his seat in it, he invited to this august assembly a number of clever men. In the other apartments many nobles and great men were permitted to sit down, and with the fingers of his boundless liberality he opened the gates of favour in the faces of everyone's desire. The sailors and boatmen moved these four barges like wind on the face of water in the direction they were ordered. The clever musicians and the sweet singers played and sang so loudly that their voices reaching the house of entertainment of the Sun made the planet Venus dance.

Verses:—

Singing girls like fairies,
Sometimes by their heart-attracting music and sometimes by (their sweet) voices,

In each assembly sang a new song,
(They) increased the cheerfulness of the party.

The cooks and the servants of the royal kitchen on these occasions took so much pains in preparing all kinds of foods and drinks, *and* 58
with fruits, any that they may select; and the meat of birds, any that they may desire,[1] that it was often remarked, that no one had ever seen such food since the Cook of Divine contrivance had placed the hot disk of the Sun on the table of the heavens; and no one ever gave such an entertainment since the host of time had spread the table of hospitality for the lovers of food among mankind and genii.

Verses :—

Every moment in that delightful feast,
By the order of the King, whose horse[2] resembled the heaven,
All kinds of dishes were produced,
Filled with various types of exquisite foods;
On every table royal delicacies
From birds to fish were served.

And on the last three days, the world-conquering and most polite King, with extreme hospitality and pleasant manners entertained 59
the members of the three classes of *Sa'ādat*, *Daulat* and *Murād*, and every member of the three classes, in accordance with his means, presented, as a proof of his fidelity, offerings[3] of trays full of gold and silver coins. The ocean-like liberal hand of the King, who is as generous as Ḥātim,[4] granted to all of them robes of honour, and distributed the whole of the unlimited cash offerings to the deserving people.

Verses :—

The ocean having seen your constant liberality
As a result, covers its face with the palm of humiliation.

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LVI, *Wāqi'a*, verses 20, 21, p. 1486.

[2] Rakhsh was the name of the famous horse of Rustam; its size and courage are legendary—See Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I, p. 136 (1930).

[3] For the meanings of جائزه, see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's note, Text, p. 59, note 1.

[4] The full name of this Arabian chief and poet of pre-Muhammedan period is Ḥātim *bin* 'Abdullāh *bin* Sa'd aṭ-Ṭā'ī. He was celebrated for his liberality, wisdom and valour. *Vide* Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 158, 159 (1894) and *Encycloped. Islām*, II, p. 290 (1927).

Tell your bubbles,[1] O ocean, not to rival his hand,
Because they have nothing but air in them.

On the day of the grand feast, the generous King conferred newly created ranks on some of the learned and the nobles of Persia and Turkey, and made others happy by bestowing great and high titles on them. Amongst these the best of the Shaikhs, the most modest and
60 religious, and the great learned Shaikh Wahīd-ud-dīn Abul Wajd[2] was favoured with the title of the *Amīr-ush-Shu'rā'* (Poet Laureate). The most clever and eloquent Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu'immā'ī was raised to the skies by the title of *Amīr-uẓ-Ẓurfā'* (Lord of witty persons). The chosen of the Saiyids, Amīr Ḥasan[3] was given the title of *Amīr-uṣ-Ṣalāt* (Lord of Prayers), and the most respected of the nobles Ḍiya'-ud-dīn Nūr Bēg[4] as *Amīr-uz-Zakāt* (Lord of Alms). The great noble Amīr Riḍā'[5] obtained the title of *Amīr-uṣ-Ṣaum* (Lord of Fasting); and the light of royal favour shone on Amīr Aiyūb,[6] the superintendent of the wardrobe, with the title of *Amīr-i-Ḥajj* (Lord of Pilgrimage). The best of the pre-eminent nobles Amīr Qāsim Muḥammad Khalīl[7] was granted the title of *Amīr-i-Luṭf* (Lord of Favours), and through him royal favours were extended to other well-wishers of the government. Amīr Bābā Ishak Āqā[8] was designated *Amīr-i-Ghaḍab* (Lord of Wrath), and through him all wicked people were turned out of the world-protecting court. Amīr Shāh Ḥusain,[9] who was very stout and fat and was unable to perform any hard and fatiguing work, was entitled *Amīr-i-Farāghat* (Lord of Ease); and the author of these pages received the title of *Amīr-ul-Akhbār* (Lord of Chronicles). Consequently all people mentioned above having received honours and preferments increased their fidelity towards the victorious Bādshāh; and opened their loquacious tongues in praying
61 for the perpetual increase of wealth and prosperity of the powerful empire.

Verses:—

O most renowned and just King,
The most liberal and generous monarch;
May the Sun and the Moon be your slaves!
The heavens run along your stirrups;

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[1] The word کف here apparently means the bubbles of the foam of the ocean.

[2-9] I have not been able to find any accounts of these courtiers of Humāyūn.

May your fortune be everlasting!
May all countries be conquered by you!
May all people be obedient to you!
May the stars of fortune and prosperity be subservient to your wishes!

One of the inventions[1] of this most meritorious Monarch, which, owing to its connection with the construction of the *Chahār Ṭāq* barges, should be mentioned here, was that agreeably to his imperative orders, the boat-builders had constructed several large and capacious barges, and on both sides of these shops had been built. In the centre of each[2] of these boats an additional large market with an extensive central hall was arranged for shops. Royal orders were also issued that people of all professions and arts should open their shops (on these barges), and carry on their trades and transactions. Consequently all these boats were like damsels and pregnant with Moon-like children in their wombs, but were still barren. In their insides were present all kinds of foods and stuffs from which unborn gold and silver would come forth. They contained in their wombs numerous children, some of whom were inert and others 62
active.[3] A market was flourishing in the river; and the traders *reclining on the thrones (of dignity)*.[4]

Verses:—

The eyes of a free man or a slave have never seen
A market moving on the waters of Jawn (River Jumna).
The orders of the great King,
Became imperative on the heavens and the elements.
In the opinion of all noble-minded persons,
There is nothing so very strange in this (invention).

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[1] Abul Faḍl in the *Akbarnāma* (Text, I. p. 360, and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 647) includes a short account of the *Chahār Ṭāq* based on Khwāndamīr.

[2] Beveridge (*Akbarnāma*, Translation, I, note 3, pp. 647, 648) rightly remarks that it is not possible fully to 'understand the description or how the tank or reservoir was octagonal'.

[3] This and the following sentence appear to be satirical, and seem to refer to the very little business that was ordinarily being done in these shops.

[4] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XVIII, *Kahf*, verse 31 (in pt.), p. 739, and Sūra LXXVI, *Dahr* or *al-Insān*, verse 13 (in pt.), p. 1657 and as noted by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain in a different form in Sūra XXXVI, *Yā-Sīn*, verse 56 (in pt.), p. 1183.

When in the year 939 A.H.[1] the Emperor whose inventions were very wonderful, started in boats by way of the river from Fīrūzābād,[2] the capital of the government of Delhi to the capital city of Āgra with his many nobles and ministers and all his courtiers and principal officers,[3] a market arranged (as detailed above) was carried floating on the water like a blowing breeze, and every person could obtain whatever he wanted of various kinds of foods, drinks,
53 dresses, cloths, ammunitions and weapons of war in that market. By this wonderful contrivance every convenience was secured for the passengers. And similarly the royal gardeners, according to the orders of this manifestation of Divine favour (the King), placed wooden planks on several of the boats, and spreading earth on them made them suitable for horticulture. They made fine orchards, on the borders of which grew fruit trees and flowering plants, and all kinds of vegetables, tulips and jasmine were seen growing and flourishing in the river.

Verse:—

Skill of clever persons made
The moving gardens (which went) round the world.

And without any claim to eloquence and a disposition to eulogize, the pen of two-tongues is incapable of describing the great beauty and wonderful freshness of these gardens; and the descriptive

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[1] There seems to be some mistake in reference to this date. Humāyūn after his accession stayed in Delhī from January–June, 1531 (*vide* Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 50, but in the chronological table on p. 36 he had shown 'Humāyūn at Āgra and Delhi . . . . . January–June, 1531 A.D.'). The expedition to Kālinjar occupied him during July and August, 1531, and the battle of Dādrah took place in August, 1532. From September–December, 1532, he was at Chunār and returned to Delhī in January, 1533 (*vide* Banerji, pp. 37–50), and it appears fairly certain, therefore, that the journey to Āgra from Delhī recorded by Khwāndamīr could only have been in 937 A.H. (1931 A.D.). If this view be correct the word تسع in the Arabic date as given in the text should be سبع when the date would be 937 instead of 939 A.H.

[2] Fīrūzabād is apparently the town on the banks of the Jumna built by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq at a distance of some ten miles from Delhi—See Tremlett, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXXIX, pt. I, p. 80 (1870), and Ranking's Translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I. p. 325, note 5.

[3] ایچکیان in the text here is a misprint for اچکیان. See also note 1, p. 32.

pen is unable to give an account of the elegance of these verdant orchards.

Verses :—

(It was) as pleasing as the nature of intimate friends,
And as beautiful as the faces of the witty companions (beloved persons)
Certainly, no eye ever saw such a garden,
Neither in the spacious heavens nor on the wide earth.

One of the other strange contrivances, which is of universal use and which can suitably be discussed here, was the movable bridge;[1] and its description is as follows: several boats were tied 64
together with hooks and iron chains in the river, and they were covered with wooden boards which were so firmly fixed to them by iron nails that they would not shake at all whether riders or passengers crossed over them. Whenever the King, the protector of the world, planned a journey by river, this bridge was divided into several parts, which they steered on the surface of water as fast as the wind. Whenever the army was required to cross the river, the parts were again joined together to extend from one bank (of the river) to the other and by this device suggested by the wisdom of the King with a Sun-like comprehension, whose throne is as high as the heavens, all low and high, young and old were, at the time of crossing over the river, saved from the trouble of procuring boats, and also for the crossing of horses and camels; and they could cross from one shore to the other without any difficulty and as quickly as the wind. Consequently all people, whether travelling or at home, behave submissively and with sincerity as servants with the dignity of the skies, and they all constantly pray that his prosperity and fortune may be everlasting.

Verses :—

O King, may the world be at your command!
Whether great or small, all are happy in your reign.
In the ocean of prospects, according to your wishes,
May your vessels be sailing always!

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[1] جسر روان which Beveridge (Translation of *Akbarnāma*. I. p. 648, note 2) rightly considers 'the only useful work of Humāyūn', is only mentioned by Abul Faḍl, but not described in any detail.

Another of his strange inventions,[1] which the bow of ingenuity
65 of no thoughtful architect had the good fortune to reach the castle of attainment, but which was contrived by the wise guidance and penetrating judgement of this very wise Bādshāh, was the movable palace. This palace consisted of three stories built of good wood; and the clever carpenters and skilful artisans had so well joined together the component parts, that whoever looked at it considered it to be formed of one piece. It could, at pleasure, be moved easily to any place, and the ladder to the upper stories was so skilfully constructed, that it could, at any time, be folded, and when desired extended. And this marvellously decorated palace was adorned in various colours by the most skilful painters; and the subtle goldsmiths had made a golden dome, which shone like the world-adorning Sun, and which was placed on its top. The chamberlains of
66 the throne, the nest of religion, had covered it with curtains of seven colours, made of cloths from Khotān, Turkey and Europe; and raised its adornment to the height of beauty and delicacy. The nightingale of eloquence, the Lord of witty persons, Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu'immā'ī composed the following verses in its praise:—

Verses:—

This gorgeous gilded palace, which is the residence of the King
Resembles a chandelier, the candle of which is the eastern Sun.
It is not the golden pinnacle, but the protruding head
Of the flame of a candle from a hole at its apex.
(The palace) resembles a tender cypress covered with a fine cloth;
It has received honour from the golden crown.
The shining brilliance of this high palace is the light of its cheeks
Round which the Sun and stars hover like moths.
This constellation of grandeur exhibits beauty like that of the night-adorning Moon,
And from its appearance the world every evening enjoys a second morning.

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[1] قصر روان is described at fair length in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 360, and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 648) in almost the same words as in Khwāndamīr.

It resembles the top of Mount Sinai,[1] which was full of Divine light, 67

And the King appears on it like the prophet Moses at prayers.[2]

Those nights remind one of the (Prophet's) Ascent to the heavens, on which the King,

Attempts to ascend to the top of this palace.

All its pillars can be compared to the supporters of the high heaven (the angels),

It deserves that God's shadow may rest on it.

The large columns of the army standing under its shadows resemble the angels.

Which country has such a heavenly palace!

It moves like the heavens, and, therefore,

The Sovereign of the oceans and continents calls it the moving palace.

The author of this work also composed a poem in praise of this marvellous palace and in honour of the great King. And the few verses, which follow, formed a part of this poem.

Verses :—

This palace which is the envy of the revolving heavens,

Rises from the earth and equals in height the highest heaven.

Its pillars are spread all round like cypress trees;

They are as if they were so many *Sadras* and *Ṭūbās* [3]

Its form is hexagonal, and from the liberality of the eternal God,

It is worth receiving wealth and prosperity from all the six directions.

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[1] طور as used here is a contracted form of the Arabic طور سيناء or طور سينين, the Mount Sinai, 'the mountain on which God gave the tables of the Law . . . . . ., and as the place where God assembled the prophets and took a compact from them'—*vide* Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 595.

[2] The reference is to Moses receiving the tables of the Law on Mount Sinai. *Jabal Mūsā*, see note 1 above and Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 595, article *Sinai*.

[3] سدره is a contracted form of سدرة المنتهى, the celestial tree—*vide* Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 162, article *al-Haqīqat-ul-Muḥammadīyah*. طوبى is 'the name of a tree in Paradise the fruit of which is supposed to be most delicious'—*vide* F. Johnson, *Dictionary—Persian, Arabic and English*, p. 824 (1852).

It is as firm-footed as a mountain, but at the time of march
It is possible to move it to any place you like.
Each side exhibits a different colour,
Such an invention is not to be seen anywhere in the world.
Its roof, which is embellished with golden objects,
Throws its shadow on the head of the King of the world.
The most successful Humāyūn, from his greatness,
The dust of whose door gives a man fresh vigour like the Water of Life,[1]
(Is) such a King; his court is as high as the heavens, and before his magnanimity
The towers of the nine heavens are insignificant.

Among his other (inventions)[2] was a large tent, which consisted of twelve compartments corresponding to the Signs of the Zodiac. And these compartments were adorned with lattices through the interstices of which the lights of the stars of fortune were visible; and the beauty of their arrangement enlightened the pages of the world.

Verse:—

Through its interstices the light of fortune was shining,
Out of its doors the porters of fortune were seen to run.

A large tent,[3] like the empyrean heaven[4] which covers the lower heavens, surrounded the other tents on all sides, and enclosed them in its cover. Like the crystalline sphere[5] which is free of fixed stars and planets, this also had no lattices or balconies. And when desired, the inner and outer tents could be separated, like the units of the movable palace, and transported from one stage to another. This wonderful tent also was of various colours. And long poles

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[1] The reference is to the water which *al-Khiḍr* drank from the Fountain of Life. For a detailed account, see the article الخضر in Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 272, 273.

[2] A short precis of Khwāndamīr's description is included by Abul Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 361, and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 649).

[3] This also is mentioned in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 361 and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 649).

[4] *Falk-ul-Aflāk*, the empyrean or the ninth heaven of the Muhammedan mythology. It is also called the عرش or كرسى, while *Falk-i-Thuābit* is one o the lower heavens without any moving stars.

[5] *Falk-i-Aflax* is another name for *Falk-ul-Aflāk*, see note 4 above.

divided into parts, were ready, and when required these parts were joined together, and the tent raised over them; its top rose higher than the star 'Ayyūq.[1]

Verses:— 70

O God, so long as the tent of heavens
Is spread over the globe of this earth,
May fortune be the companion of Humāyūn Shāh!
May he always adorn the throne under the canopy of heavens!

THE ACCOUNT[2] OF THE CROWN AND THE DRESS BY THE HIGHLY PERFUMED PEN.

The crown (cap) of honour,[3] which was the chief of the contrivances of this King, the preserver of religion, was adorned with various rarities, such as the European velvet, embroidered satin, seven-coloured *Tāja*,[4] *Urmuk*[5] and *Kimkhāb* and fine camelot. And that perfect crown was made of several fillets and helmets dextrously arranged; and in each fillet there was a hollow space resembling the 71
Persian digit seven (۷), and these were so placed that the adjacent ones formed the figure 77 (۷۷), (which is) the numerical value[6] of the word 'Izz (honour), and hence this gorgeous crown was designated

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[1] عیوق according to *Farhang-i-Anand Rāj*, II, p. 810, is the name of a star, which lies along the right bank of the Milky Way next to the Pleiades. The simile is employed to indicate the great height of the tent.

[2] I have not included the expression شروع کردن in the translation.

[3] An account of this crown or rather the cap of honour is included by Abul Fazl in the *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, pp. 360, 361, and Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 648, 649). The account is brief, but it is added that it was invented in Badakhshān. This, however, as was pointed out by Beveridge, appears to be incorrect, as Humāyūn was in Badakhshān from 927–929 A.H., 1527–1529 A.D. (See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–272 and notes where the conflicting statements by different historians are fully discussed, and Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 8), while the chronogram of the invention of the *Tāj-i-'Izzat* by Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad (*vide* Text, p. 72, and note 3, p. 50) gives 939 A.H. as the date.

[4] Apparently some type of silk. I have not been able to find this word in any work of reference.

[5] As explained by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain (*op. cit.*, p. 70, note 2) Urmuk is a fine woollen cloth.

[6] The numerical value of ع according to ابجد is 70+7 = 77. Seven is highly revered in Muhammadan theology. See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, articles *Seven Diabets* and *Seven Salāms*, pp. 550, 569, 570.

the *Tāj-i-'Izzat* (crown of honour); and like its number it exceeded in dignity everything else in the world. The (material of the) royal cap was woven in one colour only, but in those of the other great and small men the inner fillets were of different colours from the outer. Consequently this Lord of oceans and continents granted a special head-dress to each of his courtiers, and having relieved these honourable officers from putting on dresses of humiliation exalted them beyond the high heavens. The author of this work before he received a new head-dress composed a poem in praise of the King, the protector of the world, in which the following verse was included :—

Verse:—

My head has not been dignified [1] with the crown of honour from the King.
I have, therefore, fallen in the lane of baseness and contemptibility.

72 The *Amīr-uz-Ẓurfā* [2] composed the following chronogram of the date of completion of the perfect crown:

Verses:—

The King of kings, the defender of faith, Humāyūn,
May his wealth increase every moment!
The custom of wearing the crown has among the people
Become, through his inventive power, universal.
Though its name is the Crown of Honour,
Its date is the *Crown of Prosperity*.[3]

Of the various elegant dresses invented by him was the *Ūlbāqcha*. It is a waistcoat open in front and hanging down to the waist. It is generally worn over the vesture.

Verses:—

O God! as long as the habit of the beautiful heavens
Appears turquoise coloured to the eyes of the spectators,

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[1] This verse of the *Qaṣīda* by Khwāndamīr indicates the disappointment which he was feeling at being ignored by his Sovereign.

[2] Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu'immā'ī, see note 1, p. 18.

[3] According to ابجد the numerical value of the chronogram of the date of invention تاج سعادت is 400+1+3+60+70+1+4+400=939 A.H., or 1532-1533 A.D. See note 3, p. 49.

May Humāyūn Shāh, through the favour of God,
Continue to wear the royal dress on his body!
May his head be covered with the crown of honour!
Robes of grace be granted to his servants!

Another of the innovations[1] was that every morning when the Jamshēd-like Sun raised its head out of the garment of the heavens (*i.e.*, from the east), and put on the habit of blue satin of the sky, and the heavenly sky wore the golden crown of the Sun, which adorns the world, on its head, and showed its shining face to the inhabitants of the earth, the King whose standards are always victorious, adorned his person in an apparel of such a colour as was appropriate to the day, and dressed in a new suit placed on his head a crown of the 73
same colour.

Verse :—

When the Sun became resplendent with its golden diadem,
This King placed on his head a different crown.
The face of that most beautiful Sun (the King),
Did not appear[2] on two days out of the same collar-band.[3]

As Saturday is the day of Saturn, and the colour of the Saturn, according to the astronomers, is said to be black, the ever-successful King, dressed his royal body on this day in a black habit; and his face, which resembled the Sun, appeared to the people like the planet Jupiter, which shines in the darkness of the night. It is well known in the heart of all the illustrious learned men that black dress is calculated to excite fear, and for this reason the last of the prophets[4] to whom our earnest prayers and best praises are due, had tied a black

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[1] The use by Humāyūn of dresses of colours in conformity with the colours of the planets of the days of the week is briefly mentioned in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 361, and Beveridge's Translation, p. 650). No dress is mentioned for Saturday in either account, and apparently this day was observed as a Sabbath. In *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Phillott's edition of Blochmann's Translation, I, pp. 192, 193, 1939) Akbar is stated to have adopted this mode of dress.

[2] يشد is certainly a misprint for نشد, otherwise the verse would be meaningless.

[3] This apparently means that he did not wear the same shirt on two successive days.

[4] Prophet Muḥammad. For a detailed account, see Sir William Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, I–IV (1858–1861) and Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 367–398.

turban on the day of the conquest of Mecca,[1] and showed unto the infidels and the unbelievers his matchless glory in this dress. It is related of Abū Muslim Marwazī[2] that about the time of his expedition, he on several days ordered all his servants to put on
74 dresses of the same colour; terror struck the mind (of the enemy) from their appearance on the day when this party was dressed in black; and he adopted this colour (for his dress). The descendants of 'Abbās,[3] may God be pleased with them! from the dawn of prosperity and power to the end of their days of fortune and government, dressed themselves in similar garments, and their flags[4] and other insignia of royalty were of the same colour.

Hemistich:—

No colour is higher in rank than black.

On Sunday, which is ascribed to the Sun, whose colour is inclined to yellow, the King, the Lord of pomp, used to put on a yellow apparel,

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[1] This would be the 10th Ramaḍān 8 A.H., 1st January, 630 A.D. The date, according to Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 381, was 10th January which is apparently incorrect.

[2] Abū Muslim of Merv overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate which during the time of its fourteen Caliphs had held sway from 41–132 A.H., and set up the house of 'Abbās in its place. The 'Abbāsid Caliphs, thirty-four in number, reigned in Baghdād from 132–656 A.H., when the last Caliph al-Musta'ṣim was executed by Hulākū, a grandson of Chengiz khān. Abū Muslim was purchased as a slave at Mecca, but by his conspicuous ability became the confidential agent of the house of 'Abbās and was responsible for the capture of Herāt and Merv. He is famous for raising the Black Standard of the House of 'Abbās (see note 4 below) and also for having 'butchered 17,000 khorāsān troops whom he knew he could not trust'. In view of his becoming too powerful he was executed by Abū Ja'far Manṣūr in 137 A.H. See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 264 and Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I, pp. 555, 560 (1930).

[3] See note 2 above.

[4] The Black Standard of the House of 'Abbās referred to in note 2 above bore the inscription:

أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظُلِمُوا

This forms part of verse 39 of Sūra XXII, *Ḥajj*, of *Qur'ān* (*vide* Abdullah Yusuf Ali's edition, p. 861). Its translation in Sykes (*op. cit.*, p. 555) reads as 'Permission to fight is accorded to those who take up arms because they have been unjustly treated', while Ali rightly considering *Yuqātalūna* to be in the passive voice has rendered it as 'To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because they are wronged'—see his note 2816 on the page cited.

which is praised in the holy verse: *fawn coloured, pure and rich in tone, the admiration of beholders*[1] and like the Sun, which illuminates the world, the King sat on the throne, which was as high as the heavens, and emitted the radiance of justice. On Monday, which is assigned to the Moon, the King dressed himself in white robes, if the period was close to when the Moon is nearly full, otherwise he put on a green dress, in praise of which the Almighty has said in the *Qur'ān*: *Upon them will be green garments of fine silk and heavy brocade*;[2] the dresses of the inhabitants of Paradise are distinguished by this colour; and 75
he is fond of it. On Tuesday, which is the day of the bloody planet Mars, the colour of which is red, the King, whose servants are as great as Bahrām, used to sit on the throne in a red dress; and on that day by the justice of this Sovereign, who protects his friends and destroys his enemies, the wicked people were punished for their crimes, and the virtuous plucked the fruits of prosperity and success from the trees of hope and peace. On Wednesday, which is ascribed to the planet Mercury of a wanton mind,[3] the King used sometimes to dress in ash coloured robes, and sometimes in blue, and sometimes to wear a dress of *Ulcha*.[4] On Thursday the lord of which is the planet Jupiter, he always used to put on dresses of the colour of gram or of a natural colour; and keeping company with virtuous men, opened the doors of favours to them. On Friday which is peculiar to Venus, he dressed in green or white, and drank wine of felicity from the hands of the cup-bearers of eternal kindness. And from the writings of some reputed authors, it appears that green colour was associated with the great apostles as also the descendants of our Prophet, the benefactor of 76
mankind, may God's blessings and peace be on him and on them all! The prophet *Khiḍr*[5] (green), may peace be on him! obtained this appellation, because verdure grew round him wherever he sat. And it is said that on one occasion he sat on white leather, and through the grace of his feet this also became green. In every respect people consider this colour peculiar to the prophet, and reckon the green dress as his robe of gift.

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra II, *Baqara*, verse 69 (in pt.), p. 35.

[2] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LXXVI, *Dahr* or *Insān*, verse 21 (in pt.), p. 1659.

[3] See note 4, p. 19.

[4] A Turkish name for a silk cloth, *vide* M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 75, note 1.

[5] See note 1, p. 48.

Verse:—

The flower of the rose bush is a flame from Moses's fire,[1]
The cypress is clothed in a green robe.

The historians narrate it as a true occurrence that at the time when the Caliph Māmūn appointed Imām Abul Ḥasan 'Alī *bin* Mūsā ar-Riḍā,[2] may God be pleased with them! his successor, he changed the black habits and the flags, which were used by the 'Abbāsids, for green ones. When this story was narrated, the King of the world said in a speech, which was like the scattering of pearls, that whenever he had seen, in his dreams, the world adorning beauty of the Prophet, the Lord of the apostles, may the blessings of God be on him! he was dressed in a green apparel. The pole of the heaven of instruction and versification, the lord of saints and poets, Shaikh Muṣliḥ-ud-dīn Sa'dī of Shīrāz[3] says:

17 *Verse:—*

If anyone sits in the shadow of his cypress-like stature,
He finds his place under the green flag of Muḥammad.

(I pray) that Providence, in His excessive favour, save the government of the life and prosperity of this ever-successful Bādshāh from being worn or defaced till the Day of Resurrection. And may the hand of God's grace place round his body every day robes of new felicities and dresses of new accomplishments from the repository of His goodness and benevolence!

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[1] The reference is to the fire which the prophet Moses saw while travelling in the Sinai desert, and which led to the dawn of Revelation. *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra XXVII, *Naml*, verses 7–12, pp. 979, 980.

[2] *Vide* Abū Ja'far Muḥammad *bin* Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, died 310 A.H., 923 A.D., in *Kitāb Akhbār ar-Rasūl wal Mulūk*, X, p. 243 (Cairo Edition). 'Imān Abul Ḥasan was appointed as his successor by Khalīfa Māmūn on Tuesday, Ramaḍān 3, 201 A.H., and it was ordered that green coloured garments should henceforth replace the black ones used by the 'Abbāsids. See also de Slane, *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, I, p. 17 (1842).

[3] Shaikh Muṣliḥ-ud-dīn Sa'dīash-Shīrāzī whom Jāmī described as بُلبلِ شیراز 'The nightingale of Shīrāz', was born about 571 A.H., and died 691 A.H. (1175–1292 A.D.). Besides the famous works *Gulistān* and *Būstān* he is the author of a large collection of odes and sonnets. See Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 339 (1894).

Verses :—

O God! as long as there is water and colour in this world,
The dress of the life of this fortunate Sovereign,
Who gives embellishment to the crown and is an ornament of the throne.
Like the days of his fortune every day be a new (day).
May such kings as Jamshēd and Zau [1] be his slaves!

Description by the eloquent pen of the Buildings which were erected by this Just King.

Be it manifest in the minds of the authors of books and proved to the chroniclers of new and old events, that the founder of the basis of 78
sovereignty and greatness, and the promulgator of the Muhammadan faith, the honour of the empire, world and religion, Muhammad Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzī [2] had great love and incomparable inclination for erecting large buildings and strong forts. One of the many fortunate monuments which were reflected in this form in his mind, (which is) as bright as the Moon, and constructed at his instance by skilful artisans, and the towers of which:

Hemistich :—

Reached the height of the Saturn;

was the wonderful building,[3] which was built in the capital city of Āgra on the banks of the Jawn, and the light of whose high dome shone like the brilliance of the Sun over the world.

Verses :—

The tower of the heavens is not so high as its portico,
The garden of Paradise is not so pleasing as its courtyard,

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[1] For Zau, the son of Ṭahmāsp son of Manūchihr, see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 77, note 1 and Raverty, *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I, p. 3 (1873); according to the latter work he ruled for thirty years.

[2] Ghāzī is one who fights in the cause of Islām; a hero, a warrior, or one who slays an infidel. Also a title of distinction conferred by Muhammedan rulers on generals and renowned warriors. See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 139.

[3] I have translated عمارت طلسم as a wonderful building rather than the Mystic House as it is rendered by Mrs. Beveridge in Gulbadan Bēgam's work *The History of Humāyūn*, p. 118 (1902). The short account of the building in Gulbadan Bēgam's work fully confirms its description by Khwāndamīr.

Wonderful like the heavens, and full of wonders like the Paradise,
Nay they are both inferior in comparison.
But the Lord of Destiny himself had laid its foundations,
Otherwise whose mind could contrive such a form.

It may be said without exaggeration and without flattery in its
79 praise that the prudent mathematician is incapable of drawing its picture, and the tongue of the greatest author fails to write in praise of its amenities. The holy words: *it was a part of the garden of Paradise*,[1] were said in its praise; and the phrase: *a garden in which rivulets of water flowed*, was composed in praise of its great qualities.

Verses:—

Happy and delightful is the building,
In beauty incomparable, and its purity is discussed everywhere.
In comparison to its roof the high heaven is low,
In comparison to its courtyard the Paradise is safe from danger.[2]

In the length of this wonderful building three rooms were made adjacent to each other. In the middle of the first room, which was, the longest and octagonal, a reservoir of the same form was built, from the centre of which subterranean passages were constructed, and these passages radiated in all directions leading to other rooms and apartments. Round the mouth of the passages an octagonal tower joining the edges of the reservoir was constructed, and over it a large flat slab of chiselled stone was placed. Great care was taken in

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[1] This is an اقتباس from the *Ḥadīth* narrated in *Ṣaḥīḥain* مَا بَيْنَ بَيْتِي وَمِنْبَرِي رَوْضَةٌ مِنْ رِيَاضِ الْجَنَّةِ, or according to some narrations مَا بَيْنَ قَبْرِي وَمِنْبَرِي رَوْضَةٌ مِنْ رِيَاضِ الْجَنَّةِ *vide* 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq Dehlawī *Jadhb-ul-Qulūb*, p. 117 (Lucknow, 1869). The comparison of the garden which surrounded the wonderful building erected by Humāyūn to the *Ḥadīth* referred to above is inappropriate.

[2] بهشت برین - فردوس برین or خلد برین, all mean the celestial Paradise. The simile intended appears to be in reference to the extensive dimensions of the courtyard of Humāyūn's buildings. In reference to Paradise, see Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 449, 450.

strengthening all crevices by filling them up with mortar and lime, so that when water filled the reservoir, it could not rush into the subterranean passages. And the central room was also octagonal, and 80
had several galleries and windows. In this room also a reservoir had been constructed, and on all the four sides of this house was a portico. And the two doors of the portico, *viz.*, one towards the largest room and the other to the third room which resembled a hall, had been so made and fixed, that if you opened one of them, the other disappeared; and on the disappearance of the second the first was thrown open. And alongside these three rooms, other large and capacious, upper and lower rooms were built; and they were all very elegant and magnificent. And over the third room was constructed a very lofty saloon, which was the envy of the heavens, and excited the jealousy of the residences of the Sun and the Moon. Whenever the King, who is as powerful as Alexander the Great, adorned this blissful place by holding his court, the Jamshēd of the Sun without the help of the chair of the heavens could not obtain the honour of kissing the ground before him; and the sweet-singing Venus, having been deprived of joining the chorus of the singing girls of this delightful assembly, could not make its voice reach them. And the following chronogram of this pleasant palace reached the ears of understanding of the great and small, and the young and old from the sound of the eloquent pen of the Lord of witty persons Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Mu'immā'ī.

Verses:—

By the order of the King whose title is Humāyūn,
Who (equals) Solomon (as) the protector of religion and the dispenser of justice.
This delightful palace was founded; 81
My soul is desirous of going round it.
Its surface is clear of all dust and dirt,
Its surroundings are free of chaff and rubbish,
The water (in its reservoirs) resembles the Water of Life,[1]
Its air is like the holy breath.
Its lamp has been honoured with eternal light,
It has borrowed its brightness from the candle of eternity.
Except for kissing the dust of its gate,
The angels have no other wish in their hearts.

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[1] See note 1, p. 48.

Whoever found his way into it said unto himself:
This is the only garden of Paradise.
Wisdom wrote the date of its foundation:
No one has seen such a house.[1]

Another building[2] amongst the various built by this monarch was a palace raised in the fort of the capital city of Āgra on the foundations of the house which in ancient days was the treasury of the Hindū[3] rulers. This palace consists of several rooms and porticos,
32 and is so high that any one sitting on its top finds himself sitting near the inhabitants of the heavens, and can pluck with the hand of hope bunches of stars from the Sign Virgo,[4] and grains from the crop of the Moon.[5]

Verse:—

From its height are confounded.
The towers of the nine heavens and the palace of *Sadīr*.[6]

The stream of the Jawn is to be seen for three or four *krohs*[7] from this building, and its clearness and beauty open the doors of delight in the minds (of the spectators).

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[1] According to ابجد the numerical value of the verse comes to 50+4+10+4+5+3+50+10+50+600+1+50+5+5+10+3+20+60=940.

[2] Unfortunately this palace cannot be traced in any work about the Fort of Āgra. For details of the various buildings in the Āgra Fort, see M. Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Āgra Fort* (Delhi, 1937).

[3] This is the old Fortress of Bādalgarh, possibly an old Tomara or Cauhāna stronghold, which according to Ashraf Husain (*op. cit.*, p. 1, note 1) 'was only altered and adapted to his requirements by Akbar'.

[4] سنبله literally means an ear of corn, and as noted already, note 4, p. 32, it is also the name of the sign Virgo. The author suggests that owing to the height of the building anyone sitting on the roof can easily pick up the bunches of stars, which form the crop in the sign Virgo.

[5] خرمن ماه is the halo round the moon, while literally خرمن is the harvest. The simile is similar to that in note 4 above.

[6] قصر سدیر was the remarkable palace built out of one stone for Bahrām Gūr at Hamadān by Nu'mān *bin* Munḏhir. See Johnson, *Dictionary—Persian, Arabic and English*, pp. 690, 965 (1852) and *Encycloped. Islām*, IV, p. 944 (1934).

[7] *Kroh*, the Sanskrit *Krośa*, is equal to about two miles. The ancient *Krośa* of Magadha was about 1¼ miles, the *Kos* of the Gangetic provinces is rather more than 2¼ miles, while the Akbarī *Kos* slightly less than 1¾ miles.

Verses :—

Its water resembles that of *Tasnīm* [1] and the wholesome water of *Salsabīl*.[2]
Its courtyard is the brilliant heaven or the eternal Paradise.
Its water and air are respectively the Water of *Khiḍr* and the Breath of Jesus.[3]
The air of life gives life, and the water of heart makes the stream flow.

And of these there is the building in the fort of Gwāliār [4] which is one of the wonders of creation; it has been constructed out of chiselled stones, and its sides have achieved elegance by the qualities of its decorations.

Verses :—

Its top is the heavens ; because of its height
The standard is the height of the heavens.
In my mind, thinking of its decorations,
Thousands of gardens are blooming.

Of all grand and wonderful buildings erected by this founder of the rules of justice and generosity, was the city of *Dīnpanāh*,[5] which, without exaggeration, was the asylum of the religious men, who are recognized for their prudence. The musk-resembling pen perfumes the minds of the good people by the perfumed smell (writing) in 83
connection with the foundation of this excellent city. In the month

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See Ranking's Translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 69, note 5, and p. 132, note 3 for earlier references.

[1] *Tasnīm* is the name of a fountain in Paradise mentioned in *Qur'ān* (Sūra LXXXIII, *Taṭfīf*, verses 27, 28, p. 1706).

[2] *Salsabīl* is also the name of a fountain in Paradise mentioned in *Qur'ān* (Sūra LXXVI, *Dahr* or *Insān*, verses 18, 19, p. 1658).

[3] This is apparently a reference to *Qur'ān*, Sūra III, *Āl-i-'Imrān*, verse 49, p. 135: 'In that I make for you out of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, and breathe into it, and it becomes a bird'.

[4] I can find no mention of a building built by Humāyūn in the fort at Gwāliār in any other work, whether contemporary or recent, but the following sentences in Gulbadan Bēgam (*The History of Humāyūn*, Text, p. 30, Translation, p. 117, 1902): (*sic*) و پیش ازانکه بگوالیار روند ، و عمارات بنا کرده رفتند seem to refer to the erection of a building or buildings by Humāyūn at Gwāliār.

[5] The foundation of the city of *Dīnpanāh* is shortly mentioned in *Akbarnāma* much earlier (Text, I, p. 124 and Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 289).

of Sha'bān 939 A.H.[1] when the fort of Gwāliār was made an object of envy for the high revolving heavens by the presence of the King, who resembled Alexander the Great, he one night sat on the throne of fortune and conquest, and having permitted all the courtiers of his heaven-like court, the learned and the defenders of philosophical knowledge to sit down in the august assembly, and conversed with them on various topics. During this time his inspired tongue scattered the pearls of the following discourse: since long this idea has taken a hold in my head and this intention in my heart that I should found near the capital of Delhī a large and extensive city, the parapets of the ramparts of which in their loftiness might open the tongue of reproach and scorn on *Khawarnaq*[2] and *Sadīr*, and the keeper of whose bastions might claim equality with the planet Saturn.
4 And in this city, a magnificent palace of seven storeys should be erected, surrounded by gardens and orchards. It should be such that all people, who hear of the elegance and beauty of these buildings, should hasten from all corners of the world for its inspection. And this city, which should be an asylum for the wise men, and the refuge of the watchful and vigilant people, should be called *Dīnpanāh*. Those, who were present in this assembly which resembled Paradise, opened their sincere tongues in approbation and applause. At the same time it came to the mind of the most witty and clever Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu'immā'ī that the numerical value[3] of *Shahr-i-Bādshāh Dīnpanāh* was 940; if, therefore, the city is built during that year, it would be a remarkable coincidence. The same moment these words were brought to the notice of the King, and he and all the officers of the noble court expressed their surprise at this coincidence and the loquacious tongues of all present in the assembly began to sing the following verses before the King, the great judge of poetical compositions:—

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[1] For an account of Humāyūn's visit to Gwāliār, see note 1, p. 13. The conception of the project of constructing the *Dīnpanāh* at Delhī at Gwāliār in 1533, based on the extracts from Elliot, is mentioned in *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, I, p. 235 (1908) by C. E. Luard, but there is no reference to his erecting any building in the Gwāliār fort.

[2] *Khawarnaq* is another name for the palace of Bahrām Gūr. See note 6, p. 58, and M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 83, note 1.

[3] According to ا ب ج د the numerical value of Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad's chronogram comes to 300+5+200+2+1+4+300+1+5+4+10+50+2+50+1+5 = 940.

The picture which your imagination paints on your mind,
Nothing contrary to it has been done by the hand of Destiny.
What your understanding writes on a page,
Agrees with the book of Destiny.

In short, in view of the above-mentioned facts this determination was fixed in the enlightened mind of the strong and victorious King. After his return, under the protection of God, from Gwāliār to Āgra, he in the beginning of Ḏhu'l Ḥijja 939 A.H.[1] turned the reins of his 85
world-traversing horse to the capital city of Delhī. After he reached the city, which was as beautiful as the heavens, may God save it from all evils! he, after taking omens and religious advice, selected a raised area[2] adjacent to the banks of the stream of Jawn, and from where the distance to the city may be estimated at three *krohs*, for the foundation of the city of *Dīnpanāh*. In the middle of the month of the sacred Muḥarram[3] 940 A.H., at an hour which was selected by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers, all the great Shaikhs, the respectable Saiyids, the learned people and elders of the city of Delhī started in the train of the King, who is as generous as the ocean, for this site; and prayed to the Almighty for the happy foundation of the city and for strengthening the foundations of his government. First His Majesty with his holy hand laid a brick on the ground, and then each one of that concourse of great men taking a stone in his hand simultaneously made such a mass, that the soldiers, the army, the masons and the hefty labourers could not shape stones

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[1] The date of Humāyūn's leaving for Delhī is given as by Ḫwāndamīr. The first of Ḏhu'l Ḥijja 939 A.H. was on June 24, 1533 A.D., and apparently, therefore, he left Āgra about the beginning of July, and arrived at Delhī soon after, as the foundation stone of *Dīnpanāh* was laid about the middle of Muḥarram. See Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 61, 62 and note 3, p. 61.

[2] The site selected was the historic plain of Indraprastha, associated with the Pāṇḍavas of the Mahābhārata—see Fanshaw, *Delhi Past and Present* (1902). One of Shēr Shāh's first acts on reaching Delhī was to demolish *Dīnpanāh*, and, except for the Old Fort, it is hardly traceable among the ruins of Old Delhi today. See Percy Brown in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 525 (1937).

[3] Banerji (*Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 62) gives the date of the foundation of *Dīnpanāh* as July, 1533. This is certainly incorrect, as Ḫwāndamīr says the foundation was laid in اواسط محرم الحرام اربعین و تسعمائه. The first of Muḥarram 940 A.H. was on July 23, 1533 A.D., and so the middle of the month would be about the end of the first week in August.

or bring mud to the spot. On the same day work was started in the King's palace. At this time, the latter part of Shawwāl[1] of the above-mentioned year, the walls, bastions, ramparts and the gates of the city
86 of *Dīnpanāh* are nearly finished; and the great and small, the Tājiks and the Turks all expect that the great and lofty buildings of that large city will soon be completed. It is earnestly hoped that Divine guidance and assistance will always attend on this great King, so that in this prosperous city and the large and lofty buildings, he, having occupied the seat of dignity and grandeur, and the throne of royalty and greatness, will devote himself to the administration of justice and the protection of his subjects; and having taken pains in strengthening the foundations of justice and generosity will join together with compliance on the floor of desire the requests of all nobles and plebians.

Verse :—

May his world-protecting shadow exist till eternity!
May the Sun of his honour and dignity shine eternally!

The poem, which was composed by the Lord of witty persons, Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Mu'immā'ī, as descriptive of the above-noted date, is written as follows:—

Verses :—

The Sovereign of the world, protector of kingdom and religion,
The just King, Humāyūn Bādshāh,
Founded this large city.
So that it be the asylum for religious persons.
The date of its foundation, as suggested by wisdom,
Is: the *city of the King, the defender of faith.*[2]

87 This quatrain came into the creative mind of this servant of the threshold on the day of the foundation of this city.

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[1] اواخر شوال or the end of Shawwāl 940 A.H., the date of the account in Khwāndamīr would be about the middle of May, 1534, and, therefore, the town of *Dīnpanāh* could not have been completed in April, 1534, as is stated by Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 62. See also note 1, p. 13.

[2] See note 3, p. 60.

Quatrain :—

When the Sovereign whose title is Ghāzī, and whose nature is holy,
Laid the foundation of the wonderful city which resembles the Paradise;
On the page of the Sun the pen of the skilled writer
Wrote its date as: *Foundation of the place of virtue.*[1]

PUBLICATION BY THE ELOQUENT PEN OF THE ACCOUNT OF SOME OTHER INNOVATIONS (OF THE KING).

When the Manager of Fate and Divine Decrees (God) sent the sound of the drum of government of this ever-successful Sovereign to the ears of understanding of the celestial and earthly beings, and the heavenly angels, having read the *Khuṭba* of the sovereignty of the world in the name of this prosperous King, broadcast the tidings of this happy event to all parts of the world; it entered his auspicious mind, that the anniversary of his coronation[2] should be considered as a great festive day, and be celebrated with great preparations and ostentation; and that by arranging tournaments for striking gourds and archery, (he should) open the doors of prizes and rewards in the 88
faces of all classes of men. From this year onwards the happy event was to be celebrated every year in the same way, and the well-wishers of the government were to be satisfied and made happy by the munificence of the royal gifts. Accordingly in the beginning[3] of Jummādā I, 940 A.H. following the custom :

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[1] The numerical value of the chronogram بنیاد بنای خیر by Khwāndamīr is also, according to ابجد, 2+50+10+1+4+2+50+1+10+600+10+200 = 940 (1533 A.D.).

[2] 9 Jummādā I, 937 A.H., December 30, 1530 A.D. See notes 1, p. 17, and 5, p. 22.

[3] اوایل جمادی الاوّل سنه اربعین و تسعمائه would be in the latter half of November, 1533. This date, however, is certainly incorrect, as it is not possible to believe that Humāyūn waited for three years before celebrating the first feast of the date of his accession. Erskine, *History of India*, II, p. 10, gives the date of the feast as 'A.H. 938, Jemādī I, 9; A.D. 1531, December 19', but this period of Humāyūn's stay at Āgra is not mentioned in Banerji's chronological table (*Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 50) and he gives the date as January, 1533 A.D. (p. 59). Gulbadan Bēgam in *Humāyūn-nāma* (Mrs. Beveridge's edition, Text, pp. 28, 29 and Translation, pp. 113, 114) gives an account of this feast after

Verse :—

The officers looked for reward;
Arranged an assembly for the enjoyment of luxury and pleasure.

As during these days of celebration, the marriage of the most victorious Shāhzāda, the chosen of the house of *Ṣāḥib Qirān* the conqueror of countries, the support of the empire and religion, Abun Naṣr Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā [1] was also to be solemnized, merriment and pleasure were greater than on any occasion previously, and the rays of happiness and joy shone with full intensity on the circumstances of the people. The nobles and the ministers built *Chahār Ṭāqs* [2] in the royal garden, and adorned them with fine cloths and other magnificent articles.

89 *Verses :—*

On all sides in that Paradise-like garden,
Were erected more *Chār Ṭāqs*.
They were adorned with Turkish and European cloths,
And with embroidered and seven coloured cloths.

The artists and tradesmen decorated all the streets, while the shops were so beautifully adorned as to be the envy of the Chinese

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Humāyūn's return from Chanada (Chunār). Mrs. Beveridge in a note (p. 114, note 1) assigns December 19, 1531, as its date and calls it the 'accession feast'. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's Text, II, p. 30 and Translation, II, p. 46), it is noted, that 12,000 people were granted robes of honour on the occasion of this feast; and so also in *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Bombay Lith. edition, I, p. 397, 1832).

[1] Son of Bābur and Dildār, younger than Humāyūn by ten years, born 924 A.H., 1518 A.D.; was killed in a night attack at Japriar on Dhul Qa'da 21, 958 A.H., November 20, 1551 A.D. (See Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, for further details.) The marriage feast referred to is that of his marriage with Sulṭānam, the sister of Saiyid Mahdī Khwājah (see Mrs. Beveridge's detailed note in her edition of *Humāyūn-nāma*, pp. 298–301, and Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 20–27). The marriage had been solemnized earlier, but the feast took place in the beginning of August, 1534 (*vide* Banerji, *loc. cit.*, p. 67). For details of presents, see Mrs. Beveridge's edition of Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma* (Text, pp. 35, 36, Translation, pp. 126–129). Jauhar's date of the event 944 A.H., 1537 A.D., is incorrect.

[2] Mrs. Beveridge (*Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 264, note 1, 1914) explains *Chār-ṭāq* as 'a large tent rising into four domes or having four porches'. It was some kind of a tent used during Humāyūn's reign, but it had apparently fallen into disuse during Akbar's time. (For different kinds of tents of Akbar's days, see *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, I, Phillott's edition of Blochmann's Translation, pp. 55–57, 1939).

picture galleries, and to excite the jealousy of the high heavens. The Lord of Wit said:—

Verses:—

By the fortune of the feet of the King whose forehead shines like the Sun,
Āgra was embellished like the high heavens.
Adorning the empire is his habit.
(May my) life be sacrificed for his sake! what a wonder it is.

The markets on the boats, which float on the river Jawn, excelled the garden of Paradise in beauty.

Verses:—

On the river when they (the shops) were established,
They supplied all that anyone required.
No eye has ever seen in the world
Such a market floating on a river:

The clever lascars pitched a large royal pavilion, the tent of hope, close to the imperial residence, and canopies made of woollen 90
cloths of seven colours and European velvet were erected on stands all round it to put out of countenance the gorgeous decorations[1] of the heavens.

Verse:—

A heaven was prepared by art.
It spread its shadows from country to country.

Towards the west the top of the wonderful movable palace reached the high heavens, and whoever cast his eye on this wonderful edifice, was greatly astonished at its extreme novelty. In these auspicious and happy days, the King, who was as glorious as Solomon, used to sit on the throne of prosperity and victory in this enchanted palace from the time of ascent of the Sovereign of the East (the Sun) on the violet coloured throne (the heavens) till the rising of Jupiter and Venus (in the evening):

Hemistich:—

According to the custom of the famous monarchs.

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[1] I have translated شادروان as decorations. For its meaning, see M. Hidāyat Hossin, Text, p. 90, note 1.

And opened the doors of favours and kindness to his subjects. When in the bright palace of heavens the torches of the innumerable stars became visible, the streets and the structure of the movable bridge, which was constructed over the stream of Jawn, excelled the heavens in brilliance owing to the lighting of numerous lights and
1 lamps. The Emperor, the asylum of the world, used to take a walk with numbers of his courtiers and several of his most trusted officers, and view the elegant *Chār Ṭāqs* and the highly decorated shops. After this he returned to his enchanted palace, and associated with parties of learned men and passed the time in the company of clever courtiers. In this assembly, which resembled the Paradise, the delightful music and pleasing songs of the skilled musicians and sweet-voiced singers made Venus dance. The tunes of the flute, harp, lute and organ produced a great effect on the minds of:

Hemistich :—

The hump-backed old men, and the young with curly locks.

During these nights and days, the cooks of the haven of heaven-like grandeur every moment prepared and got ready dishes as numerous as the stars on the green heaven, and from the excess of food and drinks of all types and *with fruits, any that they may select; and the meat of birds, any that they may desire.*[1] greed and hunger were eradicated from the face of the world.

Verses :—

In the assembly of the Emperor, every moment new
Delicious and nourishing dishes were produced.
On every table of royal delicacies,
There were present so many as you desired.

On the main festive day, this Lord of Tājīk and Turkish kings
2 rode on a fast Moon-like horse, the like of which no one has ever seen, and whose picture has not been painted on the surface of the fast-running mind.

Verses :—

The august horse, the rosy face, the racing steed,
Duldul[2] -like animal, hard hearted, fast footed.

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[1] *Vide Qur'ān*, Sūra LVI, *Wāqi'a*, verses 20, 21, p. 1486.

[2] دلدل was the name of the Prophet's she-mule which he used to ride during his campaigns. *Vide Encyclopd. Islām*, I, pp. 1080, 1081 (1913).

Racing he traverses in the twinkling of the eye
Those distances which imagination can hardly realize within a year.

With a grandeur, the equal of which in brilliance the aged heaven had not seen in all its revolutions round the globe of the earth, (the King) proceeded to the *'Īdgāh*. The nobles, the ministers of the State, courtiers, victorious military personnel and all great and small officers riding on Arab horses also attended his prosperous stirrups. And a body of retainers, supreme avengers like Bahrām, wearing gilded coats of armour arranged on the right and left of the King, who is as powerful as Jam, accompanied him.

Verses:—

They were all hidden by helmets and armour,
They were covered in iron from head to foot.
In hostility they were pests of the world.
In overcoming their enemies they equalled Rustam.

The noise of the heavy sounding drum sent the tidings of the 93
eternal prosperity of this King to the ears of understanding of the heavenly angels, and the notes of the flute, which always sang the songs of victory and triumph, spread the happy tidings of felicity in both the worlds among all inhabitants of the earth. And on this happy day there was such a crowd of people in the courtyard of *'Īdgāh*, that it reminded one of the Day of Resurrection.[1] And from the coming and going of numerous horses so much dust was raised that the fast-revolving heavens could not open their eyes.

Verses:—

On that day from the excess of great and small (men),
From the great crowd of common people,
The path of breathing (even) was stopped,
Because of the weight of the multitude the earth was tired.

When the most victorious Sovereign with this pomp and grandeur reached the foot of the place of tournaments, the soldiers, who were as numerous as stars, instantly struck the gold and silver gourds, which

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[1] For حشر see the article Resurrection in Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islām*, pp. 537–544. Khwāndamīr's comparison of the bustle of people to the crowd on the Day of Resurrection is noteworthy.

like the Sun and the Moon had come in conjunction[1] in one constellation of the blue heaven. A body of the brave soldiers, who could in a moment pierce a thousand hearts with the bows of their brows and the arrows of their eyelashes, started without fear to strike plates and throw arrows. In a moment with the points of their heart-breaking arrows they reduced the golden and silver gourds into fragments, which like the bright shooting stars[2] descended from the high heavens to the low earth. The generous King having rewarded the archers with horses and robes of honour, turned the reins of his horse, which moved like the heavens, towards the large hall of public audience. After saying the first morning prayers, he sat on the heavenly throne and sent for to his presence the great men, ministers and the firmly established officers of the State. The nobles, officers, grandees and courtiers all having presented trays with offers, each one stood in his place. The liberal hand of the King, who possessed the virtues of Ḥātim, divided the entire amount of this cash with his own hand into three shares. One share was to be distributed to the *Arbāb-i-Daulat*, and Amīr Hindū Bēg, the minister of the State, was ordered to distribute it to the members of this class. Another share was awarded to the *Aṣḥāb-i-Sa'ādat*, and its distribution was entrusted to Sharaf-ul-Mulk Maulānā Muḥī-ud-dīn Muḥammad Farghārī; and the third share, which formed the benefaction for the *Ahl-i-Murād*, was distributed according to the orders by the most intimate officer of the special assembly Amīr Uwais Muḥammad. And on this day the great physician, whose breath was as effective as that of Jesus, Maulānā Yūsufī presented a *Qaṣīdah*, the first verse of which is as follows:—

> The acclamations of joy and drinking have reached the heavens,
> The festivity of Humāyūn's accession has arrived.

From the wardrobe of royal favour, the said physician and many nobles and ministers were favoured with grants of robes of honour; and the bonds of gratitude being newly strengthened, they wrote with a new pen of fidelity prayers for the eternal prosperity of the King's government on the pages of their hearts.

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[1] The Cancer or eleventh house in astrology has the Moon for its lord, while Leo or the twelfth house has the Sun (see Beveridge's Translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 81). In the simile the silver and gold gilded gourds are compared to the Moon and the Sun, and the author describes them as having come in conjunction in one house.

[2] Plural of شهاب, the shooting stars.

Verses :—

O King, may the world remain under your protection!
May the heads of your enemies roll in the dust of your path!
Like the day of your auspicious accession,
Every day be a day of festivity for you.
May you like the cypress[1] tree be free from the anxieties of the world!
May you be happy with unlimited prosperity!

In the same manner the King, who has a well-developed sense for adjudging intellect, celebrates a festival on the date on which the Sun has crossed the vernal equinox.[2] He has dispensed with the celebration of the old *Naurōz*,[3] as the latter day was observed by the Magi[4] kings: and the followers of the holy religion have regarded it as objectionable. In the sacred month of Ramaḍān[5] 940 A.H. when the source of 96
light, the *Chahār Bāgh*[6] became, through the honour of the presence of

[1] The Cypress tree is evergreen and owing to its not bearing any fruit is supposed to be free from all worries.

[2] This point is known as نقطة الاعتدال الربيعي . Abul Faḍl and following him Beni Prasad are incorrect in stating that this festival was first adopted by Akbar following the customs of the ancient Pārsis (*vide* Phillott's edition of Blochmann's Translation of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 286, 1939; and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 98, 1930), as it is clear from the above account that Humāyūn made the first change in reference to the observation of the New Year's day. This feast apparently became more important in the time of Jahāngīr, and was known as *Rūz-i-Sharaf*, *vide The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 236, 237, 1909).

[3] Literally the New Year's day, chiefly observed amongst the Persians. In Persia it was a day of great festivity and was observed on the first day after the Sun had crossed the vernal equinox.

[4] The Magi or fire-worshippers. For a detailed account of Magi, see Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I, pp. 111, 369, 370. The Magi kings belonged to the Sāsānian Dynasty of Persia.

[5] This date is certainly wrong. Ramaḍān 940 A.H. would be March-April, 1534 A.D., but in view of the 13th of the month being mentioned a few lines further, the date may definitely be taken as in the latter half of March, 1534. During this period Humāyūn was at Delhī and so could not have been at Āgra (see note 3, p. 63). With the conflicting accounts as given by various historians it is not possible to be certain about the date, but I am inclined to place it in Ramaḍān 938 A.H., April 1532 A.D. soon after his feast of accession (see note 3, p. 63), when he was at Āgra.

[6] دول نور is apparently not the name of a place, but an adjective used in praise of the *Chār Bāgh* at Āgra. I have translated it as the source of light. دول

His Majesty, an object of envy for the garden of Iram, rather it boasted of a superiority over the grandeur of Paradise, on the thirteenth day when the Sovereign of the East (the Sun) had passed the vernal equinox, the officers of the royal court, and the managers of the affairs of government used their utmost skill in making preparations for the celebration of the festival, and all requisites for the festival, as were desirable and necessary, were made ready and procured. The Emperor, protector of the world, on the day when the Sun entered the constellation Aries [1] and by its brilliant entry conveyed the tidings of its eternal dignity, took his seat in the tent of twelve Signs and raised to the seventh heaven the ranks of a large number of the servants of the throne, the nest of religion, by the award of robes of honour, and suitable titles. Among them the highest honour was conferred on Jalāl Khān [2] son of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, who was favoured with the grant of colours and kettle-drums. Of the Turkish nobles the most intimate officer of the special assembly, and the courtier of the select assembly Amīr Uwais Muḥammad, the elegance of whose manners was adorned by his polite disposition, and the extent of whose excellent morals was commendable; the great nobleman and the most
97 virtuous Nadīm Bēg,[3] the keeper of the King's seal and who held the rank of *Kokaltāsh* [4] to the victorious King; the most selected of the nobles, Amīr Jalāl Bābā-i-Qūchīn,[5] and Amīr Niẓām-ud-dīn [6] 'Abd-ul-Ghaffār Tuwāji, *Amīr Muḥtaram*,[7] Amīr Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kōkī,[8] Amīr 'Āshiq Bakāwal,[9] had their boasting heads raised to the top of

being fortune, pitcher, bucket, etc. *Chakār* or rather *Chār Bāgh* was the garden which Bābur laid out at Āgra (see Mrs. Beveridge, *The Memoirs of Bābur*, pp. 531–533, 1917) on the other bank of the Ganges. It was probably the same garden, which Gulbadan Bēgam calls *Bāgh-i-zar-afshān* or Gold-scattering Garden (see Mrs. Beveridge's edition of *Humāyūn-nāma*, Translation, pp. 103, 108, 129, 131; 1902). *Chār-bāgh*, according to Mrs. Beveridge (*op. cit.*, p. 148, note 3; 1902) 'seems to denote a royal and private garden'. In *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge, I pp. 4, 5; 1909) *Chārbāgh* is described as a garden on the east side of the Jumna, and which few places equal in beauty. '*Gul-afshān*' is also mentioned as the name given to it by Bābur.

[1] Aries is the eighth house in astrological calculations.

[2] I am unable to find this name in any contemporary work.

[3] Apparently the same officer who is styled Nadīm Kōka or Kōkaltāsh in *Humāyūn-nāma* (Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 475; in note 3 on the same page he was the husband of the famous Māhum Anga; see also note 67, p. xxviii).

[4] For meanings of کوکلتاش see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 97, note 1.

[5–9] I am unable to find any account of these courtiers.

Ayyūq by the grant of standards.[1] Of the Afghān chiefs Maḥmūd Khān Sarwānī,[2] Jalāl Khān[3] son of Naṣīr Khān, and Jalāl Khān[4] son 98
of Daryā Khān also were exalted and dignified with the grant of the same honour. Amīr Turk 'Alī,[5] Shaikh Kauran,[6] Qāḍī Majd-ud-dīn,[7] Bahādur Khān,[8] Quṭb Khān[9] son of Shēr Khān were each dignified by the award of a woollen coat and were thus able to place their feet on the seats of the nobles. The great religious and pious Shaikh Khwājah Taqī-ud-dīn Bāqī,[10] Bāyazīd Khān[11] son of Muḥammad Khān Jatharī[12] and Gadā'ī Khān[13] each received the favour of a stirrup, and thus the doors of favour were opened in the face of their prospects. On this happy day some of the poets, such as Maulānā Yūsufī whose breath was as effective as that of Jesus, and whose verses were as elegant as those of Anwarī, the great noble Amīr Walī Bēg,[14] *Amīr Yamqūrchī*,[15] and the most virtuous Maulānā Muḥammad Shāh[16] presented very pleasing *Qaṣīdahs*, and they were all dignified with rewards of horses and costly robes of honour. The two opening verses of the composition 99
of Maulānā Yūsufī are:—

Verses:—

The fortune of the world has found a way to happiness
The day of festivity of the Jamshēd-like Humāyūn has approached.
The *Nauroz* of the emperor Humāyūn who possesses the dignity of Jamshēd, and whose commands
Without fear of being changed have come like fate and Divine decree.

The first verse of Amīr Walī Bēg's *Qaṣīdah* is:

Verse:—

I who was a drop in the ocean of anxiety
From embarrassment was always drowned in the whirlpool of distress.

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[1] The *Chatrtoq* according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Phillott's edition of Blochmann's Translation, I, p. 52, 1939) was 'a kind of '*Alam*, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan Yaks.' See also M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 97, note 3.

[2-13] It has not been possible to find any accounts of those officers.

[14] He is probably Shāh Walī Atka mentioned in *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 635).

[15] The chief officer of the Qūrchis or the guards dressed in yellow or red who attended the king while he was riding a horse or an elephant. See Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 169 (1903).

[16] I can find no account of this poet in any contemporary work.

The first two verses of the *Qaṣīdah* of Maulānā Muḥammad Shāh are:—

Verses:—

O! your face with drops of sweat on it is as fresh as the moist leaflets of rose.
The curling hairs over it disturb the circle of the Moon.
Your red lips infuse life; the cypress of your stature ravishes the heart.
Your locks are terrible snares; your eyes are maddening.

The author of these words also strung as a poem a *Qaṣīdah* in celebration of the above-noted festival, and like the other poets was awarded with the gifts of a horse and a robe of honour; its first two verses are:

Verses:—

O! the star of beauty (is) the Sun of the heaven of sovereignty.
From the Moon to the fish are illuminated by the light of your face;
Through the Divine grace of God, has been allowed to you a second time
The royal festival which is as auspicious as your name (Humāyūn).

It ended with these two verses:—

So long as in every season the Constellation of Aries is illuminated by the Sun,
May the throne of royalty be confirmed for you!
As long as the *Nauröz* (season of spring) gives the green dress (verdure) to the garden,
May the men of excellence continue to be honoured by you with robes of honour!

Also on that day, the protector of all people, Amīr Uwais Muḥammad read before the great Sovereign the following *Ghazal*:

Your face because of its beauty is the Sun of the heaven of grandeur.
The tree of your stature resembles the (straight) cypress in the garden of life.

As a lover do not compare me with the Wāmiq [1] and Majnūn,[2]
Because my love for your beauty far exceeds theirs.
For her beauty Lailā [3] became famous in the world,
Only because she was innocent of the effect of the reflection of the pure love of Majnūn.
When that rose opened its sweet lips to abuse the competitors, 101
My heart coveting that favour has broken into a hundred pieces, and is like a bud full of blood.
O Uwais, the whole world is full of happiness, pleasure and joy,
Because of this great and magnificent *Nauroz* of Humāyūn.

In short when the heavens became dressed in the habits of the descendants of 'Abbās,[4] and the table-cloth of stars,

Hemistich :—

Was spread in the assembly of heavens.

The decorators of the royal table having spread the table of hospitality produced so much food, drinks, and sweets, that the two-tongued pen is unable to give their description, and the pen is unable to write of their elegance and delicious nature.

Verses :—

With pure drinks of various colours
Which to dispel darkness shone like the Sun,
With all kinds of foods and fruits
By eating which any lean person would become fat.
In the royal feast these were served in such abundance
That it is impossible for any poet to describe them.

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[1] According to Johnson's *Dictionary—Persian, Arabic and English*, p. 1358, وامق is 'the lover of عذرا' and عذرا (p. 844) is a virgin, a mistress or the sign Virgo.

[2] Majnūn, literally a mad man, or one who is transported by love either divine or profane. His real name was Qais He fell in love with Lailā or Laili, and the two lovers are famous for their romance. According to Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 224, 236, he lived in the time of the Caliph Hishām about 103 A.H., 721 A.D.

[3] See note 2 above.

[4] For the dress of the descendants of 'Abbās, see notes 2, p. 52, and 2, p. 54. The implied meaning is that it was the dark half of the month when there was no Moon on the skies.

102 In the same manner the victorious F[illegible]or celebrates [illegible] the accompaniment of feasts and banquets the [illegible] Dhul Qa'da,[1] which is the auspicious birthday of His Majesty, and bestows in alms[2] gold equal to the weight of his person and his personal arms. Maulānā Yūsufī said:

> The King, who possesses the pomp of Jam, is weighed against gold,
> The Sun is made equal to the stars.

According to this custom in the beginning[3] of Dhul Qa'da 940 A.H., when the erect tree of the stature of that Sun of the heaven of sovereignty and power (the King) had been nourished for twenty-seven years by the stream of favour of the sublime Master of the world (God), like *Ṭūbā* in Paradise, and the twenty-eighth year of his age commenced, and during the time when the fort of Gwāliār[4] adorned by the auspicious presence of Humāyūn mocked the seat of the world-enlightening Sun, an imperative order for the preparation of the paraphernalia of feasts and banquets was issued. And outside this

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[1] This date is certainly incorrect. Humāyūn was born on the night of Tuesday, Dhul Qa'da 4, 913 A.H., March 6, 1508 A.D., in the citadel of Kābul 'from the holy womb of her chaste Majesty Māham Bēgam'—see *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 121, Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 285) and Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 1. According to Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichende Tabellen*, p. 24 (Leipzig, 1926), however, Dhul Qa'da 4, 913 A.H., would be a Monday and not a Tuesday.

[2] For an account of the ceremony of weighing the sovereign, see *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Phillott's edition of Blochmann's Translation, pp. 276, 277, and note 2 on pp. 277, 278). As Blochmann pointed out, this is an old Hindū custom, but relying on the statement in *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 230, 1909) he added that this custom was first introduced by Akbar. From Khwāndamīr's account it is clear that it had been followed regularly by Humāyūn as a part of his birthday celebrations.

[3] غرّهٔ ذیقعده سنه اربعین و تسعمائه or the beginning of Dhul Qa'da 940 A.H. would at the most be after May 14, 1534 A.D. Humāyūn's visit to Gwāliār was in Sha'bān 939, and after spending about two months there he returned to Āgra (see note 1, p. 13). The city of *Dīnpanāh* was nearing completion about the end of Shawwāl 940 A.H. (middle of May, 1534) and the festivities in this connection took place in Delhī in June, 1534. It is impossible, therefore, to accept Khwāndamīr's statement that about the beginning of Dhul Qa'da 940, Humāyūn was again at Gwāliār, and that the festivities mentioned by him took place during this second visit. Apparently he has mixed up the two festivities, one at Gwāliār in February-March, 1533, and the other at Delhī in June, 1534.

[4] See note 3 above گوالیار here appears to be a mistake for دهلی.

heaven-like fort on the banks of a large Kauthar-like pond there was a meadow, as extensive as the field of hope, and as wide as the court of ambition; its verdant appearance was far more pleasing than that of the garden of heavens,[1] and its fragrant north wind more sweet smelling than the musk of Tartary; this was selected for the purpose (of celebration). The clever lascars pitched in this green plane, which resembled the heavens, a very large tent made of fine red woollen cloth. Close to its portico was also erected the tent of the movable palace, the top of which touched the Gemini and the Pleiades. The tent of twelve signs was also raised for His Majesty's residence, and the tops of the royal pavilions, which were also pitched, reached the seventh heaven. Large tents of red velvet, which were erected above the tent of twelve signs, cast their shadows on the blue sky; and the embroidered canopies of different colours were extended, and their shadows spreading all over protected the world from the force (of heat) of the Sun. The nobles, the pillars of the State, the courtiers, the headmen, ministers and *Wazirs*, and all the servants of the sublime throne also pitched their tents of all colours, and extended their beautiful canopies round the royal pavilion; and so beautified the ground by the large number of tents, pavilions, and cupolas, as to make it the envy of the fixed heaven. 103

Verse:—

The earth from the tents, which were (as numerous) as the stars,
Appeared to the eye like the sky.

The King, who was as glorious as Farīdūn, like the shining Sun in the middle of the sky which from its meridian declines towards the earth, went from the fort of Gwāliār to that heavenly meadow on the second[2] of the above-noted month, and encamped there. On the next morning, which was a Sunday,[3] he mounted on the throne of religion which was placed outside the gate of the tent of twelve signs just as the sovereign of East (the Sun) ascends his blue seat of the heavens. Then the nobles, ministers and other officers of the State, the learned, the philosophers, and the religious persons were all 104

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[1] The alliteration in مینا and میز is noteworthy.

[2] This date would be 15th May, 1534, but as remarked already (note 3, p. 74), this cannot be correct.

[3] Dhul Qa'da 3, 940 A.H. was a Saturday and not a Sunday.

graced with audience, and, following the customs and habits performed the ceremonies of offering their congratulations on the day of his auspicious birth; and like needy persons opened their loqacious tongues to pray for the prosperity of that Sun, the heaven of religion and authority.

Verses :—

O! just and fortunate Sovereign,
The Sun of the heaven of glory and magnificence,
May the festival of your birthday be auspicious!
May the crown of honour be on your head!

And on that prosperous day the cooks of that throne, which has the dignity of heavens, having arranged and made preparations for feeding all the nobles and common people served so much food, drinks, jams and sweets, that the caravan of hunger and greed took leave of the country of Hindūstān. All persons, who were employed by the government, were greatly pleased and fully satisfied with the great variety of foods and sweets. In this assembly Khwājah Ghiyāth-ud-dīn 'Alī Mustaufī[1] presented a *Qaṣīdah* which begins as:

105 *Verse :—*

The King whose face gives light to the Sun
Who, like clouds, spreads his shadow over the world.

He was honoured and exalted by the grant of the crown of dignity and several robes of honour. On the same day, at the time of the second prayers, the world illuminating King was weighed against gold in the heavenly balance, and the entire cash, which amounted to fifteen thousand current coins, was distributed to needy people. And essential orders having again been issued to make preparations for a grand festival, the nobles and ministers were busy in preparing everything which was in their power, and (what they) considered necessary. On the morning of Monday,[2] the 4th of the above-noted month, everything was ready. On the morning of Tuesday,[3] the King, who is the possessor of the white standard, that is the Sun of the army of stars, came:

Hemistich :—

Out of the pavilion of the light of the morning,

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[1] I have not been able to find any account of this poet.

[2,3] The 3rd and 4th of Dhul Qa'da 940 A.H. were Sunday and Monday, not Monday and Tuesday, as stated by Khwāndamīr.

and adorned the blue heavens with his shining body; and, having dressed the army of stars in robes of light, placed it in the hands of the dispenser of generosity.

Verses:—

In the morning when the Sun, the wanderer round the world,
Sat on the blue throne of the heavens,
The crowd of stars, like moths round a light,
Surrounded him on all sides.
Muḥammad Humāyūn, the King of the holy religion, 106
Honour of the crown, throne and seal,
Mounted like the Sun on the high throne,
The golden throne received honour from his fe ...
The great princes sat near the throne, which resembles the heavens,
The officers of the army on the right and the left,
Stood like slaves in their respective places.

From amongst the *Ahl-i-Sa'ādat* several, who were aided by good fortune, were granted permission to sit down, and the remainder remained standing in reverence expecting to see the face of fulfilment of royal favours in the mirror of their prosperity. The *Ahl-i-Ifrād*, having girded their loins in hope, remained standing in their places, anxious to hear the issue of the King's kind orders; and all opened their tongues in prayers and praise (of him).

Verses:—

O King, equal to Jam in dignity, *Ṣāḥib Qirān*,
Glorious like Alexander the Great, conqueror of kingdoms;
May your mind be free of the anxieties of the world!
May it every moment enjoy a new pleasure!

Young archers were seated on the backs of elephants, which were as huge as mountains and looked like giants, and were covered with all kinds of silk cloths and satins. And desert-traversing camels, whose humps were as high as mountains, and which were adorned with saddles of fine woollen cloth, stood in rows round the meadows. The 107
keepers of the royal stables having placed golden saddles and embroidered covers on the horses looked after them in their appointed places. Bahrām-like soldiers kept the huge crowds, that had assembled in this area, in their proper places, and did not allow them to wander as they liked. The cooks and stewards served so much of foods,

drinks, and sweets that in spite of its vast area there was no vacant space left. All the people, who had assembled, got whatever type of food they desired and their hungers were appeased.

Verse :—

A wonderful assembly was beautifully arranged,
Everything that the heart might wish for was available.

In this assembly, which resembled that of Bahrām, the hand of the King, which is as generous as a river, favoured the great princes Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā [1] with crowns and valuable robes of honour, and also rewarded them with Arabian horses
08 adorned with golden saddles, quivers and golden trappings.[2] In the same manner he granted rich robes of honour to 'Abdullāh Sulṭān [3] and Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrzā.[4] The lion of the forest of boldness, Amīr Muḥāriz-ud-dīn Faqīr 'Alī,[5] and several other governors of provinces also on that day received valuable robes of honour from the wardrobe of the King's generosity, and, having been treated very graciously, they increased, more than ever, their attachment and fidelity towards the government. Mīrzā Qāsim Arghūn [6] was exalted above his compeers by the grant of the insignia of his (new) rank. The most noble Yūsuf Bēg [7] son of Ibrāhīm Ṭughā'ī [8] and Amīr Muḥammad Ḥosain Kapak-Bāfī [9] and Amīr Bābā Ghaḍab Bēgī [10] had the honour of being favoured with

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[1] Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā was a nephew of the Emperor Bābur and not his brother as stated by Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 418. He played an important part in the Gujarāt campaign and in the battle of Qanauj, and was the governor of Patan and later of Kālpī. He accompanied Humāyūn in his flight towards Sind, but later intrigued against him with Shāh Ḥusain the ruler of Sind. He was executed by Humāyūn's orders in 953 A.H. For further details, see *Akbarnāma*, Erskine's *History*, *Cambridge History of India*, and Banerji's *Humāyūn Bādshāh*.

[2] 'Golden trappings' appears to be a more appropriate translation of بار طلا than golden curtains as suggested by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain.

[3] Is he the person mentioned as 'Abd'l-lah Sulṭān Aūzbeg-Shaibān in Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 719; 1922 ?

[4] He is apparently Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrzā Ṭughā'ī, the brother of Gul-rukh Bēgam, wife of the Emperor Bābur. For details see Mrs. Beveridge's edition of Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma*, pp. 233, 234, 1902, and her *Memoirs of Bābur* (1914–1922).

[5] His name is given as میر فقر علی or فقیر علی (as a variant) in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, pp. 154, 156, 167 and Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 336, 339 and 355).

[6–10] I have not been able to find any accounts of these officers.

woollen robes of honour, and they were promoted in their positions and ranks. The wonder of the age, Ustād 'Alī Qulī Tōpchī[1] was singled out from amongst his equals and colleagues with the grant of a crown, a robe of honour of brocade, a jewelled dagger, and an Arab horse. Khwājah Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Yūsuf,[2] who, for some reasons, had been removed from the office of a secretary, was invested with a crown and a special robe of honour, and the light of unlimited royal favour again shone on the cheeks of his circumstances. Khwājah Shāh Maḥmūd[3] was also raised on that day to the high post of the *Wazārat*, and being dressed in royal apparels excelled above the heavens in dignity. The ambassador[4] of the governor of Gujarāt, who had brought a treaty of obedience and submission on the part of his master, was favoured with the grant of most valuable robes of honour, and he achieved the acme of his desires by receiving the gift of a horse which could traverse the heavens like the Moon. On that auspicious day the sweet-tongued poets presented very acceptable *Qaṣīdahs* in the praise of the Emperor, the regulator of kingdoms, and, having been rewarded with his royal favour, (they) prayed that he may have eternal fortune and ever-lasting prosperity. Among these the most accomplished poet Maulānā Yūsufī, the physician, read a *Qaṣīdah* the first five verses of which are:— 109

Verses:—

The entire world was made happy through the prosperity of
The anniversary of the birth of the Emperor Humāyūn who is the equal of Jam in dignity.
Whatever is written in the horoscope must come to pass,
Pen wrote prosperity and success for him,
It will soon come about, if he is to be so lucky and prosperous,
That with his sword, which is resplendent as the Sun, he should conquer the world.

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[1] The famous artillery officer or master-gunner of the Emperor Bābur who fought in the battles of Panīpat (1526), Khānwa (1527) and Ghogrā (1529).

[2] He is probably the Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Qūrchī who was sent as an ambassador to Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarāt (see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 103).

[3] Khwājah Shāh Maḥmūd is not mentioned in any of the works which I have consulted.

[4] This embassy from Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarāt came with a message of congratulations, friendship and good-will, and not of obedience and submission, from the governor of Gujarāt, as Khwāndamīr has interpreted it (*vide* Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 65, 99).

People weigh him against *Dīnār* and *Dirham*, but
Wisdom every moment proclaims with its understanding and wit;
The pearl, which is as precious as both the worlds,
How can people compare it to *Dīnār* and *Dirham*.

Praise be to God for the blessings which He bestowed and perfect and complete peace and salutations be on the last Prophet, his descendants and companions!

Arranging the Carpet of Mirth, and an Account of the Supplementary Innovations of the *Bādshāh*.

Amongst the fascinating innovations, which emanated from the world-adorning mind of this victorious emperor, was also the *Bisāṭ-i-Nishāṭ* (carpet of mirth),[1] which was the source of cheerfulness and gaiety to all men. It was a round carpet divided into circles corresponding to the orbits of the planets, and the number of elemental spheres, and was made of valuable stuffs. The first circle, which represented the crystalline sphere, was white like the book of deeds of the virtuous; the second blue; the third owing to its resemblance to the colour of Saturn black; the fourth, which was ascribed to the most fortunate planet Jupiter, was of the sandalwood (light brown) colour; the fifth, which related to Mars, was red; the sixth representing the Sun was made of gold embroidered cloth; the seventh representing Venus was bright green; the eighth ascribed to Mercury, was of violet colour, as this planet has a composite nature;[2] and blue and red colours when mixed result in violet. The reason for adopting violet in preference to all other mixed colours was, that some of the philosophers have described the colour of Mercury as (resembling) that of antimony, and violet of all mixed colours approaches nearest to that of antimony. Also Saturn and Mercury appear close to each other in their revolutions; the colour of Saturn is black, and violet closely approximates to black; but the ninth circle representing the Moon was, like the face of the Moon of fourteenth night, white. After the circle of the Moon, were placed, in sequence, the circles of fire and

[1] The description of the *Basāṭ-i-Nishāṭ* is copied almost verbatim by Abul Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, p. 361, Beveridge's Translation, I, pp. 649, 650).

[2] See note 4, p. 19.

air; and then these of earth and water were outlined; and the division of the inhabited quarters of the globe was confined to seven climes. For the sake of amusement of his prosperous mind, the Emperor sometimes spread this carpet on a circular wooden platform which was equal to it in area. And himself occupying the circle of the gold-embroidered cloth, he, like the Sun, reflected to it beauty, light and purity. Each section (of the people) was ordered to sit, in accordance with one of the seven planets appropriate to it, in the circle to which it corresponded. For instance, officers of Indian extraction and *Shaikhs* 112
would sit in the circle of Saturn, which is black; the Saivids and the learned in the circle of Jupiter, which is of a light brown colour; and so on in other circles. And sometimes while people were seated in the above-noted circles, they used to throw dice on various sides of which figures of persons in different postures were painted by the creative pen; and whichever figure turned up on the throw from the hand of a person, he assumed the same position in his circle. For instance, if the picture of a standing person turned up he stood up, and if a seated one was presented he sat down, while if the reclining position was cast, he lay down and even went to sleep. Consequently this assembly produced extremely novel pictures and became a source of mirth and gaiety. And of all good uses, to which this carpet full of mirth is suited, one is, that each of the seven circles is divided into two hundred grades, so that there are fourteen hundred seats in the seven circles. Thus for such people, as always wish to sit at the head of an assembly, and (for this purpose) open the doors of exertion in their faces, there can be no rivalry when they come to this carpet, for in this assembly every one can sit where he likes.

Another innovation of this broad-minded Lord of the crown and throne was, that as in the country of Hindūstān there are a great many flies, and dust and dirt floating in the atmosphere exceeds all limits 113
of moderation owing to the great force of the wind, (he had ordered) that the carriers should bring all royal drinks in glass goblet to the august assembly, so that the elegant tastes of the members of the assembly should not be disturbed by flies, dust or rubbish that may have fallen into the drinks; and they should be favoured and safeguarded by having clear and pure beverages to drink.

Further royal orders were issued to the effect, that in the mornings and evenings, the drum beaters of the heavenly threshold should beat a drum when the Sun rises from the horizon. And the beating of drums in the morning, which is during the times of worship and prayers,

was called the *Naubat-i-Sa'ādat*. The drum-beating at the time of sunrise, when people begin attending to the affairs of the government was called *Naubat-i-Daulat*, and beating of drums in the evening, which is the time of leisure and enjoyment, was designated *Naubat-i-Murād*. Similarly on the first and fourteenth nights of each month, which are the times for welcoming the Sun and the Moon (respectively), bands of *naubats* were beaten according to order; and the doors of happiness and rejoicings were opened in the faces of all the countries, whether near or remote.

114 Further a large drum,[1] with the voice of thunder, was placed near the court hall, so that the seekers of justice may beat it, and the prosperous *Nawwāb* (the King), having been made conscious, should enquire into their complaints. Further if any complainant had only a slight dispute with someone, he would beat the drum only once. And if his hardship referred to the non-receipt of his wages, he was to beat it twice. If his goods and chattels had been seized by an oppressor or stolen, he complained by beating the drum thrice. And (finally) if it was a claim of blood against anyone he beat the drum loudly four times. This drum was called the Drum of Justice (*Ṭabl-i-'adl*). Thanks and praise be to the Almighty God, that during the reign of this manifestation of justice and favours, no one is beaten with the stick of oppression except the drum, and but for the flute no one produces a cry of despair.

Verses:—

Through his justice extended by his conquest of the world,
No one cries in his reign but the flute.
Regarding the hands of oppression of the cruel heavens,
No sound is heard except that of the drum.

It is hoped through the excessive favour of the Almighty that up to the day of resurrection the Sun of justice of this Solomon-like Sovereign will continue to shine over the cheeks of the creation, and this elegant composition meeting with the approbation of his honourable servants, the author will be invested with all kinds of favours.

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[1] A short summary of the institution of the *Ṭabl-i-'adl* is included in *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, pp. 361, 362, Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 651). As Beveridge has noted, this was not an innovation of Humāyūn, but an institution as old as Nūshirwān. See also Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 533, 534; 1854.

CONCLUDING POEM BY KHWĀNDAMĪR. 115

The protector of religion, the dispenser of justice,
Most equitable, patron of accomplishments;
You are the Sun of the heaven of grandeur,
Benefactor of men of excellence and perfections.
I am a nightingale of the garden of poetry
I have made my home in the garden of your favours.
If I be exalted in this garden,
I shall sing poems in (praise of) your prosperity.
I shall have no other purpose except this:
That I be singing romances in your praise.
By writing your chronicles, O prosperous Monarch,
I may fill the skirts of the world with pearls.
Like Firdausī [1] and Anwarī,
I may also renew the dress of poetry.
I may write such an interesting *Ẓafarnāma*,[2]
That its love may make people restless.
The beauty of its arrangement should deprive the heart of its 116
senses.
It may humiliate the eloquence of Sharaf.
Provided your order is issued: (as)
Without (your) order it cannot be undertaken.
Also from the cloud of your benevolence,
Whose graces are more liberal than the bounties of the spring,
You may throw showers of pearls in the garden of my hopes,
And make the tree of my desires fruitful.
As you spread the table of munificence before people,
Honour me also according to my worth.
In your reign, O most virtuous Sovereign!
Numerous men of learning and perfections
Have seized the requisites of greatness in their hands;
Have placed the caps of glory on their heads.
I also am of noble birth, and have acquired learning and the 117
propriety of conduct:

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[1] Abul Qāsim Firdausī, 339–411 A.H., 950–1020 A.D.; the author of the famous *Shāhnāmah*. For a detailed account see Ranking's Translation of Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, I, p. 32, note 1.

[2] The reference is to the *Ẓafarnāmah* or *Tārīkh Ṣāḥib Qirānī* of Sharaf-ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī. See note 7, p. 12.

Hereditary virtues and acquired knowledge.
Therefore, I hope, O Lord of the crown,
That I may win further patronage.
As the infirmity of age has made me weak,
This type of service is a blemish of old age.
The object of these words is not to acquire wealth,
To fulfil hopes and satisfy desires.
But in this reign, far from Kirān,[1]
I do not wish to remain inferior to others.
When the parrot is made equal to the crow,
It flies further away from its comfortable nest.
Compared to the parrot of my nature (in) poetical composition,
No one is its equal in Hindūstān.[2]
If any of the servants of this government
Entertains any doubt in this (respect),
118 Order, O great Monarch,
That the wise and learned
From their eloquent intelligence
May produce samples of such pearls.
When this order is issued by the Sovereign,
The light of the truth of my claim will appear.
Oh *Muwarrikh*,[3] do not speak any further
Because this King of excellent disposition,
Who is very kind and benevolent,
Will exalt you through (his) favours.
Don't you see, that without the songs of nightingales
The air of spring comforts the soul.
When the shining Sun rises high,
The entire world becomes prosperous.
How well has been said by that poet [4] of the country of Jām,

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[1] دور از کران as used here apparently means far from my native place in Irān.

[2] The author considers himself to be the best author and poet, unequalled by any others of Humāyūn's court, and the greater part of the poem is of the nature of a satire on the author having been neglected by the Emperor Humāyūn, and not receiving his due favours.

[3] The author, Khwāndamīr. He was granted the title of *Amīr-ul-Akhbār* by Humāyūn (*vide* Text, p. 60), but he was apparently also known as *Amīr-i-Muwarrikh* (*vide* Badā'ūnī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, I, p. 343 (1868)).

[4] Nūr-ud-dīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān *bin* Aḥmad al-Jāmī, generally known as Jāmī; 817–898 A.H., 1414–1492 A.D., was a celebrated Persian poet. For

Who systematized virtues,
What necessity is there to tell the Sun, 119
To shine on the near or remote,
When the benevolent Sun sheds its brilliant rays,
Neither near nor far are disappointed.
O God! for the regard of the Prophet of Arabia,
For the sake of the Wise one who had not been taught,[1]
For the sake of his descendants and companions, the protectors of religion,
For the sake of the prosperity of tribal guidance,[2]
Let this cypress of pomp and glory,
The angelic natured conqueror of countries,
Be happy on the royal throne,
Let the kingdom prosper through his justice!
Let victory be the companion of his retinue!
The *Sulṭāns* of all the world be submissive to him!
The Moon of his standards may illuminate the world! 120
His armies be successful in all fields of battle!
May he conquer the whole world!
This discourse ends here, (with my) greetings!

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details of his life and work, see Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 196, 197 and Browne, E. G., *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, III, pp. 507–548 (1920).

[1] The reference is to the Prophet Muḥammad who is described as الرسول النبي الامي in the *Qur'ān*, Sūra VII, *A'rāf*, verse 157, p. 388, and as في الاميين رسولا منهم in Sūra LXII, *Jumu'a*, verse 2, p. 1545.

[2] The *Ḥadīṯ* referred to is quoted by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Text, p. 119, note 1.

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