urging me to make frequent mention of the name of the holy Miyān in my religious exercises, as he had endeared himself to all the people of that country, both gentle and simple. Thus, at last, I returned in safety to the place whither I was bound, as has been already stated.

In the year in which the holy Miyān removed the pavilion (of his existence) from this transitory world and pitched it in the kingdom of eternity, and very shortly after his death, there was a plague in the Panjāb; and all his associates, his family, and his most noted spiritual successors and representatives, who numbered fifty or sixty souls, perfect and perfected, among whom was "the interpreter of secrets," Miyān 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, also known as Miyān Bābā, with one accord, as though by appointment, successively and each in his due turn, joined the holy Miyān (in the next world) in the space of three or four months, as it pleased God. (This was the case of those intimately connected with him), but what shall I say of his sincere pupils disciples, and attendants at large? Miyān Shaikh Abā Išāq, too, owing to the greater intimacy of his connection with the

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Zīkr has been already described. The highwaymen apparently urged Badāoni to recite the name of Shaikh Dā'ūd in his zīkr, an exercise in which only the names and attributes of God should be recited. The passage exemplifies the superstitious veneration with which ignorant Indian Muslims regard their pirs, and gives some colour to the charge brought against Shaikh Dā'ūd by Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, that he permitted his disciples to introduce his name into their zīkr, they crying out "Ya Dā'ūd, ya Dā'ūd!" Shaikh Dā'ūd very dexterously repelled the charge (vide supra p. 58), but from the request here made by the robbers it is almost certain that the practice was common among the Shaikh's followers, even if it was not approved by him. Word Word is a portion of the Qur'an set or imposed for recital on a particular occasion, or at a particular time. It seems that the name of the Shaikh was to be introduced into these passages from the Qur'an, or it may be that they were to be recited in the Shaikh's name.

5 wrongly omitted from MS. (B).
6 Vide supra, in the life of Shaikh Dā'ūd (No. XVI), pp. 56-60.
7 (text). The MSS. insert 5 and 9 between إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصباب إصubits. The careless omission of the conjunction in the text would give the passage a very unpleasant sound to an Eastern ear.
8 MS. (B) wrongly inserts 5 here.
Miyān, sped from the desert of separation to the true Ka‘bah¹ of union and propinquity. "Some of them have fulfilled their vow and others of them await its fulfilment."² Ah, Ḥāfaṣ, it may be

"That thou preparest a cup³ for them."

He who afterwards continued the exalted line of the Qūdiriy-yah⁴ order was Shaikh `Abdu-‘llāh, the most orthodox and noble son of the holy Miyān, who, since the latter removed the baggage (of his existence) to the garden of Ṣawwān,⁵ remains at present the compendium of all the perfections⁶ and the successor to all the exalted qualities of Miyān Shaikh Abū-‘l-Ma‘āli.⁷

The peace of God, so long as nights succeed one another,

Be on the pure Shaikh, Abū-‘l-Ma‘āli.

It is to be hoped that this garden of good fortune will aye remain fruitful—through the prophet and his honoured family.

50. **Shaikh Rukn-u-Dīn.** *(May God have mercy on him!)*

He is the orthodox son of Shaikh `Abdu-‘l-Quddūs of Gangā, whose distinguished virtues and perfections are beyond the need of any comment or exposition, being sufficiently indicated and

1 "The cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Makkah, which contains the Ḥajaru-‘l-Aswad, or black stone." Hughes’ Dict. of Islam. The word is frequently used metaphorically, as in this passage, for any object of desire, or reward at a journey’s end, the simile being the toilsome desert journey of the Makkah pilgrims, with the Ka‘bah for its object.

2 Qur’ān xxxiii. 23.

 thugs in the earth made to serve as way stations for Allah's servants. From them he had his name, and his name was to his face a blessing.

Some there were among the faithful who made good what they had promised to God. Some have fulfilled their vow and others await its fulfilment, and have in no way changed."

3 Of the wine of paradise.

4 The order founded by Shaikh Dā‘ūd and described (p. 52), as being midway between the Sahrawardi and Qāshi orders.

5 i.e., "paradise." Riḍwān is the keeper of the garden of paradise.

6 Lit. "the gatherer together of all the perfections."

7 Shaikh Dā‘ūd.
signified by the holy writings which he has compiled. Gangū is a pargana town¹ in the confines of Thānesar.

The Shaikh was a man greatly respected, whose outward appearance bore witness to his perfections. He was a man of great authority in the mysticism of the Šāfis, and followed the religious rule of the holy men of his own order, and was one of those who are overcome by a mysterious longing after God and are subject to fits of religious ecstasy.⁶

He went occasionally, but very seldom, to the houses of men of worldly position and rank, and never but when in need. Otherwise he remained constantly in the corner of retirement and abstraction. I, the compiler of these pages, paid my respects to him in Dihli, at the time of Bairam Khān’s rebellion,⁶ in one of the assemblies of Shaikh ‘Abdu-l-'Aziz (may God have mercy on him!). Praise be to God (therefor).

XXVI. Mîyān Muṣṭafā of Gujarāt.

His descent was from the Boharas,⁷ a tribe in Gujarāt whose occupation is trading. By means of one of the intimate friends of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur (may God sanctify his soul!) he constantly followed the path of poverty and self-effacement, walking steadfastly in that way to the end of his life. When the Khalīfah of the age, after the conquest of the country of Bang,³ reached Ajmir on his return from

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¹ Badāwīn means “near Thānesar.” Thānesar was a pargana town in the Sirhind sarkār, while Gangū was a pargana town in the adjoining sarkār of Sahāranpur. Ḍin-i-Akbārī II. (trans. Jarrett), 290.
² MS. (B) has جز. text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has در.
³ ¹ is omitted from the MSS. but seems to be rightly supplied in the text. ¹ The Šāfī-istic technical terms and حلال ذرق و حال بود have already been explained.
⁴ Carelessly omitted from MS. (B).
⁵ در زمان فترات برم خان. Vide vol. II. text, pp. 85 et seqq., and AKBARNAAMAH (text) II., 91-121.
⁶ The Boharas are a tribe of Musalmāns in the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and parts of the Panjab. They are Shāhīs by religion. Sir George Campbell is of opinion that they are a cross between immigrants from the Persian Gulf and “Hindu Borahs.” Vide Sherring, “Hindu Castes and Tribes” II, 183, 184. The Boharas throughout India numbered 129,473 in 1881.
⁷ s.e., Bengal.
Patna, Ḡāfī Khān II, the Mir Bakbgh, in obedience to the Imperial order, brought him with him from Gujarāt. The Emperor, calling the Ulamā'i together one night in the courtyard of the Hall of Audience, questioned Shaikh Mustafā on the truth about the Mahdawi question, and he readily answered, and the discussion was prolonged; and Ḥāji Ibrahim of Sirhind, in accordance with his vile disposition, was overbearing in the argument, and vexed the Shaikh; and I also related circumstantially and at length what I had found in the commentary on the Gulshan-i-Rās, a work by Shaikh Muḥammad-al-Aḥji, who was the immediate disciple of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Nūr Bakbgh, who also, in his time, had set up a claim to being the Mahdi, and had brought various troubles on himself thereby. Since what I said was opposed to the Shaikh's contention it was evidently the cause of

1 Vol. II. (text), 185. Akbarsima (text) II., 79. Bādānī places this event in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5). Abū'l-Faṣīl places it in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1574-5). The MSS. spell Patna, dīlā', after the Persian style. In the text it is Indianized into dīlā'.

2 Vide vol. II. (text), pp. 172, 173. The passage is reproduced in the short life of Bādānī prefixed to this volume.

3 Gulaheni rās, rosarium arcanae. Carmen persicium, quod its incipit: Nominem ejus, qui animam cogitare ducit.


The commentary of Shaikh Shamsu-d-din is the book referred to. He is described in the text and MSS. as Ḷāhī (Lāḥī), an error for Ḳāhī (Al-Aḥji).

The Gulshan-i-Rās has been translated into English by Mr. Whinfield.

4 The text has Ḥāfīz which, as explained in a footnote to the text, is the reading of both MSS. I think that we should substitute Ḥāfīz, and have translated accordingly. If, however, the reading of the MSS. be correct we might translate "he was the disciple, with one intermediary, of, &c.," but the expression is awkward and undiomatic.

5 Of Badakhšān. A disciple of Abū Ishaq-i-Khāfānī who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops were sent
his being vexed with me. The Emperor ordered the Shaikh, after his arrival at Fathpūr, to stay for some days in the house of Khāja 'Abdu'-ṣ-Ṣamad the painter, of sweet pen.1 To make amends for my fault I waited on him with my apologies, and asked him for forgiveness. He was very feeble, and in that very assembly a basin was brought to him, and he brought up a great quantity of blood. It seems that after he received leave to depart for Gujarāt he removed the baggage (of existence) from this transitory lodging to the eternal abode, either on his way to his native land or immediately after his arrival there. This event took place in the year H. 983 (A.D. 1575-6). He is the author of works which bear witness to his separation from the world and self-effacement.2 May God deal with him according to His graciousness.

XXVII SHAIKH ISḤĀQ-I-KĀKŪ OF LĀHŌR.3

His father's name was Shaikh Kākū, and the people of Lāhōr believe him to have been a saint.4 He (Shaikh Isḥāq) was a profoundly learned man, resigned to God and abstinent. He never went to the houses of worldly men or begged from them. He was always teaching, and was a compendium of all branches of knowledge. He was a Ṣūfī by religion and was ever employed with the Truth (God).5 He would not speak unless questions were put to him. One day he met in the road a contemptible wretch who gave to him an earthen pot full of rice and milk, saying, "Take this and come with me." Without any objection or refusal he took it on his head and passed through the marketplace until he came to the place where the man lodged, and from

against him. He was defeated and fled to Irāq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors but defied them all. Aḥn-i-Akbūri I. (trans. Blechmann) introduction, p. iv. note.

2 Lit. "From which arises the odour of exile and effacement," the "exile" referring to the Shaikh's belief that he was but a sojourner in this world.
4 Lit. "Have a belief in his saintship" (َلِلْكَاهِن). A well (َلِلْكَاهَِين) is "one who is very near," i.e., to God. Hughes' Dict. of Islam s. v. Both MSS. have Ḥāfīd for āṣūrā. The emendation in the text is correct.
5 Ḥāfīd is Ṣūf-istic term for God.
that day forth his heart was washed clean from the guile of pride, and he was also distinguished among those learned in profane knowledge.¹ In the course of the year 995 (A.D. 1587) I had the honour of waiting on that reverend man, and one day I told this story, in some connection or another, to Shaikh Fa'izi,² who shortly afterwards received the title of Maliku-šh-Shu'ara³ and he, according to his habit, which was to decry all holy men,⁴ past and present, and to exalt himself, began scoffingly to belittle the Shaikh, while I remained silent. I cannot say whether it was that night or some other night that I saw in a dream that Shaikh Abū-ʾl-Faẓl had alighted in a plain, in an old ruin which had no more than two or three⁵ walls standing. Shaikh Isḥāq was standing in the company of gunners, with a musket in his hand, just as though it were the night of the new moon and the usual custom in the Royal Court of firing off guns on the occasion were being observed. He took aim at me and fired, and the sparks fell all round me and in front of me, and I awoke, terrified. The next day I took an offering to the Shaikh and it was honoured with his acceptance, and I told him what had happened to me.⁶

Owing to his great age he had lost the power of speech, but he used to raise his hand and recite the Fāṭiḥah, praise be to God! He was the instructor of most of the famous learned men of Lāhār, such as Shaikh Sa’du-ʾllāh, who had no rival⁷ in his time, and Shaikh Munavvar and others.

¹ Or perhaps, “he was distinguished from those learned in secular knowledge,” i.e., by his humility.
² The brother of Abū-ʾl-Faẓl.
³ “King of Poets,” the title commonly given to the poet laureate in Muḥammadan Courts.
⁴ The text wrongly has نفی with the hamzah.
⁵ The MSS. have مشايع كبار. The text omits كبار.
⁶ The text wrongly has دوسة. MS. (B) has دوسر, which is nonsense.
⁷ ب, supplied in the text, though it appears in neither MS.
⁸ Badāni evidently regarded the vision as a punishment for not having defended the Shaikh when he was attacked by Fa'izi. In this passage MS. (B) wrongly omits كفَتِم. I have already expressed my opinion of this MS.
⁹ قرینه lit. “an analogy,” something which bears a resemblance to something else.
In his youth the *Shaikh* was inclined mostly to sport,¹ and took his delight therein, so that whenever he had leisure from study he would take his falcon and hawk and would go out hawking, traversing the ground on foot.

His venerable age exceeded one hundred years when, in the year H. 996 (A.D. 1588), he hastened away to the close companionship² of God.

XXVIII. *Shaikh Sa'du-llah Bani Isrā'il.*

One of the orthodox, noble, and bountiful pupils of Ishāq Kākū. He has followed various rules of life. At first he was a strict observer of the holy law, but suddenly, throwing off all restraint, he committed all manner of unlawful acts, and forming an attachment to a singing girl used to roam³ about the marketplace, for all his gray beard.

Though people heretofore did learn of me
Now love has come, my teaching days are gone.

Men used, from their firm faith in him, to apply the dust of his feet as tutty,⁴ and held him to be a saini,⁵ and in that capacity he used to give instruction, in the open cattle market.⁶ He disposed of all the moveable property⁷ of his followers, which he had with him (to satisfy the demands) of his mistress, through love of her. One night when he was drinking wine with

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¹ بشكراً - carelessly omitted from MS. (B).
² جوار قرب - lit. "the neighbourhood of the propinquit".
³ ميكشفت - (text). Both MSS. have ميكشفت.
⁴ نوريا - a crude zinc oxide, applied to the eyes as a collyrium.
⁵ عفيدة ولايت بار داشفنن - "Believed him to be a wali," i.e., one near to God.
⁶ The text and MSS. have نغاس - در عين نغاس means "a seller of beasts." The expression is elliptical and obscure, but I take it to be equivalent to نغاس and have so translated it, Nigasṭ and have suggested as a variant for نغاس - در عين بزار نغاس, in which case the sense of the phrase would be, "all polluted as he was," soil. by his intercourse with the singing girl.
⁷ إسباب - carelessly omitted from MS. (B).
her, a party of mutasibs,\(^1\) together with the students who were his disciples, banded together and entered his house by climbing over the wall, with a view of bringing him to a proper frame of mind,\(^2\) and, breaking all the appurtenances of unlawful and forbidden amusements \(^3\) (which they found), wished to subject him to punishment.\(^4\) He repeated what was said (on one occasion) to the second true Khalifah,\(^5\) the Prince of the true believers, 'Umar (may God be gratified with him!). “If I have committed one unlawful act you have been guilty of three unlawful acts, and are the more deserving of punishment, for that, in order to spy upon me, and without my permission, you entered my house by climbing over the wall.” \(^6\) The party, ashamed and abashed, left him. Afterwards, being enabled by God's grace to repent sincerely, he modelled his life on the book Iṣyā',\(^7\) and passed his time in worship and austerities, and composed many profitable and sublime books, among them being a commentary on the Jawāhiru-l-Qur'ān\(^8\) by Imām Ghazzālī (may God have mercy upon him!).

\(^1\) Police officers appointed to prevent drinking, gambling and other offences against the moral law.

\(^2\) “for the purpose of remedying his condition.”

\(^3\) “the instruments of wanton amusements and of pastimes prohibited by the sacred law,” i.e., such things as dice, drinking-cups, wine vessels, and instruments of music.

\(^4\) “Censuring,” or “inflicting stripes below the full number allowed by law.” It does not appear whether the Ḥashāk was to have been flogged or merely rebuked.

\(^5\) Here Badā'uni stoutly asserts himself as a Sunnī.

\(^6\) The three unlawful acts were (1) spying upon a Muslim, (2) entering the house without asking the owner's permission, and (3) entering the house as thieves, by climbing over the wall. The privacy of dwelling is established by the teaching of Muḥammad, and it is unlawful to enter a house without asking permission. Vide Qu'rān xxiv. 27-29.

\(^7\) Vide supra, p. 29, n. 2.

\(^8\) Jawāhir El-Coran, gemmae Corani, auctore Imām Hojjet-el-Islām, Abī Hāmid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghanaṭī Tunis, anno 605 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuo. Librum divisum esse commenatorum in doctrinæ resurrectionis, hab esse exteriores et interiores, interiores autem distributæ esse in purificatiomem et sui ipsius alienationem, ut quatuor sint genera doctrinarum, exteriores dicæ et interiores, et vituperationes et laudes dignæ. Singula genera
When the Khalifah of the age summoned him to a private interview he asked him, “of what race are you?” and he replied, “of the tribe of the scribes, who are called in the Hindi tongue, Kāyats.” The Emperor was much pleased with this unassuming answer and held a long conversation with him. I waited on him for the first time in Lāhōr and in some connection or another he made mention of the question of the decay of Multān and the prosperity of Lāhōr, and the matter of the Sultāns of the Langāh family, especially Sultān Ḥūsain, speaking on these subjects in such a manner that I was astonished at the manner in which he acquitted himself, and at the elegance and polish of his style. Rarely have I heard such sweetness of diction.

He never left a beggar disappointed, and although he had no concern with commerce or husbandry, and was not in enjoyment of a subsistence allowance from the Emperor, his resources and expenditure on alms and charity were such that nobody knew

ad decem principia redeunt, totum autem selectissimam Corani partem continet.” Ḥājī Khalīfah No. 4293. No mention is made of the commentary composed by the Shaiṭḥ.

1 The Kāyats or Kāyasths, the great caste among the Hindus whose occupation is writing. They numbered in 1681 two and a quarter millions. From the Shaiṭḥ’s cognomen it might be supposed that he was of Jewish or Afghan descent, as was perhaps the case. His forbears may have been employed as scribes, and it is possible that the Shaiṭḥ, without being a Hindu by descent, was sufficiently politic to humour Akbar’s predilection for Hindus, by naively confessing to a Hindu ancestry, and to refrain from proudly claiming a foreign descent, as a bigoted Muslim would probably have done. It is for this reason that Badāuni describes his answer as “unassuming.” Or the Shaiṭḥ may, perhaps, have been descended from Kāyasths on the mother’s side, and made the most of the fact in order to humour the Emperor.

2 The Langāh dynasty reigned in Multān from A.D. 1443 to A.D. 1524. Shaiṭḥ Yānūf, the first of the line, established an independent monarchy in Multān in the former year. In the latter year Sultān Ḥūsain Langāh II., the last of the line was overcome by Shāh Ḥūsain Arghūn, the ruler of Sindh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Bābar, and afterwards of Humāyūn, from whom, however, he withdrew his allegiance when Shār Shāh overcame him. When Humāyūn fled to Sindh Shāh Ḥūsain received his ambassadors not discourteously, but refused to assist him in any way. He subsequently drove Humāyūn from Sindh. Āin-i-Akbarī II. (trans. Jarrett), 294-336, and “The Indus Delta Country,” by Major-General M. R. Haig, 89-93.
whence he derived his means, and the people were perplexed on this subject. 

On reaching the age of about eighty years he passed away from this illusory world, and great and small, in their thousands, nay more, accompanied his funeral, taking up his pure bier on their heads and shoulders, with a view to obtaining blessings by so doing, (and the crowd was so great that) there was not room to plant one's foot.

XXIX. MIYÀH SHAIKH 'ABDU-LLĀH OF BADÀON.

He was one of the benefits of the age and the blessings of the epoch. In early youth he was learning a lesson from the Büstân, and came to this couplet:—

"In the way of purity it is impossible, O Sa'dî,
"To travel, except by following the Chosen One,"

(may God bless and save him!). He asked his teacher, "What is the meaning of this couplet? Explain it to me in Hindi." His teacher said "What business have you with this story?" He replied "Until you thoroughly explain it to me I will not learn another lesson." When the meaning of it had been explained he said "Give me an account of Muḥammad, "the Chosen" (may God bless and save him!) and tell me who he is." The teacher described to him some of the noble qualities and wondrous works of his holiness (may God bless him and save him), and, as soon as he heard the description, the mystic attrac-

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1 Lit. "Nobody knew whence all these resources, expenditure, and disbursements were."

2 MS. (B) carelessly omits.

3 The concluding couplet of the introduction to the Büstân. The couplet commences here. The better reading is, of course, Muḥammad. It is, in neither MS.
tion of the Lord seized on him, and, rending his shirt, he uttered the creed of Islam. When his parents heard of this they recognized that he had declared himself free of them and renounced them, and could not properly return to their care, so that they, of necessity, relinquished all claim to him, and he, journeying from Samāna, the home of his ancestors, employed himself in reading the Qur'an, in making himself acquainted with God's commands, and in the pursuit of knowledge. At last, joining himself to a band of famous sages and great saints he became one of the greatest sages of the age, and placing his hand in the hand of Miyān Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Bāqi-yi-Cīāti of Badān (may God give rest to his soul!) he became his disciple, and received instruction from him in the mystic worship of the Sūfis. Subsequently he attended upon Shaikh Sāfī of Khairābād (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!) and others, and, employing himself in austerities and in striving after holiness, attained perfection. He acquired the blessing of knowledge from most of the noted masters of his time, especially from Miyān Shaikh Lādān of Dihli and from Mir Sayyid Jalāl of Badān, and after the death of the latter, whose sins are forgive, he became his successor and taught and imparted instruction for many years in Badān, and many well-known sages, who have become famous, sat at his feet. People from the surrounding country and from the utmost parts of (other) countries by waiting upon him attain eternal felicity.

Latterly the mysterious attraction of God has overpowered him, and he appears at meetings for ecstatic singing and dancing,
and from the excessive influence of his longing and desire after
God he utters soul-melting cries and heart-searing shrieks and
falls a-trembling, and advances some paces, though there be at the
time no ecstatic dance in progress, and crying out, at the same
time, the َلَا َعَلَّٰل فَ يُصِبْهُ تَرْدُدَتْهَا َلَا يَوْمَٰها
he returns to his place and remains standing there.

His unceremoniousness and unpretentiousness are such that he
goes on foot, like his predecessors and successors, to the shop
and to the market to buy household goods, whether in small or
large quantities, and to purchase all necessary supplies for his
kitchen, which he may need, and carries them back to where he
dwells. On the way, too, he teaches a number of his students,
and howsoever much they may say “Master, there is no need for
you to trouble yourself in this way, we will perform this duty,”
he does not consent thereto. His auspicious appearance bears
witness to his poverty and self-effacement, and, notwithstanding
his having received permission to impart religious instruction,
and documents appointing him a recognized deputy from (various)
holy men, he is not devoted to the usual system of ُشُعِّيْرُ وَأَغْسَلُوا
and their disciples, but on the contrary, carefully avoids it.
Clad in the garb of holy men and the vesture of religious leaders
he remained cloaked and concealed in his robe.

When I was reading, under his instruction, the com-
mentary on the ُسُلَفٌ ُلِّ-ِل-كَلَامٍ ُفَالَهُ and the ُهَلَقٌ ُلِّ-

1 لَا َعَلَّٰل فَ يُصِبْهُ تَرْدُدَتْهَا َلَا يَوْمَٰها. Both MSS. add وَذِرْقٍ. The words have been
carelessly omitted from the text.
2 Both MSS. have مُشَفَّرُوٌّ. The respectful plural. The text has the
singular.
3 The formula َلَا ُحَلَلَ وَلا ُفَقْهٌ ُلَا بَالَهُ. “there is no power or strength but
in God.”
4 I.e., the day’s marketing.
5 ُمَقْدِد ُهَا ُشَعْيَرُ وَأَغْسَلُوا ُنَبِيٌّ. lit. “he is not devoted to ُشُعِّيْرُ and
discipleship,” i.e., the system by which a recognized ُشُعِّيْرُ authorised his
disciples to teach, and constituted them his spiritual successors.
6 ُقُبْياٌ “a kind of tunic, generally reaching to the middle of the shank,
divided down the front and made to lap over the chest.” Lane, Arabic
Lexicon s. v. vide also Dozy, Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les
Arabes, pp. 252-262.
7 “El-Sahālf il-Kalam, folia de metaphysica, quae ita incipit ; Lucae
Deo existentia et unitate digno, etc., et in praestationem sex foliis, et conclu-
\textit{fikh}, notwithstanding that a class of pupils\textsuperscript{3} of copious attainments and students of clear intellect were also engaged in study, and brought subtil difficulties for his elucidation, I never saw him, in the course of his teaching, to be under the necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtleties, for whatever he had once seen he had on the tip of his tongue, and he had acquired\textsuperscript{5} the habit of great readiness, being assisted thereto by God.\textsuperscript{4} He is now in his ninetieth year, and will, please God, who is honoured, attain to the natural limit of man's age.

XXX. \textsc{Shaikh Jalālu’d-Dīn of Qānakūj.}\textsuperscript{6}

He was a man mysteriously attracted to God and walking in the way of the law.\textsuperscript{6} His ancestors came from Multān, and settled in Qānakūj, an old and famous city of Hindūstān. After devoting himself to the carrying out of the religious obligations imposed on devout Muslims he experienced a

\textsuperscript{1} The book referred to was probably that described by \textsc{Hāji Khalīfa}, No. 2715:—“El-Tahokio, expositio accurata. Commentarius operis Muntakhab de principiis, de quo litera \textit{Min} videatur.” It may, however, have been the following (H.K. No. 2720) “El-Tahokio, accurata expositio, autore Imam Mōḥij ed-dīn Yāḥya Ben Sheraf Neva’wi.” Bādānī gives the names of these books in Persian. For convenience' sake I have given them their original Arabic titles.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Masturshandān} lit. “those who seek for religious guidance or instruction.”

\textsuperscript{3} MS. (B) has \textit{mardshandān}. Probably the word \textit{masturshandān} was too much for the copist.

\textsuperscript{4} MS. (A) has \textit{cumul kerḍa}.

\textsuperscript{5} MS. (B) omits \textit{Allah}.

\textsuperscript{6} The ancient city of Qānakūj, (Sams. Kānya-kūjia), in early Hindu times, one of the principal centres of Aryan civilisation in India. It was in Bādānī’s time the chief town of the sarkār of the same name in the Sāhā of Agra. It is now a Tahsil town in the Farrukhābād District, N.-W.P. Vide Cunningham, “Ancient Geography of India,” 376–383.

\textsuperscript{7} It has already been observed that the fact of a \textit{qāfī}, one who has experienced \textit{dāqīq}, \textit{i.e.}, has been mysteriously drawn to God condescend-
57. mysterious attraction to God, but none the less left no jot or tittle of the pure law unobserved. At times, when overcome by religious ecstasy, he would blacken his face and, hanging the string of a bedstead round his neck, and would wander through the market-places uttering doleful and mournful cries; and he had many unusual observances such as these. One day, when he had completed the Friday prayers in the Masjid-i-Haqq, I waited on him. He got up and went to visit the old obliterated tombs of his noble ancestors, which were in the courtyard of the masjid, and at each grave he recited the fatiha, and told one of his attendants who conversed with him the story of the life of the occupant of the grave, and after telling separately the stories of each of those holy men, he fell into a reverie, and when his reverie was over he put to that attendant a question from the Farī'd. The attendant replied, “If a man dies, and leaves as his heirs one son and one daughter, the son receives two-thirds of the property left by the deceased, and the daughter one-third.” The Shaikh listened to him with approval and then, without saying another word, left the place. It afterwards became known that the Shaikh observed that practice in ac-

ing to observe any of the ordinary restrictions of religion and morality, is always regarded by Badāmi, and by all Muslims of Sufi-istic tendencies, as worthy of special remark. The Sufi holds himself to be absolved from all such observances. He is above such trivial matters, which have been ordained for the common herd. He is, in short, an antinomian. Vide supra p 27 n. 4.

1 بی گمان. MS. (A) has پی گمان, wrongly. Here we have another instance of fact of a Sufi observing the religious and moral law being considered extraordinary.

2 هر omitted from the text in spite of the authority of both MSS.

3 The opening chapter of the Qur'an, recited either in behalf of one's self or of others. Here evidently used as a prayer for the dead.

4 The text here destroys the whole sense of this passage with پی از خادمان before پی, shewing that it was the Shaikh who spoke to the attendant, not the attendant to the Shaikh.

5 The Muslim law of inheritance and the division of property left by a deceased person.

6 MS. (B) has گفتگی, but with superscribed.
cordance with that tradition, pregnant with meaning, the substance of which is that if a question from the Fara'īf be recited over a tomb, and a statement of the shares of inheritance be made, all the people lying buried there are, by virtue of the recitation of that portion of the law, forgiven their sins.\(^1\) The Shaikh never failed to observe this practice on Fridays.

XXXI. **Shaikh Kapūr-i-Majzūb\(^3\) of Gwāliyār.**

*(May God have mercy upon him!)* \(^5\)

He was a Ḥusaini\(^4\) Sayyid, and in early life followed the military profession.\(^5\) Suddenly, leaving the service, he adopted the occupation of a water-carrier, and at night used to carry water to the houses of chaste and secluded widows,\(^6\) and used to take water to the people free of charge, until he experienced a mysterious attraction towards God, when he gave up all employment, and, abandoning his own free-will, no longer spoke at all, in the way of conversation, but was ever longing for dissolution. 58.

I passed from Thy street supporting myself in my weakness with my hand against the wall,

Thou camest in Thy glory, and I was struck motionless as a picture on the wall.\(^7\)

He chose for his dwelling a house in the lower market of Gwāliyār,\(^8\) and always remained there, and passed all his time with his head drooping in meditation. If any question occurred to the minds of those who were present with him he would answer it, after the manner of those who are mysteriously drawn to God, as though he were raving in a delirium,\(^9\) and would solve

\(^1\) Apparently by the vicarious merit of the reciter.

\(^2\) Affected by جذب, the mysterious attraction towards God.

\(^3\) This benediction occurs in MS. (A) only.

\(^4\) I.e., a Sayyid descended from Ḥusain.

\(^5\) سبتسيمي.

\(^6\) The use of the word بنت in the sense of "woman," clearly shows the author to have been a native of India. The word does not mean "woman" in Arabic or Persian.

\(^7\) A very common simile in Persian poetry for a person who is suddenly struck motionless by surprise, terror, admiration, or any other emotion.

\(^8\) Or perhaps, "below the market place at Gwāliyār.

\(^9\) This passage shows us the frame of mind expected in men who claim to have been "mysteriously attracted" towards God. It is on this account that madness is regarded in the East with respect, for the Oriental commonly
the difficulty, and he would recount what was passing at a distance. He always passed the night in a standing posture, sometimes weeping and sometimes laughing.

I have heard from his confidants that on one occasion a Sayyid came from a foreign country and asked the Shaikh to prove his claim to being a Sayyid. The Shaikh ordered firewood to be brought, and a large fire to be lighted, and then, taking the man by the hand, said, "Come, let us both enter the fire, "That his face may be blackened who is lying."

The Sayyid held aloof, but Shaikh Kapur, entering the fire, came out of it without hurt; and many other similar miracles are related of him. All accounts of him agree in this respect. For the sake of brevity I have related only this much.

In the course of the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-2) he ran out one night shouting "Strike, strike!" and fell from over the door of his house, and surrendered his life to God. Shaikh Faişt found the date of his death in the words "Kapur-i-Majgūb." 7

XXXII. SHAKEH ALLAH 8 BAKSH OF GARMAKTESAR. 9

Garmaktesar is a pargana town on the banks of the Ganges, in the Sarkār of Sambal. He lived for forty years in poverty believes that the maniac is as likely to be possessed by God as by an evil spirit. The account of travels of the eccentric Tom Coryate supplies us with an interesting example of this view of madness.

1. This word has been too much for the scribe of MS. (B), whose version is

2. The MSS. omit "Az.

3. I.e., "that he may be put to shame," the usual idiom in Persian and Urdu. It is peculiarly appropriate here, from the nature of the ordeal.

4. MS. (A) has ع here.

5. These words are probably Hindūsāni, which the Shaikh most likely spoke, at any rate in moments of excitement, and I have translated them accordingly. If we suppose them to be Persian they will mean "A snake, a snake!"

6. 20 + 2 + 6 + 200 + 40 + 8 + 600 + 6 + 2 = 879, the sum being just a hundred short.

7. The text has All (Alah) though both MSS. have Allah (Allah).

8. Garmaktesar, or more properly Garmmaktesar, is now an interesting old town in the Mirath District, N.W.P., picturesquely situated on the
and contentment, employed in imparting religious instruction to students. He was noted for his resignation, and companionship with him caused one to think of God.

In his seventieth year he journeyed to Sambal for pleasure, and an old woman, the widow of the late Shaikh Banji of Sambal, she being devout and given to fasting, the fourth (perfect woman) of her age, having lived for thirty-five years without a husband, never breaking her fast save with milk, privately sought to become his disciple, and asked him to shew her the way of God. He sent an answer to her to this effect, "Until thou obey the law of his holiness the best of men, (on him and his family be blessing and salutation from God), and enter the bonds of matrimony, it is in vain for thee to ask concerning this path, and to speak of it." She at once entered her travelling litter, and waited on him, and was married to him, and shortly afterwards both of them journeyed to the next world.

I waited on that reverend man in company with one of my friends, by name Sayyid Qasim, who was one of the noblest of the Sayyids of Dihli, and found him pleasant in companionship and likewise in speech. When a basin and ewer were brought for us to wash our hands he said, "Begin with that Sayyid, for 'One who is of the family of Hashim' has a better right to precedence.'"

right bank of the Ganges. It takes its name from the ancient fort and from the temple of Mukhteshwar Mahadeva.

1 سیبل (text). The reading of the MSS. (سیبل) is correct.
2 The reference here is to the tradition that Muhammad said, "Among men there have been many perfect, but among women only four, 'Asiyah, the wife of Fir'aun (Pharaoh), Mariam, the daughter of Amrân, Khadijah, the daughter of Khawailid, and Fatimah, daughter of Muhammad." In the Qur'an, and probably, therefore, in this tradition, Miriam, the daughter of Amran, and sister of Moses and Aaron, is confounded with the Blessed Virgin. Padom means to say that this old lady was entitled to rank with the four perfect women of the tradition, but it would have been more logical to call her the fifth, not the fourth perfect woman.
3 Muhammad.
4 Celibacy is frequently condemned by Muhammad, for "when a Muslim marries he perfects half his religion." Vide Hughes, "Dict of Islam" sub vocibus ; "Celibacy" and "Marriage"
5 in neither MS. but rightly supplied in the text.
6 جربور, MS. (B) has جربور, which is nonsense.
7 The great-grandfather of Muhammad, from whom the latter's family, represented now by the Sayyids, are called Hashimis.
XXXIII. SHAIKH 'ARIF-I-HUSAIN. 1

He is one of the grandsons of SHĀH ISMA'IL-I-SAFAVĪ. 2 He is a great master of exorcism, practises many austerities and strives much in the path of holiness, breaking his fast always with some coarse burnt harley bread and bitter herbe, which none but himself can bear to eat. He walks steadfastly in the straight path of the holy law, and recites the ḍzan 3 at the five times of prayer, in the very portico 4 of SHAIKH ĀBŪ-'L-FAZL, at the Imperial Court, fearing nobody. Many miracles are related of him, one of them being as follows. He will throw a round piece of paper into a chafing-dish, with the fire burning therein, and will take out of the chafing-dish coined aṣhrāfs 5 and distribute them to the company, how many soever they be. They say that he will come out of a locked room, just as bodies are transported from place to place, and will appear elsewhere. On one occasion he came from GUJARĀT to the city of LĀHŪR and gave to the people winter fruits in the summer time and summer fruits in the winter time. The 'ULAMA of the Panjāb, the chief of whom was MAHKDŪM-'L-MULK, 6 raised objections to what he was doing, and said, "It is evident that this fruit comes from some people's orchards, and that he has possessed himself of it without the

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1 I.e., a Sayyid descended from Husain.
2 The word Safavi occurs in neither MS. SHĀH ISMA'IL was the founder of the Safavi dynasty in Persia. He was descended of a long line of pious Sayyids. His reign commenced in A.D. 1500 according to Musalmān historians, but according to Malcolm (Hist. Persia I. 500) he was not recognized as sovereign of the whole Persian Empire until A.D. 1502 in which year he overcame SULTĀN MURĀD, in a battle fought near HAMĀDĀN in IRĀQ. (Vide Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, and BEALE, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, 182, 184).
3 The call to prayer.
4 The text and MSS. have ʾilm which has no meaning. I read ʾilm, with the meaning here given. Another reading suggested is ʾilm, "wardrobe," "store-room for clothes," or for basins, ewers, &c. The two variants were suggested to me by SHAMSU-'L-ULAMA SHAIKH MAḤMŪD JILĀNĪ. He prefers the latter.
5 The gold coin commonly known as a "gold mohur."
6 MAHKDŪM-'L-MULK has already been mentioned more than once. He was chief of the 'ULAMA or orthodox doctors during the reigns of the Afghan Emperors, SHIR SHĀH, SALĪM SHĀH, FIRŪZ SHĀH, and 'ADĪ, during which period he held the title of MAHKDŪM-'L-MULK which had been given him by
owners' permission, and to eat it is unlawful." As he was not well received in that country, he went to Kas̱̱mîr, and 'Ali Khān, the ruler of that land believed firmly in him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, but, when he discovered that Shaikh ʿArif was setting up some claim or another, he demanded his daughter's dowry back again, and took a deed of divorce from her husband; and the Shâh went thence to Tībat, and there also, they say, he performed many miracles, one of them being that he shook a tree, and quantities of dirhams and dinârs fell from it. In this manner he exhibited great supernatural power, in Gujarāt, Hindūstān, Kashmir, and Tībat, and wherever he went attempts were made on his life, and he travelled from country to country.

On the first occasion on which the Emperor made a tour from Kas̱̱mîr to Kābul the Shâh came to see him in the course of that journey, and the Emperor appointed persons to have charge of him, who should not let him go out of their sight. And sometimes, when he came into the Emperor's presence, his Majesty would place musk, and camphor, and other perfumes in a golden cup, and present it to the Shaikh as a gift, but

Humāyūn. His name was Maulānā 'Abdullāh Ansārī, of Sultanpur. He did not die until H. 980 (A.D. 1572) being then, like the rest of the U不大, in disgrace. Vide Vol. II., text, 202-204. and Aín-i-Akbârī I (trans. Blochmann) introduction vii., 544 et passim.

1 Of carelessly omitted from MS. (B).
2 This was 'Ali Khân Cak, King of Kashmir, who reigned from A.H. 971 to A.H. 986 (A.D. 1568-1578) in which latter year he died from injuries received during a game of caugān (polo), and was succeeded by his son, Yūsuf Khân (or Shâh) Cak, in whose time Kashmir was conquered by Shâhrukh Mirzâ and annexed to the empire. Vide Aín-i-Akbârî I. (trans. Blochmann), 478, 479 and II. (trans. Jarrett), 380.
3 This vague statement may mean that the Shaikh was following the fashion of the time and setting up as Mahdī.
4 I.e., the Shaikh. This is the usual title of courtesy applied in India and especially in the Panjāb to Sayyids.
6 The word is dāl (Hind), but from its juxtaposition with Gujarāt and Kashmir it is evident that it means only Hindūstān proper.
7 The Shaikh though honoured on account of his reputation for sanctity was evidently regarded as a dangerous character. His royal descent would have served to increase the suspicion with which he was regarded.
however much he said "Accept from me some gold, or some land," the Shaikh would reply, "Bestow the gold upon your Ahadis, for they are in sorry case. What should I do with it?" When I saw the Shah in company with Qalij Khan, in the portico of Shaikh Abü-'l-Faţl, under whose protection the Shah was, I standing on the parapet of a roof which overlooked his cell, he had his face covered with a veil, and was writing, and was saying to one who was with him, "It was this Qalij Khan who said, 'I am Qalij, your slave and servant.'" It is probable that the Shaikh had been accustomed to veil his face for a long time, and it was said that he possibly did so to avoid being recognized when he travelled from place to place—but God knows the truth. I heard from a trusted and intimate associate of the Shaikh that one day in Kashmir the Emperor sent Shaikh Abü-'l-Faţl and Hâkim Abü-'l-Fath to wait upon the Shah, and one of them, agreeably to the Emperor's order, said, "Shah how would it be if you were to raise your veil, so that I might see your comeliness?" He would not comply and said, "I am a poor beggar; let me alone, and vex me no more." The Hâkim, with
his usual impudence and insolence,1 stretched forth his hand, and endeavoured to pull off the veil. The Shah objected, and becoming2 angry said, “God forbid! I am not leprous or deformed; behold! See my face!” and he rent the collar of his garment and threw the veil from his face on to the ground, and said. “Hakim, you have now seen my face, but, please God, the honoured One, you shall, in the space of a fortnight,3 see what the outcome of this matter will be.” Fifteen days had not passed when the Hakim, in the course of that very journey, died of the complaint of hepatic diarrhoea.4 And countless other miracles of this sort are related of the Shoikh.

One day the Emperor said to him, “Shah, either become like me, or make me like yourself.” He answered, “How can we, who have abandoned worldly objects,5 become like you? If you will come and sit beside us, in order that you may become even as us.”

XXXIV. MIR SAYYID ‘ALI’U’-DIN OF AWADH.6

(May God have mercy upon him!)

He possessed sublime perfections7 of nature and manifested miraculous powers, and gave clear proofs (of his sanctity).8 He was one of God’s most wondrous works, and many miracles are related of him. Notwithstanding the glorious position and exalted degree (as a saint) to which he attained he would sometimes declare holy mysteries and sacred truths in verse,9 and this opening couplet by him is the admiration of the world:—

“I know not what colour and scent that smiling10 rose bath,

“With which the birds of every meadow hold converse.”

1 Badāoni had no liking for Abū-'l-Fath, who had great influence over the Emperor, and was one of those who led him astray in religious matters.
2 ستود. MS. (A) has ستود.
3 carelessly omitted from MS. (B).
4 باموران.
5 آجدية, near the modern Fālsābād.
6 The text here has "کمالات" کمالات, though both MSS. have which is the reading which I have followed.
7 حمص - حمص حمصی "that which convinces."
8 Strictly orthodox Muslims are inclined to regard poetry with suspicion.
9 Lit. “laughing!” A “laughing rose” is a rose with its mouth open, i.e., a full-blown rose. MS. (B) reads حور رو, which means “self-growing.”
And he has composed a tarji‘-band of which this is the refrain:

"View with the eyes of thy heart nothing except the Friend,
"Whatevext thou seest regard as a manifestation of Him."

And Shaikh 'Irāqī (may God sanctify his soul!) has said on the same subject:

Refrain.

"The world is outward show; its reality is the Friend,
"If thou lookest to reality, He is everything."  

And another has said:

Refrain.

"The world is a ray from the Face of the Friend,
"All things existing are the shadow of Him."

And I have written the following:

Refrain.

"He is the kernel of the world, the world is nought but the shell,
"But what of kernel and of shell, when all things are He?"

Many of the holy men of the time have sat at the Mir's feet, one of them being his own worthy son, Mir Sayyid Māhrū who walks in the footsteps of his illustrious father. Another was Mir Sayyid 'Ali-yi-Nalhari, who was subject to overpowering

The text follows this reading but gives خُفْدُ اصْمَلَّ, the reading of MS. (A) as a footnote variant. I follow MS. (A).

1 The tarji‘-band opens with a mutla' like the Ghazal and consists of strophes or stanzas, each containing from five to eleven couplets. Between each stanza is inserted the band or refrain, a couplet which is of the same metre with the stanza, but which has a different rhyme.

2 The word الله is not in MS. (A). If it be omitted the verb becomes passive and the benediction is, "may his soul be sanctified!"

3 MS. (B) omits a before  مَنْي and reads كَي for كَمْي, two very careless errors.

4 The purport of all these refrains is the same. They voice the pantheism of the Sāfīs.

5 Lit. have risen from his skirt.

6 The reading is clear in both MSS. and in the text. I cannot identify the place. It may very likely be Bilehri (بَيْلِهْر) which much resembles "Nalhari" (نَلْهَر) in the Persian character. Bilehri is a Persian town in the sarāk of Awadh. Aīn-i-Abhari II. (trans. Jarrett), 174.
fits of religious ecstasy, and always remained secluded, and in whom a wonderful degree of religious poverty and separation from the world was apparent. He spoke wonderfully well on the mysticism of the Sufis. In company with Husain Khan, waited on him in Kantu Gula in the sarkar of Sambal, and received much profit from his precious utterances;—praise be to God therefor!

Mir Sayyid 'Ali used always to say in his prayers, “O God! make me a martyr!” Accordingly on one occasion some of the robbers of that town, which is a noted den of thieves, entered the Mir’s house at midnight, and an outcry was raised. The Mir, notwithstanding his ninety years of age and his bodily feebleness, seized an iron mace, and shouting out “Allah, Allah!” followed the thieves, wounding and sending to hell one or two of them. At last an arrow struck him in a vital spot, and he attained the rank of a martyr. This event occurred in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90), and the words, “What has happened to that perfect spiritual guide?” were found to give the date.

XXXV. SHAikh Hamzah of Lakhnau.

(May the mercy of God be upon him!)

He is the grandson of Malik Adam, the Kakan, who was one of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar, and Ibrahím Lodí. He lived

1 The word used is غريت, which means “exile,” “sojourn in a strange land,” just as غريب means “a stranger” or “foreigner.” I take the meaning of the passage to be that Mir Sayyid 'Ali regarded this world merely as a place in which he sojourned for a time, looking for a better country. It may be though, that as غريب has come to mean in Hindustáni, and in Indian Persian, “poor,” Badóni, whose style is characteristically Indian, uses غريت in the sense of “poverty.”

2 Badóni’s first patron. Vide supra passim.

3 Evidently Mir Sayyid ‘Ali.

4 Husain Khan’s jásir. The modern Sháhjabándpur, in Rohilkhand.

5 3 + 6 + 300 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 40 + 200 + 4 + 60 + 1 + 40 + 30 = 998.

6 MS. (A) has رحمه الله عليه. The text and (B) have رحمه الله عليه.


8 The second and third (and last) Sultans of the Lodí dynasty. Ibrahím was conquered by Bábár at Panipat, and slain.
always by the tomb of his grandfather. The tomb of Malik Adam is of the length of two ordinary tombs, or more.

Shaiikh Hamzah was powerfully affected by a mysterious attraction towards God. He was of commanding presence and great stature, and from time to time he took walks in the city, striding along like a tiger, and carrying stones in his hand, which he would throw around him in all directions, never, however, hitting anybody with them. He recited very sweetly, and was always reading the glorious Qur’ān. He paid great attention to any person whom he considered to be well disposed, summoning such to his presence. God be praised that I was one of them. He used to read omens. For the rest, most people were terrified by his behaviour, and would not frequent his society, lest some evil should happen to them.

XXXVI. SHAIKH PIRAK.

(May God have mercy upon him.)

He was also a native of Lakhnau. He used to live secluded in a cave in the forest, in the banks of the river Küdi, remote from any habitation and so concealed that nobody could find the way thither. He broke his fast (no oftener than) once in every week, after the Friday prayers. In his house there was a decrepit old man who used to bring to him for his meal a fragment of dry bread and some of the fruit of a plantain tree which (the Shaiikh) had planted with his own hand. If anyone had embarked on an arduous enterprise he would come at that appointed time and sit at the door of the Shaiikh’s cell, but the Shaiikh would never speak.

When Husain Khān was governor of Lakhnau I went with a friend named ‘Abdu’r-Rahmān, who was Husain Khān’s deputy, to endeavour to obtain an interview with the Shaiikh. We found

1 حركات وسكنات lit. “his movements and restings.”

2 I think the Gunti river, on which Lakhnau is situated, must here be meant. I can find no river or stream in Awadh bearing the name of Küdi or Gudi.

3 I.e., the time when the Shaiikh broke his fast.

4 This may mean that the visitor would never speak, but the statement refers more probably to the Shaiikh. The visitor’s idea apparently was that he had made a pilgrimage, the merit of which would benefit him, without any advice or consolation from the Shaiikh.
him nothing but skin, as it were, stretched over bones, and great
snakes darted their heads out of their holes both within and
without the cave. One of those present was terrified and would
have struck at them with his staff, but the Shaikh forbade him by
a sign, and said, "What have they taken from you?"

When we asked the little old man concerning him he told us
that he had dwelt in that desolate spot for more than thirty years
and that the snakes had become quite tame from being with him
and never injured anybody. When we were bidding him
farewell he made a sign to all of those present to take some
fragments of bread, several days old, and some dried fruit, which
he had before him, and my friend offered him a piece of gold
which he would not accept. These two 1 holy men died very
shortly after that time.

XXXVII. SHAikh MuHAMMAd HUSAIN OF SIKANDRA.

Sikandra 2 is a town in the Doāb. The Shaikh was one who
was mysteriously drawn to God and was subject to fits of
religious ecstasy. For fifty years after leaving the public service
he lived as a recluse, withdrawn from all people, ever and persist-
ently seated in devotional seclusion, and visited nobody. When I
waited on him in the year 974 (A.D. 1566-67) he asked me the
meaning of this couplet of Khyāja Ḥāfīz:

"God's forgiveness is greater than our sin.
Why utterest thou obscure sayings? Hold thy peace."

I asked him where the difficulty was and he said, "As it was
he himself that uttered the obscure saying why did he command
silence?" I asked him to explain the couplet and he said, "It
occurs to me that the obscure saying may be this, that even our
sins are part of His creation, and to say this is to transgress."
I remained silent, and he then in like manner commented on the
following verse:

"And serve thy Lord till the certainty overtake thee." 3

1 Shaikh Firak and his old attendant.
2 Sikandra Bār, headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in the
Aligarh District of the U.P.
3 Qur'ān xv. 99. 'The certainty' is death.
He said, "The word حُتْي (‘till’) signifies the extreme limit, but there can be no question of an extreme limit here, but apparently this limit might have reference to the second person singular, to which it would be possible to apply it." God knows what his meaning was; and that was the last conversation that we had together.

XXXVIII. SHAiKH ‘ABDU-L-WAHID OF BILGRAM.

Bilgram is a dependency of Qaunaj. He is a most learned and accomplished man, much given to austerities and devotions. He has a sublime disposition and attractive qualities, and he follows a sublime religious rule. He used formerly to indulge in ecstatic exercises and sing ecstatic songs in Hindi and fall into trances, but he is now past all this. He has written an appreciative commentary on the Nuzhatu-l-arwâk, and many treatises on the technical terms of the Sufis, one of them named Sanâbil, and many other able compositions besides. Although he is the disciple of another he has profited much by the company of Shaikh Husain of Sikandra, and used to come every year from Bilgram for the Shaikh’s annual festival, but now that he suffers from defective sight he cannot go there and is settled in Qaunaj.

In the year 977 (A.D. 1569-70), when I arrived in Bilgram from Lucknow, the Shaikh came to visit me, on my sick bed, and his was the first visit that had on my wounds the effect of ointment, and he said, "These wounds are the roses of love." It so happened that at the same time the venerable Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah Badâoni came there, like an invisible spirit, from Badâon, and I am convinced that if ever in my life I experienced a "night of power" it was that night. The Mir has a genius

1 The well-known tâhîl town in the Haroi District, famous for its Sayyids and learned men.
2 "The joy (or purity) of souls," evidently a Sâfi-istic treatise.
3 "Ear of corn."
4 Badâoni had been severely wounded by the relatives of a boy whom he had assaulted.
5 A mysterious night in the month of Ramaân, the precise date of which is said to have been known only to Muhammad and a few of the companions. See Qur’ân xcvii. The excellences of this night are said to be innumerable, and it is believed that during its solemn hours the whole animal and vegetable creation bow down in humble adoration to the Almighty. Hughes, Dict. of Islâm, s.v. Lashitu’l-Qâdî.
for poetry and he wrote of a witty, beloved and acceptable friend named Rājā the following couplet:

"Thoughts of thee have made my heart their throne,
Never will my heart have room for any but thee."

Do not depart in anger (lit. quarrel) as thou comest first in peace.
For a moment do thou sit with kindness, so that I may get out of my own self.
CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNED MEN, MOST OF WHOM THE AUTHOR HAS MET, OR FROM WHOM HE HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTION.

Besides those learned men whom the author has met, the large number of those whom he has not seen, but who are well known in all parts of the land, exceeds the bounds of computation and the limits of enumeration. Of those whom the author has known one is that master of masters, Shaikh Hátim of Sambhal.

I. SHAIKH HÁTIM OF SAMBHAL.¹

He was the pupil of Miyān ʿAzizu-llāh of Talamba.² Taking him in all he had no equal in this generation as a sage versed both in those branches of knowledge which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and in those which demand the exercise of the memory, but especially in scholastic theology, (Quranic) exegesis, practical theology, and Arabic literature. It used to be said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the commentary 67 on the Miftáḥ ³ and the Muğawwal,⁴ from the bā of Bismi-llāh to the tā of "tammata," nearly forty times, and that he had gone through all other advanced works (on theology) as often. He used to tell Makhḍūmu-l-Mulk that he had no rival in disputation. When Mulla ʿAlāʾu-ʾd-din Lārī took to the Minān, with the greatest assurance, his notes on the commentary on the Aqāʾid-i-Nasafi,⁵ the Miyān, after perusing them, discussed the matter with such minuteness of detail that Mulla ʿAlāʾu-ʾd-din was unable to answer him.

³ The Miftáḥu-l-ʾutām, a work on grammar and rhetoric. The commentary on it was written by Maulā Ḥisámu-ʾd-din al Muwagginī. Vide vol. i, trans. Banking, p. 428, note 2.
⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 56.
In scholastic theology the greatest of the Imāms¹ (on him be the mercy of God!) was inferior to the Miyyā. The Miyyā was an ascetic and strove much in the way of holiness, and was pious and devout, although he sat in the seat of honour and dignity, exercising absolute authority.

When I, in the time of Bairam Khān,² the Khān-Khānān, re-entered the service of the Miyyā in Agra, after an interval of five years, I delivered to him a request for a decision on a point of theology from Shaikh Mubārak³ of Nāgōr, from whom I was at that time receiving instruction. After inquiring of me how I had done during the time of my separation from him, the Miyyā said, “What sort of a religious teacher is Shaikh Mubārak?” I told him what I knew of the Shaikh’s conduct as a Mulla, of his piety, his poverty, his striving in the path of holiness, and his commands and prohibitions in religious matters which in those days he took upon himself to issue, declaring them to be binding. He replied, “Yes, indeed. I also have heard him well spoken of, but they say that he holds the Mahdawi doctrines. Is this true?” I said, “He believes Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr (may his tomb be sanctified!) to have been a great saint, but does not believe him to have been the Mahdi.” He replied, “What doubt can there be regarding the perfections of the Mir?” Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, Mir-i-‘Adil,⁵ now deceased and pardoned, who was a pupil of the Miyyā, was also present; and he said, “Why do they call Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the Mahdi?” I told him that it was on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad again questioned me, saying, “Mir ‘Abdu’l-Ḥayy of Khurāsān,⁶ who held the title of Ṣadr for some time, one day spoke ill of the Shaikh to the Khān-

¹ See the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, founder of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence.
² Vide page 8, note 4.
³ The father of Shaikh Abū-l-Faṣīd Faiṣī and Shaikh Abū-l-Faṣīd. Vide infra, No. III.
⁴ Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, page 420, note 3, and A’in-i-Akbari, i (biog.), p. v.
⁵ Vide infra, No. IV.
⁶ Vide A’in-i-Akbari, i, 468, 471, 480. In the Tabaqāt he is called Khāja
i-Hānūn. Do you know the reason of this?” I said, “The Shaikh wrote him a note, giving him advice on various religious matters, and among other things advised him to attend prayers with the Sunnī congregation in the Masjid-i-Hāyy. This offended ‘Abdu-l-Hāyy, and he attributed this advice to the Shaikh being a Mahdawi, and supposed that he was reproaching him with heresy.” Mir Sayyid Muḥammad said, “This deduction of the Mir with regard to his own heresy depends upon this syllogism, ‘You do not join in the congregational prayers: everybody who does not join in the congregational prayers is a schismatic: therefore you are a schismatic.’ But the major proposition is inadmissible. And likewise the syllogism, ‘The Shaikh assumes the power of issuing authoritative commands; anybody who issues authoritative commands is the Mahdí, etc., is unsound.’” The Miyān then said, “I will seal this application for a decision, but I will retain it in the same manner as I have retained another application for a decision which was sent to me under the seal of some of the elders of this place, and in respect of which I have some doubts. Now do you take this to Shaikh Bahā’u-d-din, ‘Abdu-l-Hāyy, and is said to have been an Amir. He was for some time Mir-i-‘Adl, or chief justice of the empire. He was a jovial judge, and on one occasion with Mirān Ṣadr-i-Jahān, the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire, exceeded the bounds of temperance at a drinking party. Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups, and quoted the verse of Ḥesān:

‘In the reign of the King who pardons faults and cloaks sins, the reciter of the Qur’ān has become a tosspot, and the judge a tippler.’

1 ‘The Mosque of the Living God.’
2 گزار (ıṣṭifā), an application for an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine or ecclesiastical law, made to a mufti, or ecclesiastical judge having power to issue such decisions. The decision itself is a fatwa.
3 A word گوار occurs here in the text, which has puzzled the editor. He says in a note that in some MSS. it is written گوار, and it is thus written in MS. (B). I think that there is very little doubt that the expression is گوار, ‘as it were in pledge.’ The omission of the second stroke of the گ, though common enough in MSS. and almost universal in Persia at the present day, sometimes does puzzle Indian Moulavīs.
who is an accepted mufti, and say to him that my excuse of lack of books of reference, owing to my being on a journey, is perfectly comprehensible, but that, as to the tradition on which he has authenticated that (other) fatwā, it will be well if he sends me his original authenticated fatwā"; and say to him further, "The long and the short of the matter is that you have delivered a fatwā authorizing men to sell their children, when impelled thereto by hunger. In the first place this tradition is solely an Ibrāhīm Shāhi tradition, and is not in accordance with any other standard theological works, and it is well known that the Ibrāhīm Shāhi traditions are not accepted by the learned as of sufficient authority to support a fatwā, and if you maintain that a mufti is competent to give the preference to a superseded tradition, I reply without hesitation that the expression used in the Ibrāhīm Shāhi tradition is that it is lawful for fathers (ابووس), in time of distress, to sell their offspring, and it is well known that the word ابووس includes both father and grandfather, as we find in the book on marriage:—"Any person whose fathers (ابووس) were Muslims is equal to him whose ancestors attained to the honour of (accepting) Islām," and it is agreed that the word ابووس here means "father and grandfather," not "father and mother." On the assumption that this much is granted why should it not be (ruled) that the authority to sell children vests in both grandfather and father, acting jointly; and what proof is there that such authority should be assigned to the single individual? He then retained Shaikh Mubārak's application for a decision, and gave the former application to me. When I brought it to Shaikh Mubārak he was loud in his praises of

1 These words clearly refer to some collection of fatwās compiled in the reign of a king of the name of Ibrāhīm Shāh, but I have been unable to trace the collection or to ascertain who the Ibrāhīm Shāh was in whose reign it was compiled.

2 مرجع (marjū'ah). This is another word which has puzzled the editor of the text. مرجع (marjū'), of which this word is the feminine form, signifies 'referred,' 'brought back,' or 'sent back,' and may be used of a judgment or decision which is sent back for revision.

3 This word is an Arabic dual, and signifies, literally, 'the two fathers.'
Miyān Ḥātim’s knowledge of theology and said, “Tell him, after conveying my salutations, that I did not affix my seal to the application for a decision as I expected that this occasion would arise.” When I showed the document to Shaikh Bahā’u’d-din he said, “As other muftis had confirmed the decision I trusted to what they said, and did not go deeply into the question, and there certainly was negligence on my part.” The readiness of Shaikh Bahā’u’d-din, the mufti, who was a man of high position and great virtue, to acknowledge his fault, was evidence of his perception and love of truth, and of his rectitude and justice:—

“At the head of that letter which Aṣaf wrote
He wrote, ‘God had mercy on the most just.’”

Miyān Ḥātim, after enjoying the blessing of the opportunity of teaching and imparting instruction for a period of seventy years, passed away from this transitory world in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61). The chronogram of his death has been already given; the words, “With the King he is powerful,”¹ were found to give the date of his death. He left his son, Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Ḥātim by name, as his successor as a religious leader and Shaikh, but not as Mulla. He too rejoined his venerable father in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) and left some degenerate sons as his heirs.

“How long shall I cherish by blandishments the complaisance of stony-hearted mistresses (idols)?
These degenerate sons do not call to mind their father.”

II. MAULĀNĀ ‘ABDU-’LLĀH OF SULTĀNPŪR.²

He was of the Ansār tribe. His ancestors came to Sultānpūr and settled there. He was one of the greatest sages of his time,

¹  عَنْهَا مَلْك مُكَتَّشِر. These words, which may also be translated, ‘He is with the mighty King,’ give the date 968. The chronogram has already been given on p. 47 of vol. ii (text).

² Maulānā ‘Abdu-’llāh, Mahdīmūl-Mulk, was the famous leader of the orthodox party in the reign of Akbar, and the persecutor of Shaikh Mubārak, father of Abū-l-Faṣl. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 19, 44, 84, 151, 154, 189, 202, 203, 204, 309, 255, 263, 267, 270, 276, 277, 311. In his later years he advanced some heterodox opinions, but they were not of the kind that gained favour at court. Vide also vol. i, trans. Rangīn, pp. 506, 513-519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

³ Apparently an Afghān tribe.
and had not his equal in this age, especially in his knowledge of
Arabic, Qur'anic exegesis, scholastic theology, history, and all
those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the
memory. He has left wonderful compositions, worthy of himself,
the best known among them being the books known as 'Iṣmat-i-
Anbiya1 and Sharḥu Shamsi-li-'n-Nabi2 (may God bless and
save him!). From the Emperor who now has his resting
place in paradise (scil. Humāyūn) he received the title of
Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, and also that of Shaikhu-'l-Islām. He
always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy law,
and was a bigoted Sunnī. Owing to his exertions many
heretics and schismatics went to the place prepared for
them. He used, owing to his extreme bigotry, to aver of
the third volume of the Rawzatu-'l-Aḥbāb3 that it was not the
work of Mir4 Jamālū-'d-din5 the traditionist. In the year6 in
which Gujarāt was conquered and while Maulānā 'Abdu-llāh
possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court
in Fatḥpur, I, who had just then returned from my journey to
the Panjbāb, went in company with Shaikh Abū-'l-Fazl, who had
not yet entered the Imperial service, and Ḥājī Sulṭān of Thānes-
sar to see Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. We saw that he had before him
the third volume (of the Rawzatu-'l-Aḥbāb), and he said to us,
71 "See, what mischief those who are followed in this land have
wrought in the faith," and thus saying he showed us that couplet
which occurs in the encomium:

"This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,"
That it has been doubted that he himself was God."

1 'The protection (or continence) of the prophets.'
2 'An exposition of the qualities of the prophet,' i.e., Muḥammad, hence
the benedictory phrase which follows.
3 A work by 'Aṭī'a-llāh, known as Jamāl-i-Ḥusainī, on the history of
Islam.
4 The text has Amir. I have followed the reading of both MSS.
5 Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 469.
7 حق اشتراطي M8. (A) has حق نمایی which will not scan, and may be
taken as the gloss of a pious Sunnī, scandalised by the attribution of
the Godhead to 'Ali.
and said, "He has passed beyond mere schism here, and has placed the question of his misbelief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of incarnations. I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a Shi‘ah." I, notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present,¹ and had never met Makhdûmu’-l-Mulk before, made bold to say, "This couplet is a translation of those verses which are attributed to the Imam Shâfi‘i"² (may God have mercy upon him!).

He looked towards me sharply and asked, "From what are you quoting?" I said, "From the commentary on Amir’s divân." He said, "The commentator, Qâzi Mir Ḥusain-i-Midi,³ has also been accused of schism." I said, "This is wandering from the point." Shaikh Abû-l-Faţl and Ḥâji Sulṭân,⁴ with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then signing to me to be silent. Again I said, "I have heard from some trustworthy men that the third volume is not the work Mir Jamālu’-d-din, but is the work of his son Sayyid Mîrâk Shâh, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionists." He answered me, saying, "My child, in the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the heresy and misbelief of the author, and I have written notes on them. One of these passages is the statement by the author that ‘Ali, the leader of the faithful (may God be gratified with him !),⁵ on the occasion when Tâlhâh (may God be gratified with him !) was the first to swear allegiance to him, said, "My hand is withered and thine allegiance is worthless," that is to say, that ‘Ali Murtaţâ, the leader of the faithful, actually took as a bad omen the fact that Tâlhâh’s arm was withered—that arm which

¹ This translation is conjectural. The reading of the text and the MSS. is hardly clear. I cannot ascertain the meaning of the word Ḥâji.
² The Imam Abû “Abdu’llâh Muḥammad bin Idris Shâfi‘i, founder of one of the four principal Sunnî schools of jurisprudence.
³ Sic in both MSS the text has Mîbâshî.
⁴ Vîdê No XXXVII.
⁵ The words ‘‘Ali’ and the benedictory phrase are omitted from the text, but are to be found in both MSS.
in the battle of Uhud 1 was the shield of his holiness the prophet (may God bless and save him and his family!), and was pierced with eleven wounds,—a presumption expressly forbidden by the holy law. God forbid that such should be the case! It is impossible that ‘Ali should have followed such a custom, and it is impossible to believe that he did so.” I said, “There is manifestly a distinction between foreboding and augury.” Shaikh Abū-‘l-Fażl secretly pressed my hand and warned me to be silent. ‘Abdu-‘llāh said to him, “Tell me something about this person (scil. Badāonī); who is he?” He and Ḥāji Sulṭān then told him something of my affairs, and our meeting passed off quietly. After we had left him my friends said to me, “You have passed through a great danger, but (fortunately) he did not set himself to persecute you. Had he done so who could have saved you?” Maulānā ‘Abdu-‘llāh, when he first set eyes on Shaikh Abū-‘l-Fażl, in the early years of the Emperor’s reign, said to his pupils, “What injury will this man not do to the faith?

“When I saw him in his childhood I showed him to those of the faith,

“(Saying) ‘He will work mischief among the souls of men, to your guardianship I entrust him.’”

Maulānā ‘Abdu-‘llāh departed to eternity in Gujarāt in the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), after his return from the pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the chronogram in the following verses was found to give the date of his death:—

Makhdūm-i-Mulk departed and took with him,
As a sign on his forehead, (the words) “the mercy of God.”

1 Uhud is a mountain about four miles to the north of Madīnah, where Muhammad, at the head of 1,000 men, was defeated by the Quraish, who had marched against him to avenge their defeat at Badr. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, among them Ḥamzah, the uncle of Muhammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. Muḥammad was struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out which his two front teeth dropped out. Vide Qur’an, c. iii.
When I sought of my heart the date of his death,
It replied to me, "Reckon the second hemistich (of
these verses.)"  

He left behind him some degenerate sons who are unworthy of
mention; and here I may remark that all the rising generation
give cause of complaint to their progenitors, for indeed it seems
that the climate of this age will cherish, nay will produce, none
better than such fellows:—

I see no good in the world,
This seems to be the age of impotence.

This state of affairs reminds us of the story that a certain
king who was a bigoted Sunni led an army against Sabzawār,
which is a hotbed of schism, its inhabitants being all fanatics.
The chief men of the place came out and made their represent-
tions to the king, saying, "We are Musalmāns; what fault
have we committed that you should have brought an army
against us?" The king replied, "Your fault is your zeal for
schism." They replied, "This is a false accusation that has
been brought against us. "The king said, "Produce from your
city in support of your allegation a man of the name of Abū
Bakr, and I will swerve from my intention of slaying you and
of plundering your city." After much search and with much
difficulty they produced before the king an unknown pauper,
saying, "This man is called by the name which you desired." A-
fter observing the man's old garments and despicable condition,
the king asked, "Had you nobody better than this to produce
before me?" They said, "O king, ceremony apart, the climate

1 There is something wrong with this chronogram. The values of the
letters of the words composing the second hemistich give either 1468 or
1098, according to the value, 5 or 400, given to the letter ئ in the word
راحلة. The words مصرف ثلاثة ("the second hemistich") give the date 961.
There may, perhaps, be an enigma concealed in the verses, though none is
indicated.

2 The name of the first Khaṭṭīfah. The ʿAbdāb do not give to their sons
the names of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, which were those of the first
three ʿAbdāb, whom they execrate as usurpers.

16
of Sabzawār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." And the Maulavi-yi-ma'navī ¹ (may his tomb be hallowed) refers to this story in his Ma'snāvi as follows:—

"This unstable world is a Sabzawār to us,
We, like Bū-Bakrs, live in it mean and despised."

III. Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor.²

He was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion, and trust in God. In early life he observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music. In short he followed many and various rules of life. For some time during the reigns of the Afghan Emperors he used to keep

¹ Maulānā Jalālū-d-dīn Rūmī, author of the Ma'snāvī-yi-ma'navī.
² Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor was the father of Shaikh Faiṣī and Shaikh Abū-l-Faṣl. At one time he held the Mahdawi doctrines and was persecuted by Makhdūmu-l-Mulk, but when Abū-l-Faṣl attained a high position at court the orthodox were, in their turn, harassed and persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak was the composer and chief signatory of the instrument which declared the emperor to be the highest authority on religious and ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters, an instrument which utterly broke the power of the 'Ulamā. Shaikh Mubārak afterwards joined Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 92, 198, 204, 270, 312, 348; also Din-i-Akbari, i, 499. Shaikh Mubārak often changed his religious opinions, having first become a Mahdawi, then a Naqshbandi, then a Hamadāni, and then a Shi'ah, before he joined the 'divine faith'
company with Shaikh 'Alā'i,¹ and in the beginning of the Emperor's reign, when the Naqshbundī order were in great esteem, he adapted himself to their rule, and for some time he was attached to the Hamadānī Shaikhūs, and at last when the Iرāqīs were in great favour at Court he spoke as one of their religion.²

"Converse with men according to their understanding," was his practice, and so he continued to do. He was always employed in giving religious instruction, and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but especially in the theology of the Sāfīs, and, unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had Sharī'ī by heart, and used to give instruction in the law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious Qur'ān, according to each of the ten methods of reading it.

He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes. Towards the end of his life, when his sight failed him and he was unable to read, he went into retirement and wrote a commentary similar to the Tafsīr-i-Kabīr,³ contained in four large volumes, and named it the Mamba'ū-Nafā'isi-I-'Uyun.⁴ The strange thing is that in the exordium to that commentary he wrote certain passages which seem to contain pretensions to the establishment of new principles in religion, and the innovations contained therein are those which are well known. At the time when he was enabled, by God's grace, to complete that commentary he used constantly to recite, with a view to reminding himself of what he owed to God, the Qaṣīda-yi-Fāriziyā in ta,⁵ which contains seven hundred couplets, the Qaṣīda-yi-Burda, by Ka'b bin Zuhair,⁶ and other epodes which he had committed to memory,

¹ Shaikh 'Alā'i of Biyānā, son of Shaikh Hasan of Bengal, for an account of whom vide, A'in-i-Abbarī, i (biog.), p. v; also Badāoni, vol i, trans. Bawking, 507-524.
² i.e., as one of the Sāfī sect. ³ 'The great commentary' on the Qur'ān.
⁴ 'The source of excellent fountains'
⁵ That is to say, a qaṣīda of which the rhyming words end in the letter با (ba).
⁶ Vide page 4, note 1 The text runs: قسيدة برداء و فصيدة كعب بن زهير
until, on the seventeenth of Zi-Qa'da, A.H. 1001 (Aug. 15, 1593), he passed away from this world in Lāhor. He was a mulla whose like, as regards the scope of his attainments, has never been seen, and the pity is that his love of the world with its pomps, concealed under the garment of holy poverty, left no room for the love of the faith of Islām. The author, in his youth, spent some 75 years in Āgra under his tuition, and owes him much, but can no longer feel himself fettered by his indebtedness to him, owing to his numerous acts of worldliness and impiety, his devotion to wealth and pomp, his time serving, his deceit and double-dealing, and his zeal for innovations in the faith. "Answer, God; and either we, or ye, follow the direction, or are in a manifest error." ¹

In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his case, just as it happened in the case of Yasid,² in respect of whom some impudently and presumptuously say, "Curses be on Yasid and on his father!"

IV. MIR SAYYID MUḤammad, Mir-i-'Adl.³ OF AMROHA.

Amroha ⁴ is a pargana town in the Sarkār of Sambhal. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad was exceedingly pious, devout, and abstemious though two separate qasidah were indicated. MS. (A) reads تصدید فر رکب and MS. (B) reads تصدید فر رکب بین زهیر. The editor has inserted both readings, which are alternative. For mention of this qasidah, vide p. 4 and note 1.

¹ Qu'ran xxiv, 24.

² Yasid, the son of Mu'āwiyyah, the second Khālifah of the house of Ummayyah. He is celebrated in Muḥammaden history as the opponent of ʿAlī, the son of 'Alî, who was killed at Karbala in A.H. 61 (A.D. 680-81).

³ i.e., Chief justice. For mention of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, who was one of the 'Ulama, vide vol. ii, text, pp. 220, 223, 245.

⁴ Now the headquarters of the taṣālī of the same name in the Murādabād
ous. He and the author's father were in their youth fellow-students under various teachers in the city of Sambhal, and also in Bādāmī under Mīr Sayyid Jalāl, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the prophet under Mīr Sayyid Rafi‘u-‘d-dīn. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, after completing his course of studies, employed himself in teaching, and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court, receiving the appointment of Mīr-i-‘Adl. In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy, so that even the Qāfī‘u-‘l-Quzzātī of the time, out of respect to Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's age, refrained from his customary double-dealing and base behaviour, and during the Mīr's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islām.

After the death of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad the title of Mīr-i-‘Adl was applied to and assumed by many persons.

The Mīr, owing to his hereditary connection with me and the long-standing affection which he had for me, advised me, when I first appeared at court, to have nothing to do with any madad-i- 76 ma‘thī, and to refrain from subjecting myself to the base actions of the Ṣadrs, recommending me to enter the Imperial service in any post I could obtain, for that the Ṣadrs were tyrannical egotists. Owing to my disregard of his advice I naturally experienced what I have experienced, and suffered what I have suffered. The Mīr was appointed to the government of Bakkar 3 in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), and in that city departed this life in the year H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79). 3

District of the United Provinces. Vide Imperial Gazetteer (new series), v, 330, and Ḍīn-i-_FARAVAKH, ii, 289.

1 Bādāmī apparently uses this title as equivalent to that of Ṣadri- Jalālī who was chief of the qāfī‘ī. If this be so, the person referred to is probably Ṣaḥḥī ‘Abdu-‘n-Nabī. Vide infra, No. X, or perhaps Qāṣī Ya‘qūb, No. IX.

2 He was sent to Bakkar on the dispersal of the Ulamā from court.

3 According to the Tārīkh-i-Ma‘ṣūmi Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad arrived at Bakkar on Ramaḍān 11, A.H. 963 (Dec. 14th, 1575) and died there She‘bān 8, A.H. 984 (Oct. 31st, 1576).
V. Shaikh Gadā'ī of Dihli, the Kambū.¹

He was the son and successor of Shaikh Jamālī, the famous poet. He perfected himself in exoteric learning and enjoyed the society of the learned men of the age, being much benefited by their companionship. By means of the claim which intimate friendship gave him on Bairam Khān he obtained the appointment of Sadru'-s-Sudār² in India, and was for several years resorted to, as an authority on religious questions, by the sages and principal men of Hindūstān, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and 'Irāq. He was a born poet, and used to compose and sing hymns and religious songs after the Indian manner,³ to which pursuits he was passionately addicted.

After he had dissociated himself from Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, and returned from the neighbourhood of Bikānir to Dihli,⁴ he was honoured and esteemed at Court as before. When in Dihli he always used to attend the shrines of the saints there (may God sanctify their souls!) on their anniversaries, and used to hold assemblies with great pomp and circumstance. He left this world for the next either in the year H. 976

¹ Kambū (spelt Kambū in vol. ii, passim) is the name of a tribe. According to a proverb the Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmiris the third sets of second-rates. Shaikh Gadā'ī was one of those who attempted to persuade Akbar to butcher Hemū in cold blood. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 16.

² Shaikh Gadā'ī was Akbar's first Sadru'-s-Sudār or Sadr-i-Jahān, a very important post. The dignity of the Sadr, especially before the advent of the Mughul dynasty, had been very great. 'It was he who legalized the accession of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His power was immense. He was the highest law officer and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; he was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law officer, and might exercise the powers of a High Inquisitor.' Vide Ains-Akbari, i, 270. Shaikh Gadā'ī was, like his patron, a Shi'ah. Vide vol. ii, text, passim.

³ MS. (B) has, wrongly, صریح هندی می بست for صریح می بست.

⁴ In A.D. 1580. Vide vol ii, text, p. 38.
(A.D. 1568-69) or in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72), leaving behind him sons no better than the sons of most men in this degenerate age, "as has been decreed for these days, and in accordance with the decree of God the all-wise."

The following verses are an extract from the poems of Shaikh Gadā'ī —

"At times my soul, at times my heart became the abode of 77 grief,
"I ever grieve after thee, as I travel, stage by stage.
"Be not forgetful of my grief and pain,
"For there is no moment of my life which is not occupied with thoughts of thee.
"I have bound my frenzied heart in thy tresses,
"Myself am bound in those musky chains.
"If desires could be easily accomplished by the surrender of life
"No difficulties would remain to true lovers.
"Gadā'ī, thou hast lost thy life in unsuccessful endeavour!
"I have not obtained my desire from the lips of my friend."

I have copied these verses from the memoir of Mir 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, which is not to be trusted. I suspect that they are not Gadā'ī's. But God knows the truth!

VI. MIYĀN JAMĀL KHĀN, MUFTI OF DIHLI. 3

He was the pupil of his own worthy father, Shaikh Naṣiru-'d-din, and the brother of Miyān Lādan. He was of the Kambū tribe. He was one of the most learned men of his time both in those branches of knowledge which depend on the reasoning .

1 In the former year, according to vol. ii (text, p. 119) where the chronogram مرهك كلاين ('You are dead, you great hog'), giving the date 976, confirms the statement in the text

2 Vide Dīn-Akbūrī, i, 544. He is classed by Abū-'l Faṣl as one of those who understand sciences resting on testimony only, i.e., as a mere theologian
faculty, and in those which depend on the memory, but especially in practical and scholastic theology, knowledge of Arabic, and expounding the Qurʾān, in which studies he was unequalled. He used to speak authoritatively on the commentaries on the Miṣbāḥ, and it is said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the bookʿAṣūrī, one of the most advanced works, forty times. He used to impart religious instruction, and never went to the houses of kings or nobles, but always affected the company of magistrates who were honoured and respected. Most of his pupils have become wise men. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77) at the age of more than ninety years.

VII. Qāṣī Jālālū-ʾd-dīn of Multān.

He came originally from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Bakkar. He was a profound sage, ever speaking the truth and loving it. In early life he was a merchant, and in middle age he employed himself in teaching. He taught in Agra for some years, and then, in consequence of certain events which have been narrated in the detailed account of Akbar's reign, was employed in the high post of Qāṣī, after the dismissal of Qāṣī Yaʿqūb. In respect of his integrity and trustworthiness he was the best of Qāṣīs, but, owing to the misfortune of his having a corrupt son, a handsome blockhead, and in consequence of the machinations of all the base pimps about the Court, his own lack of worldly wisdom, and his inability to appreciate the spirit of the age and the ideas of his contemporaries, he was banished to


2 Qāṣī Jālālū-ʾd-dīn is classed by Abū-l- Faṣl in the same category as Jamāl Khān, vide Aín-i-Akkbār, i, 546. He was appointed Qāṣī'ī Qūgāt on the degradation of Shaikh Yaʿqūb for refusing to pronounce mutʿah marriages to be legal. He was one of the signatories of the deed which recognised Akbar as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the empire. Vide vol ii, text, pp. 209, 270.

3 Bhakkar, formerly headquarters of the Bhakkar Sarkar of the Sābā of Multān, vide Aín-i-Akkbār, ii, 338. Now headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in the Miṣūr District, Panjāb; vide Imperial Gazetteer of India (new series), viii, 44.
the Dakan,\(^1\) the rulers of which land, having heard of his
tauntness to Islam and his preaching of the word of God,
honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the
Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy
house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons
of God.

VIII. Qāṣi Tawā'īṣi.

Tawā'īṣi\(^3\) is a dependency of Khurāsān. He was a most
trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his
decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of
the wealthy men of his time,\(^8\) and was therefore always much
prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show
favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong.
He did not understand that in these days it is generally the
wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shaikh
Abū-'l-Faṣl has said, "If the greatest of the Imāms \(^*\) had lived
in our time he would have written on practical theology other-
wise than as he did."

When the Khān-i-Zamān broke out into rebellion he gave a
decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was
unlawful,\(^6\) and this decision led to his deposition and the ap-
pointment of Qāṣi Yaʿqūb in his place. Very shortly after his de-
position he passed away from this world.

\(^1\) Badānī here makes it appear that Jalālu-d-dīn's banishment was the
result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished
for forging a draft on the treasury for 500,000 tankas. He was banished to
the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being
bigoted Shī'ah, would have him put to death as a bigoted Sunni. Vide vol.
ii, text, 313.

\(^3\) Probably the same as Tiwāris, 'a dependency of Bukhārī, seven
parasangs from Bukhārī,' vide Āin-i-Akhbāri, iii, 97.

\(^6\)  إعجار زمان (A) as عنها زمان and MS. (B). Both of
these readings are wrong.

\(^4\) Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four great Sunnis doctors of the law, and
founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence.

\(^5\) Vide vol. ii, text, p. 100. Qāṣi Tawā'īs, whom I find nowhere described
by name, was at the time Akbar's camp Qāṣi. The Lakhnau edition of the
Ṭabaqāt calls him 'Qāṣi Tawā'īs.'
IX. Qāżī Ya'qūb of Mānikpūr.  

He was related to Qāżī Fāsilat, and was well skilled in practical theology and in the principles of that science. He was of a cheerful and open disposition, and used to compose Arabic verses in Indian metres. They say that while he was, for several years, the Qāżī'u-l-Qaṣṣāt of India, he used to take aphrodisiac electuaries in large quantities. One day when he was present at a party given by the Emperor, several intoxicating and stimulating drugs were handed round, and were offered to the Qāżī among others. He refused them, and when he was asked what sort of drugs he took, one of the Emperor's Hindū favourites immediately replied, "The Qāżī takes mercury."  

After his dismissal from the post of Qāżī'u-l-Qaṣṣāt he was appointed to be Qāżī of Bangāl, and was sent off to that province, and while there used to use aphrodisiacs to excess, a slave to the violence of his lusts. He was a confederate of Ma'ṣūm-i-Kābuli in his rebellion and was in consequence recalled from that province and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwāliyār, and on his way to that place removed the baggage

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1 Mānikpūr was the headquarters of a sarkār in the sūba of Ilbhābād, vide Shīr-i-Akbarī, ii, 164.

2 Qāżī Ya'qūb was son-in-law to Qāżī Fāsilat, Qāżī of the army under Shīr Shāh, 'who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāżī Fāsilat.' Vide vol. i, trans. Banbhur, p. 474 and note 4, and vol. ii, text, p. 101.

3 पारा or पार, a Hindū word. Mercury was apparently used as an aphrodisiac.

4 According to vol. ii, text, p. 101, Ya'qūb superseded Ṭawā'īsī as chief qāżī in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1567) and was degraded ten years later, so that he must have gone to Bengal in A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

5 Vide vol. ii, text, p. 276. The rebellion was first preached at Janapūr by Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who gave a fatawa or formal decision to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islam, was lawful. It broke out in A.D. 1579, the ringleaders being Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm of Kābul, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Khān Fārankhūdī, Mīr Mu'īsū-i-Mulk, Nīyābat Khān, 'Arab Bāhādur, and others. Mu'īsū-i-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdi were called to the capital, and on their way thither were put to death by being drowned in the Jamna.
of his existence from this world, and joined Mir Mu'izzu'-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd.¹

X. Shāikh 'Abdu'-n-Nabi,² the Ṣadrū-ṣ-Sudūr.³

He was the son of Shāikh Ṭāhmad, the son of Shāikh 'Abdu'-l-Quddās of Kango. He journeyed several times to the glorious city of Makkah and the delectable city of Māḍinah, and there studied the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, and after his return he abandoned the mode of life of his forefathers, and, ⁸ objecting to the ecstacies and vocal music (of the Ṣūfīs) followed the rule of the traditionists, and busied himself in ceremonial and outward piety, cleanliness, purification and devotion. When he was appointed Ṣadrū-ṣ-Sudūr he distributed enormous areas of land to the people as madad-i ma'āsh, pensions, and religious endowments, and never was there in the reign of any monarch a Ṣadrū-ṣ-Sudūr so powerful as Shāikh 'Abdu'-n-Nabi, or one who alienated the tenth part of what he did in religious endowments.⁴ For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet. At last, owing to the disagreements⁵ of Makhdūmu'-l-Mulk and all the other ill-dispositioned 'Ulamā the Emperor's opinion of him changed completely.

Couplet.

All those who seek for pride of place are fools,
Aye, those who style themselves the 'Ulamā.

The chief cause of his fall was as follows:—When the Emperor, after his journey to Bānswāla,⁶ halted at Fatḥpūr,

¹ It would appear from this passage that Ya'qūb died a natural death on his way to Gwāliyār, but from vol. ii, text, p. 277, it is evident that he was executed by drowning, as were Mu'izzu'-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd. This event happened in A.D. 1579.

² Vide vol. ii, text, passim, and Ain-i-Akbari, i, 490, 546.

³ For a definition of the powers and duties of the Ṣadrū-ṣ-Sudūr or Ṣadrū-ṣ-jahān, vide supra p. 122, note 2.

⁴ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 71.
⁵ Vide vol. ii, text, p. 355.
⁶ In A.D. 1577, vide vol. ii, text, 242, Akbar returned to Fatḥpūr on
Qaṣī ‘Abdu-‘r-Rahim, the Qaṣī of Mathura, laid a complaint before the Shaikh, to the effect that a wealthy and stiff-necked Brahman of that place had carried off the materials which he, the Qaṣī, had collected for the construction of a masjid, and had built of them an idol-temple, and that, when the Qaṣī had attempted to prevent him, he had, in the presence of witnesses, opened his foul mouth to curse the prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways. When the Brahman was called upon to appear, he disobeyed the Shaikh’s summons. The Emperor sent Bir Bar and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓīl to fetch him, and they brought him, and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓīl represented to the Emperor what he had heard of the case from the people, and stated that it was certainly proved that he had uttered abuse of the prophet. Some of the Ulama were of opinion that he should suffer death, while others were in favour of his being publicly paraded on the back of an ass and heavily fined. The Ulama were thus divided into two parties and the question was argued at length. The Shaikh required the Emperor’s sanction to the execution of the Brahman, but, notwithstanding his importunity, no open sanction was given, and the Emperor said in private, “Punishments for offences against the holy law are in the hands of you, the Ulama; what do you require of me?” The Brahman remained for some time in custody on the charge, and the ladies of the Imperial harem busied themselves in interceding for his release, but the Shaikh’s known opinions stood in the way. At last, when the Shaikh’s importunity exceeded all bounds, the Emperor said, “You have received your answer, it is that which I have already given you.” No sooner had the Shaikh reached his lodging than he issued orders for the execution of the Brahman. When this

May 12th of that year, ibid. 248. Although the slaying of the Brāhman is here mentioned as the chief cause of ‘Abdu-n-Nabī’s fall, Akbar had for some time been displeased with him. Tüde vol. ii, text, p. 206, where the incident of the discussion on the marriage-law of Islam is related. Akbar then accused the Shaikh of having at one time interpreted that law very liberally, and of having subsequently retracted this interpretation to his (Akbar’s) detriment. It would appear that Akbar never forgot this.
matter was reported to the Emperor he was exceedingly wroth. The ladies of his sang complained in private and the Hindū courtiers in public, saying, "You have pampered these Mulūs till their insolence has reached such a pitch that they pay no heed to your wishes, and, merely to display their own power and authority, put men to death without your orders." They plied his Majesty with arguments to such an extent that he could endure it no longer, and the leaven of designs which had long been working in his mind at length fermented and overflowed. One might, at the tank known as Anūp Talā'ūs, he set forth the whole case, and asked certain time-serving muftīs and stirrers up of strife for a decision on the question. One of them said, "The witnesses who have been produced prove that he has committed an offence against the person under cover of the law." Another said, "The strange thing is that Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabi should claim to be a descendant of the greatest of the Imāms ⁸ (may God have mercy upon him!) according to whose school of theology the cursing of the prophet by unbelievers who have submitted to the rule of Islām gives no ground for any breach of agreement by Muslims, and in no way absolves Muslims from their obligation to safeguard infidel subjects. This question has been discursively treated in theological works, and it is hard to understand how the Shaikh can have so opposed himself to the principles of his ancestor." All at once the Emperor's glance fell on the author of these historical selections, standing afar off, and, turning to me he summoned me to him, saying, "Come forward." I advanced, and he put to me a question, saying, "Have you heard ⁸² that, supposing there are ninety-nine traditions awarding the punishment of death for a certain offence, and one tradition in accordance with which the accused person may be set at liberty, muftīs should give the preference to that one tradition?" I said, "Yes, it is just as your Majesty has said; but this question turns on the maxim "Verily legal punishments and inflictions are set aside by doubts"; and I translated the maxim into Persian. The

¹ i.e., the Ḥādiyat-Masā'a or 'hall of worship.' Vide vol. ii, text, p. 201.
² Abū Ḥadīlah.
Emperor said, with evident sorrow, "Perhaps Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabi was not aware of this ruling, that he put the unfortunate Brahman to death. Yet how could it be so?" I replied, "The Shaikh is, beyond all doubt, a learned man, but he must have had some wise purpose in view, in knowingly giving an order contrary to this tradition." The Emperor said, "What purpose can he have had in view?" I said, "The closing of sedition and the uprooting of the germs of insolence from the minds of the common people." I also brought to his Majesty's notice the tradition of Qazi 'Ayyāz on the remedies of evils, which tradition had been laid before him in connection with this case. Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort said, "Qazi 'Ayyāz was a Maliki, and his decisions have no weight in a land of the Hanafis." The Emperor said to me, "What do you say to this?" I said, "Although he was a Maliki, it is yet permissible, by the sacred law, for a recognized Mufid to pass sentence in accordance with his decisions." The question was argued at length, and the bystanders observed that the Emperor's moustache, during the discussion, bristled like the whiskers of a tiger, and those who were standing behind him signed to me to desist from argument. All at once the Emperor, opposing my decision, said, "What you say is nonsense!" I immediately made my submission, and retired and took my place in the circle of courtiers, and have ever since eschewed forwardness and the company of disputants, preferring retirement, and saluting the Emperor from afar.

From this time forth the fortunes of Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabi, began to decline. He withdrew himself from company and avoided it, concerning himself principally with his own claims to superiority and the repudiation of former decisions in legal matters, whether modern or ancient. He never went to Court. About this time Shaikh Mubarak came from Agra to Fathpur to offer his felicitations to the Emperor on some subject or another, and the Emperor told him what had happened and asked him for his opinion. He gave his opinion authoritatively, saying,

1 i.e., a follower of the school of jurisprudence founded by Malik bin Anas, one of the four great Shafi doctors of the law. The Hanafis are the followers of the school founded by Abu Hanifah.
Your Majesty is the Imām and Muḥtahīd of the age. What need have you of these Ulama for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular. They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation therefor." The Emperor said, "Since you are my teacher and I am ready to learn from you why do you not free me from dependence on these Mullahs?" Shaikh Mubarak made a supreme effort to gain his end, and, aflame with rancour and contumacy, said, "Do you make a claim to religious supremacy, and demand from them an attestation of your claim." He ultimately wrote a decree affirming the religious supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all ecclesiastical dignitaries. 1 Shaikh 'Abdu'-u-Nabi and Makhdumul-Mulk were forcibly seized and compelled, as though they had been mere nobodies, to attend that assembly of base fellows. No one saluted them, and they took their seats in the Suff-i-nī'al,2 and they were forced, much against their will, to attest that decree, whether they would or no,3 as has been mentioned in the detailed history of the Emperor's reign; and at last they both received permission to make the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Shaikh 'Abdu'-u-Nabi died in the year H. 991 (A.D. 1583).4

IX Shaikh Ahmad Fayyāz, of Ambethi.5

He was among the first of the greatest sages of the time. He was devout, following a severe rule and striving much in the

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1 Vide vol ii, text, 270.
2 'The row of shoes,' i.e., at the place where the courtier's left their shoes when entering the emperor's presence.
3 The nature of the compulsion used is not mentioned. Badsoni, in vol. ii, text, p. 270, says that some signed willingly and others unwillingly.
4 In vol. ii, text, p. 312, the date of the Shaikh's death is given as 992 (A.D. 1584), and the chronogram there given (شیخ کسبی) gives the same date.
5 He returned to Fatīpur from Makkah apparently in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582).
6 'On his using some harsh language the emperor struck him a heavy blow in the face with his flat. The Shaikh said, 'Why dost thou not strike me with a knife?' 'Abdu-u-Nabi was then called to account for the sum of Rs. 70,000 which had been advanced for his journey to Makkah, and was thrown into prison, where he was strangled one night by a gang of men.

7 Vide p. 27, note 3.
path of holiness. In the feebleness of old age, when he had no longer the power to walk, and was completely bedridden, he learnt the glorious Qur’ān by heart. He had by heart the contents of most of the books generally read, and if one of his pupils made a mistake in reading he would correct him without referring to the text. He was well skilled in expounding the Qur’ān, in the traditional sayings and biography of Muḥammad, and in history. He was a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Shaikh 84 Niẓāmu’d-dīn 1 of Ambāthī, and he used to say of him that he was strongly opposed to the recital by the congregation of the jātākah after the imām (during public prayers in the masjid).

The author had the honour of paying his respects to the Shaikh while he was employed in giving instruction in the Sharḥ-i-Viqāya. One of the Shaikh’s pupils happened to be reading the following verses of Hazal:—

“Abū-Bakr, the son of the chosen one,
Resolved on a foray in connection with a strange matter,
And he said, ‘Verily I have resolved on a foray
Against Kaftārah, who is my father’s mother.’
And I said, ‘Wilt thou not hearken, O my son,
To the prohibition against associating with the base?’

and a discussion arose whether the reading should be گفارة or گفارة, which latter is the feminine intensive form of the word گفار, “an unbeliever.” He said that the true reading was گفار and that no other reading would make sense, for that گفار was a Persian word. My contention was that the meaning of گفار was more obvious than that of گفار,—but God knows the truth!

1 Vide p. 27.

گفار means ‘an ungrateful woman’ or ‘an intensely unbelieving woman’ گفار appears to be an Arabicised feminine form of the Persian word گفار, ‘a hyena,’ and, as applied to a woman, might be translated ‘ghoul’ or ‘vampire.’ The discussion between Sadānī and Shaikh Aḥmādī is of no practical interest.
XII. Qāšī Sadrū-'d-dīn, some time of Jalandar, afterwards of Lāhor.

He was a profound sage, and was regarded as a leader in religious matters both by Sāfīs and by orthodox Muslims. He was a cheerful and pleasant companion. Although he was for a time, as is well known, the pupil of Shaikh ‘Abdu-‘llāh Makhdu-mu-‘l-Mulk, I certainly found him to be far superior to Makhdu-mu-‘l-Mulk. So broad-minded was he in religious matters that he was commonly suspected of being a heretic. But the fact is that he was so scrupulous that he would implicitly trust any person, even a manifest heretic, who was inclined to asceticism, and would stand before him with joined hands, and regard anything he might say as an authoritative utterance.

They say that a heretic who pretended to be mysteriously attracted to God one day came upon the Qāšī, and that the Qāšī after his custom, stood before him with his hands joined in reverence. The heretic, deluded wretch, said, “Khizr is always with me.” The Qāšī fell at his feet saying, “Show him to me.” The heretic replied, “I am at present in great anxiety over the marriage of my daughter, an affair which will cost me seven hundred tankas; when my anxiety is removed I will effect a meeting between you and Khizr.” The Qāšī at once gave him seven hundred tankas. Two days later the man came to him and said, “Come that I may show you Khizr,” and took him away with him to the river. Now the heretic was a very tall man, while the Qāšī was low of stature. The heretic walked into the river until the water reached his neck, and then stood still, and said to the Qāšī, “Come to me, for Khizr is here.” The Qāšī replied, “I cannot swim; how can I come to you?” The heretic replied, “Well, I have shown you the place where Khizr is, if you cannot come to it it is no fault of mine.” Many other stories,

1 Vide Ain-i-Akbir, i, 565, where he is styled ‘Qaraišī’ and ‘Abūlī.

The Tuhfa’s says that he was for some years qāšī of Lāhor.

2 Literally, ‘folk of the path,’ i.e., those who follow the ceremonial ordinances, as opposed to the Sūfis, who discard them.

3 Vide Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, p 272.
even more laughable than this. are told of the Qāṣī, and to detail them would be to show the weakness of his intellect. His extreme simplicity can be estimated from the example cited.

When the Emperor bestowed\(^1\) on the chief men of Lāhōr appointments in various parts of the Empire, and sent each one of them to fill some post in one city or another, Ṣadru-d-din was appointed to be Qāṣī of the seaport town of Bahrūc, in the province of Gujarāt, and was despatched thither in that capacity. There he died, leaving behind him a son possessed of ability, named Shaikh Muḥammad, who now holds in that city the appointment held by his late father.

XIII. MIYĀĪ F LĀHĪĀĀ OF LAKHNAU.

He was one of those sages whose knowledge is always at command and ready for use. He possessed a naturally acute intellect and intuitive intelligence. In knowledge of practical theology and the first principles of that science, and of Arabic, he had no equal. He wrote a treatise on syntax which he named after one of the nobles, Quṭbi by name,\(^2\) and which contained some evidence of its author’s industry.

I went to Lakhnau at the time when Ḥusain Khān was governor of that place,\(^3\) and met the Miyā. Among his works there were two books which struck me as being wonderful. One was a treatise, written in columns, which covered a piece of paper capable of containing fourteen lines of ordinary writing, and as broad as it was long. In this treatise the leading principles and

\(^1\) On the dispersal of the ‘Ulama.

\(^2\) A passage occurs here which I am unable to translate. It runs as follows:—

باللازام أيراد يفعل مثل درعين مبارط ندم سابق مدا لحق

Both MSS. substitute بفعل for بفعل، and MS. (A) substitutes مبارط for مبارط، but even with these variants the passage is obscure and the text appears to me to be corrupt.

\(^3\) Vide p. 6, note 6. Ḥusain Khān was appointed to Lakhnau in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) and was transferred thence to Kānt-u-Gūlā in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).
problems of fourteen different branches of knowledge were succinctly set forth. The other consisted of four Maqāmahs from a treatise in which the style of the Maqāmatu-'l-Hariri¹ was imitated, which treatise he entitled Qīgān.² He told me that he had composed other works besides these. His cousins, however, said that the treatise on fourteen different branches of knowledge and the Qīgān were written by Ḥakim Zibriqi,³ who, having come to Jaunpūr, employed himself in collating books, together with the well-known Ḍaṭī Shihābu'd-din. These works, they said, found their way, in the course of time, to the library of Shaikh A'zam of Lahānum, who obtained the title of Ṣānī-yi-Imām-i-A'zam,⁴ and thence came into the hands of Miyān Ilāhādād, who was a descendant of Shaikh A'zam—and God knows the truth of the matter!

XIV. Mīr Sayyid Jalālu'd-dīn-i-Qādirī⁵ of Agra.

He was one of the greatest of the Sayyids of Agra, and was pre-eminent in his piety and resignation to the Divine will. From his youth to the end of his life he lived in seclusion, avoiding the society of the wealthy ⁷ and all pomp and ceremony, and in his capacity as deputy of his holiness, the Ghaus⁸ of the Everlasting God, the pole-star (of religion) fixed by the Lord, the inhabitant of that place which is beyond locality, Shaikh Muḥīyyu'd-dīn

¹ 'The assemblies of Hariri'; one of the Arabian classics.
² A Turkish word, signifying 'a border,' 'an edging of silk'; and hence, in analogy of the Arabic word حاشية, 'a supplement or commentary.' The aptness of the title will be understood if it be remembered that حور (harī) in Arabic means 'silk.'
³ MS. (A) has زراقي (Ziraqi). I have not been able to find any mention of Zibriqi elsewhere.
⁴ MS. (B) has مصطلح 'above-mentioned.'
⁵ i.e., 'Second (only) to the greatest of the Imāms (Abū Ḥanīfah).'</n⁶ The Qādirīs are an order of daruṣḥas. Vide p. 12, note 4.
⁷ MS. (A) has 'Īmār ('strangers') with אגניא ('the wealthy') as a correction in the margin.
⁸ Ghaus (ghau) means 'defender' or 'helper' and is a common title of Muḥammadan saints.
'Abdu'-l-Qādir-i-Jilānī (may God be gratified with him and cause him to be gratified with us!), he received pupils up to the time when he bade farewell to this fleeting world. At this time his son, strong in the faith, Mir Sayvid Dā'ūd, is the representative of his reverend father, and spends his life in holy poverty, indigence, and peregrination. As the auspicious splendour of his dread Majesty the Emperor and the pomp of the greatness of his glorious progeny shone with ever-increasing brilliancy over the horizon of the imperial domain of Āgra, the effulgence of this unfortunate family has abated in splendour, and the families of other deceased saints too have declined in like manner.

Couplet.

"Hundreds of thousands of children were beheaded
Before he who spake with God\(^1\) saw the light."

XV. **Shaikh Husain of Ajmer.**

It is commonly reported that he was a descendant of that polestar of holy men, and king of true lovers of God Khāja Mu‘īn-ud-din-i-Sanjari-yi-Cīāhti\(^2\) (may God hallow his soul)! Since the Emperor, in the days when he first began especially to venerate his holiness the Khāja of Ajmer, happened to slight the claims of the Shaikh (to descent from him) some perverse fellows, prompted thereto by certain Shaikhs of Fatāpur, men who have endeavoured to the utmost to depose and discredit those of their own class (may God reward them therefor!), gave evidence against his claim to descent from the Khāja, saying that his holiness left no descendants, and the Ṣādir and Qātī also issued decrees to that effect, being guided by their time-serving dispositions.

Hemistich.

"The age hath its raiment. Be thou clad therein!"

Thus the hereditary trusteeship of the shrine which had come

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1 *i.e.*, Moses. The allusion is to the slaughter of the children of the Israelites by Pharaoh's order.

2 The great saint of Ajmer. *Vide* vol. i., trans., Banking, p. 70, and note 2.
down to him through so many years was transferred to others. The Shaikh, who was a man of great estate, lived in that province like a king, and the Emperor’s regal jealousy, both on this account and on account of certain other events which happened, could not endure the Shaikh’s position, so he ordered him to leave India and to journey to Makkah, and the Shaikh accordingly took formal leave of his Majesty during the march to Bānaswāla, and after successfully performing the pilgrimage to Makkah, returned. Having accomplished his journey to the Ḥijāz, he paid his respects at Court, on his return, on the very day on which the Emperor had marched from Fathpūr towards Kabul against Muhammad Ḥakim Mirzā; but he would not conform to the ceremonies which have in these days been established by those who have accepted a new faith and have been recently converted to Islām, new followers of a new order of things.

The Emperor, after studying the page of the Shaikh’s life and the lines of his forehead read there the signs of disaffection to himself, and commanded that the Shaikh should be imprisoned in the fortress of Bakkar. There he spent some years, and at last, in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), owing to the efforts made on his behalf by certain courtiers who had his Majesty’s confidence, he was summoned from Bakkar to the Imperial presence, and, in company with some other prisoners, such as Shaikh Kamāl-i-Biyābāni, the impostor, some mention of whom has already been made, and the Qādis of Fathpūr, who had been imprisoned in Bakkar for fourteen years, owing to the machinations of Shaikh Ibrāhīm-i-Ciahti, and whose release had been ordered

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1 In A.D. 1577.
3 Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 300, 366.
4 Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the son of Shaikh Mūsā and elder brother of Shaikh Salim-i-Ciahti of Fathpur Sikri, to whose intercessions the birth of Sultan Salim (Jahangir) was attributed. In A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) he was made governor of Fathpur Sikri, and it was apparently while he held that post that he had the qādis of the town imprisoned. He died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1680-91). Vide Ain-i-Akhbar, i, 402, and Bādāoni, vol. ii, text, p. 374 et passim.
by means of the intercession of Mirzā Niẓāmūn-d-din Ahmad, he arrived at Court, and there they all paid their respects to his Majesty, and all, with the exception of the Shaikh, prostrated themselves. He, an old man of seventy years of age, utterly unaccustomed to the ceremonial of kingly courts and the correct fashion of waiting upon royal personages, made a slight inclination and a mere bow, after the old custom. The Emperor’s displeasure with him was renewed; and the Mirzā was ordered to have a grant of three hundred bigas of land in Bakkar made out to him, as madad-i-ma‘āsh, and to despatch the Shaikh thither once more. Begum Pādshāhī, the mother of his Majesty, busied herself in the ladies’ apartments of the palace in interceding for the Shaikh, and said to the Emperor, “My son, he has an aged and decrepit mother in Ajmer, whose heart yearns to see her son again. How would it be if you were to give him leave to depart to Ajmer? He desires no madad-i-ma‘āsh from you.” The Emperor would not accede to her request, and said, “Mother, he will start business afresh in the place to which he is now going, and people will present to him alms, presents, and complimentary gifts in plenty. He leads a number of men astray. In fine, let him summon his mother hither.” This treatment of his mother was much bitterer to the Shaikh than was the mere going to Bakkar.

On the night on which the Ṣadr-i-Jahān summoned the compiler of these historical selections to the Imperial presence in connection with the Shaikh’s resignation of his trusteeship of the shrine in Ajmer, as has already been mentioned, the Emperor was perturbed in respect of that case, which he had himself brought forward, and refused to ratify the decree (with regard to the resignation), and retained the Shaikh in his service. He said to the Ṣadr-i-Jahān, “Where is that simple-hearted old man?” (meaning Shaikh Ḥusain). I reminded him that he was in Lāhōr, and urged the Ṣadr-i-Jahān, since I myself was unworthy to hold such a blessed position, to have him appointed as the

1 Author of the Ṭabqat-i-Askari.
2 A grant in aid of livelihood.
trustee of the shrine in that protected city, and so restore to him his just due. But, since it is not in the nature of natives of India to work in the interests of their own brethren, or to trust one another, the efforts of the Sadr-i-Jahān availed neither in my case, unfortunate wretch that I am, nor in the case of Shaikh Husain. That aged man, whose sins have surely been forgiven by God, now lives in affliction and distress, in perturbation of spirit and in perplexity, seated in the nook of obscurity, unable to haunt the doors of the great ones of this world, or to obtain their influence and interest on his behalf; while at the same time the road of representation is closed to him, and all hopes of the intercession of others in his behalf are ruined.

But, to continue: the Shaikh’s existence is a blessing and a boon to be highly prized by his contemporaries I was not personally acquainted with him till recently, but now that he has returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and has suffered bonds, he appears to me to be a quantity of (heavenly) light, and an angel in bodily form. Never have I known him to speak of worldly matters, either in public or in private. He is ever employed in austerities, in worship, and in striving in the way of holiness, fasting continually and always watching at night. It is my hope that God (may He be praised and glorified!) will open to him the door of his desire, in accordance with the text. “Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease, aye, verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease.” It is my hope, too, that God will speedily recompense him for his afflictions with the blessing described in the couplet:—

Couplet

When hardships press upon thee, think on the chapter “Have we not opened?”

And the word “difficulty” lies between two repetitions of the word “ease,”

When thou thinkest on this rejoice.

1 مکَّة (makkah), protected, that is to say, from evil by the presence therein of Mu’inu-d-din Cīghti’s shrine.

2 Literally, ‘the house of intercession is ruined.’

3 The ninety-fourth chapter of the Qur’ān, from which the text is quoted.
I pray, too, that I, bondsman of this world as I am, may by the blessing of that leader of all the pious, attain salvation, that, being delivered from my purposeless pursuits, my wild talk, levity, folly, and futile scribbling, I may reach my "true native land" and abiding city, to meet there my departed wife, children, and relatives, and, above all my son, and that I may be enabled to employ what remains to me of life in some occupation that shall serve me hereafter.

_Couplet._

My purpose is, if it be possible,  
So to employ myself as to dissipate my grief.

And since these lines were written just as the scroll of felicity was unfolding itself, and the blessed breeze of morn was beginning to blow, and the true dawn was just breaking, what wonder if the arrow of my disinterested prayer strikes the target of acceptance through the bounty of the Lord, on whose boundless mercy I have always trained myself to believe, and by whose free grace I have been nourished?

_Couplet._

"He may well unfold the desire of my fortune, for which last night  
"I prayed, and the true dawn broke."

These complaining is are out of place here, but what can I do? My soul and heart are so oppressed with weakness and uneasiness that these few bitter lamentations have escaped from the pipe of my tongueless pen. Please God I shall be excused and forgiven.

1 This couplet is from an ode of Ḥāfiẓ, No. 236 in Colonel Jarrett's edition of Ḥāfiẓ. For صادق in the second hemistich Colonel Jarrett's edition reads صادق without any variant. A fine MS. of Ḥāfiẓ in my possession reads كويل. The same MS. reads كويل, or rather, as it is written, كويل, for كويل فلما in the first hemistich. This reading does not commend itself to me. The Cawnpore edition of Ḥāfiẓ (1902) reads كويل for صادق.
Couplet.

"I am not one to weep from grief of heart,
But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart."

XVI. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir.

He was an inhabitant of Uchh, and was the delight of the heart and the apple of the eye of his holiness Shaikh Hāmid-i-Qādiri: may God make his soul fragrant!

At the time when that holy man (may God the most High have mercy upon him!) was in Agra in the days when Bairām Khān, the Khānkhānān, was in power, I was a student, but I had not the good fortune of waiting on him. When Bairām Khān, owing to the machinations of malevolent and perverse persons, the chief of whom was Shaikh Gadā'i, became puffed up with pride on account of his transient high position, he began to regard the holy Shaikh with disfavour, and summoned him from Uchh. The Shaikh was much displeased, and declared that the order anguaged ill for his persecutor, and there happened to Bairām Khān what did happen. But Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Bairām Khān to his own journey to Court (in obedience to a summons).

When the holy Shaikh Hāmid returned to Multan his soul, now resting on high, conveyed itself in the sacred shrine to the neighbourhood of the attendants of the sublime court of heaven and his pure body was committed to the ground in the village of Hāmidpūr, a dependency of Multān.

There had been for many years a dispute between Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Mūsā, regarding the title to the Shaikh-dom, and Shaikh Mūsā, consequently,

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1 Vide Ajn-i-Akbar, i, 544.
2 Vide supra No. V
3 See his removal from his position by Akbar. Vide vol ii, text, p. 36. As a matter of fact many things contributed to Bairam's fall. He was unfortunate in having the whole interest of the family of Akbar's foster-mother arrayed against him.
spent most of his time at Court. One night when the Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Qādir was at Fatehpur oil of poppies was offered to him, and he declared the use of it to be unlawful. The Emperor was displeased with him on account of what he said on this occasion; and one day in the hall of audience at Fatehpur, after the congregational prayers had been recited, the Shaikh busied himself with his supererogatory devotions. The Emperor said, “Shaikh, perform your supererogatory devotions in your own house.” The Shaikh replied, “Sire, in this kingdom your commands have no force.” The Emperor was much displeased and said, “What an ignorant fellow is this Shaikh.” He then said, “Since you do not desire what my power can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom.” The Shaikh immediately left the assembly, resigned his madad-i-ma’āsh, and ceased to prosecute his case against his younger brother. He retired to Uchh, the burial place of his revered predecessors, and, in Shaikh Musā’s absence, removed the bones of the holy Shaikh Ḥāmid to Uchh, and followed the sublime and laudable rule of his predecessors. He now walks, with the footsteps of resignation, in the way of holy poverty, and receives so much in the way of alms that he has no need of any madad-i-ma’āsh. Now Shaikh Musā, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the Emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse. This is similar to the story of a man who became a Musalmān, to whom one said, “You have done well, there were too few Musalmāns without you!”

So long as Shaikh Musā was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he were in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the Khalīfah of the age, and none could gainsay him.

1 Badānī apparently means to be sarcastic, insinuating that there were plenty of ci-devant holy men who had relinquished the service of God for the service of Akbar With reference to what follows, however, he may mean that the imperial service was benefited by the accession of at least one true Muslim.
When news was brought to Shaikh `Abdu-’l-Qādir of his brother’s new rank at Court, he said, “He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a jāgir in Multān, instead of causelessly quarrelling for so long?”

Shaikh `Abdu-’l-Qādir, well content with the honour and high place which he has gained through holy poverty, follows the rule of his noble ancestors and, sitting as their successor, employs himself in guiding and teaching the people, and spends his precious time in worship, in the practice of severe austerities, and in holy endeavour, so that his leadership in the religious world is established.¹

Couplet,

We will not deprive ourselves of the honour of holy poverty and contentment:

Tell the king that our daily bread has been appointed for us by God.

XVII. SHAIKH KABIR.

He was the spiritual successor of his holiness Shaikh Bahā’u-’d-din Zakariyā (may God sanctify his soul!). The people of Multan gave him the title of Vāli (saint), and so great was their faith in him that he could, if he chose, assemble a thousand horsemen in one day. He employed his time so busily that he took his meals at variable times, as it were, and owing to the redness of his eyes, caused really by his night watches, the common people believed him to be a drunkard.

“So much is my own blood my drink that all night long I am beside myself,”

“And for this reason men charge me with wine-bibbing.”

Nevertheless, Shaikh Mūsā-i-Qādiri, who has been mentioned above, always attributed the redness of Shaikh Kabir’s eyes to actual drunkenness, and he would continually say, “I fear that

¹ Literally, ‘has been stamped as current coin.’

² Vide vol. i, trans. Banking, 133 and note 2; and Árin-i-Akbari iii. 362 and note 3. Badāonī does not, of course, mean that Kabir was the immediate successor of this saint, who died in A.D. 1267-68. In the Taḥqīqat Kabīr is said to have been an actual descendant of Bahā’u-’d-din Zakariya.
the saints of old, too, whose morals we read of in books, were like Shaikh Kabir, who is well known as a “Saint,” and that the old poets, also, were like Shaikh Faizi and the rest of them.” God forbid!

I saw Shaikh Kabir once at Pathpūr, when I was with Husain Khān, and observed his dignity of appearance, and I firmly believe that inwardly he was a knower of hidden secrets.

(A fragment 1 from Sa‘di.)

"Whomsoever thou seest clad in the garments of holiness,
"Believe him to be holy, and a pious man,
"If thou knowest not his actual state,
"What business has the police officer within the house?"

His death took place in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) and he is buried in the burial place of his venerable forefathers (may blessing and peace be upon them).

XVIII. Mir Sayyid 'Ali of Lūdhāna.

He is one of the faithful men of this age, and is among the greatest of the spiritual representatives of Shaikh 'Abdu'-r-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna, a noted Shaikh, who was widely venerated by ecstatic mystics, and followed by those who had acquired learning and perfection.

The Mir passed his eightieth year, and advanced well into his ninth decade, and throughout his precious life he never set foot outside his house once he had received authoritative permission to give religious instruction. He was resorted to by the great, and by all, both rich and poor. Many miracles are related of him, and whosoever was honoured by the Mir’s companionship, and in all sincerity enrolled himself among his disciples, obtained grace to avoid all forbidden things and wanton pastimes, to ally himself to the Fount of all grace, and to attain his true object. Among such was Muḥammad Ja‘far, the relative of Mirzā Nīzāmu‘d-din ʿAbdul, an orthodox youth, but polluted with debauchery. When he travelled from Lāhōr to take up the

1 Sa‘di. The text does not give the source of the quotation. I have inserted it from MS. (A). The verses are well known.
of the pargana of Shamsabud, which was in the Mirza’s jagir, and reached Ludiána, he enrolled himself among Mir Sayyid Ali’s disciples, and, by God’s grace, repented of his sins, and, leaving aside all things that should be shunned, and everything that is forbidden, frequently begged the Mir to offer up a prayer that he might attain to the dignity of martyrdom. The Mir offered up prayers in accordance with his request, and in the course of three or four months Muhammad Ja’far became so well known for his piety, abstinence, asceticism, and devotion, that he became an object of envy to many of the pious, and he, who used with much pride and pomp, and with many attendants, to recite his night prayers, now drew water for his ceremonial ablutions without the help of any servant, and aroused nobody.

In a short time the Mir’s prayer was answered, and in a village in the pargana of Shamsabud Muhammad Ja’far attained to the dignity of martyrdom, fighting manfully against the warlike infidels.

In that same year I waited on Mir Sayyid Ali, on the occasion on which I, in company with Mirza Nigamud-din Ahmad, obtained leave to visit my beloved home. The conversation turned on the martyrdom of Ja’far, and Mir Sayyid Ali said, “It is admissible for martyrs to satisfy their love of pleasure in

1 The saujdāri was the chief military and police officer of a pargana, or ‘hundred.’
3 جمع omitted from the text, though both MSS. have it.
4 محدودات MS (A) has which is not so good a reading.
5 نالحذ the opening chapter of the Qur’an which is recited as a prayer with intention.
6 نشف Radoin always used the word in this wrong sense, vide supra p. 30, note 2, also vol. i, trans. Ranking, 395 and 543, note 4.
7 In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1500-91), vide vol. ii, text, p. 376 Muhammad Ja’far was the son of Nigamud-din’s maternal aunt.
this world as well (as in the next), as is certain from the following text which occurs in the glorious word of God:—'Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for, rejoicing.'" He then said, in this connection, "There was a newly married youth who met his death by martyrdom in this neighbourhood. and after his death he used to return always on Friday nights, in appearance the same as when he was alive, and pass the night with his wife in conjugal intercourse." I said, "They say too that deceased martyrs are capable of begetting children in those circumstances, and it is well known that this is a fact. In the pargana town of Basāwar, which was my birthplace, an Afghan named Ishāq suffered martyrdom but used to consort with his newly-married wife after his death, visiting her every Friday night. He ordered her to keep the matter secret, but shortly afterwards, when the woman became pregnant, she was accused of misconducting herself. On being much pressed she revealed the whole matter to her mother-in-law, Ishāq's mother, and one Friday night showed her the form of her son. The mother cried out, calling her son by name, and tried to embrace him. The shape vanished, and from that day forth Ishāq appeared no more. His mother dug a well and named it after him, and the well exists to this day. How can these things be?" Mir Sayyid 'Ali answered, "They are possible, and they are not contrary to reason." Mirzā Nizāmu-'d-din Ahmad said, "It may be that a jinn appeared in the outward form of the Martyr." The Mir said, "A jinn has not the power to appear in the semblance of the bodies of prophets, saints, pious men, and martyrs."

The death of the Mir occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), or H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95). One of the learned men of the time found that the words, "The religious leader of mankind," gave the date of his death. The Mir's worthy son, Mir Sayyid Mahmud, has succeeded him.

1. Qur'an iii. part of verses 163, 164.
2. This chronogram gives the date A.D. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94).
XIX. SHA'IKH MU'IN.

He was the grandson of Maulâna Mu'în the preacher, a well-known man, the author of the Ma'ârij u-n-nubâwah. Shaikh Mu'în (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the farman of the Khalifah of the age, as Qâzi of Lâhûr. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, "For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility, and have no cause for repentance or shame." He would also say, "You both know all about the case; it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the Court of God, the Most High!" If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, "Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return do not separate from him."

He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.

In the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) he took his departure from this world, the sojournings place of toil, for the garden of eternity, leaving two sons, one of whom is famous in all riots and combats for his skill in wrestling, while the other is a noted pigeon-flier. On account of these accomplishments their names were mentioned the Emperor, and he was a spectator of their performances.

1 The text has Mu'rajj, but both MSS. have Ma'ârijj, which reading I have adopted. The title of the book, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere means "Steps to prophet-hood."
"The living comes forth from the dead and the dead comes forth from the living." 1

XX. MIR 'ABDU'-L-ŁATİF OF QAŻVİN

He was a Suifī Sayyid descended from Ḥusain. He was well-versed both in those branches of knowledge which depend upon the exercise of the reasoning faculties and in those which depend upon the exercise of the memory. Every step in his pedigree is historical, as Ḥairati, the famous poet, wrote in an ode in praise of Qāzī Yahyā, the venerable father of the Mir —

"Tales of history should be heard from his lips.

For no one has seen his like in history."

He or one of his relations found the date of the perversion of Shāh Isma'īl in the words, "the untrue religion." When he was arrested in consequence he said, "I said 'the religion' wrongly," 2 and obtained his freedom by this artifice. The Suifī Sayyids were all bigoted Sunnīs, and Shah Ẓahmāsp deprived them of their families and estates on this charge, and this was the cause of Mir 'Abdu'-l-Łatif's coming to India. I heard this from Mirrā Qhiyāsu'-d-din 'Ali, 3 who is entitled Aṣaf Khān. When Mir 'Abdu'-l-Łatif and his family fell into disfavour with the (Persian) king, Mir 'Alā'u'-d-daulah, the writer of the Taṣkīrah, who was the younger brother of 'Abdu'-l-Łatif and had been brought up by him, and who used to call him Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā, with some object of his own in view wrote an ode, declaring his complete separation and estrangement from his brother. One of the hemistichs of that ode is as follows:

"I utter curses on Yahyā and on Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā." 4

People said to him, "The Mir brought you up by his side, why

1 That is to say, the dead Shaikh lives in his works while from his living sons proceeds nothing but dead works.
2 i.e., "I was wrong in calling it a religion at all." Shāh Isma'īl's 'perversion' was to the Shi'ah faith.
3 The text omits 'Ali, though both MSS. have it, and it is correct. Vide Jam.-Akbari, i, 438.
4 Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah had apparently become a Shi'ah.
have you insulted him?" Ho answered, "Do you not see that I have shown my gratitude to him by mentioning him by the title of Haẓrat-i-ʿAqā, while I have mentioned my father by his name only, without any honorific title?" To be brief, the depraved heretics worked on the mind of Shāh Tahmāşp, and completely alienated him from Mir Yaḥyā, and the Shāh sent a royal messenger, a man of devilish aspect, and in appearance like the guardians of hell, from Azarbā’ījān with a written order which ran as follows — "Since Mir Yaḥyā and his son Mir Abdu’l-Latīf are full of zeal for the Sunnī persuasion, and are the chief cause of the staunchness of the Sunnīs of Qazvin, therefore take both these men, and collect all the Sunnī books which can be found within the limits of their jurisdiction, and send them to me, and take their wives and families to Isfahān." Thereupon Mir ‘Alā’u’d-daulah who was then in Azarbā’ījān sent a swift messenger with a letter to this effect, and the royal messengers arrested Mir Yaḥyā who was known as "Yaḥyā the innocent," and he was kept in Isfahān in bonds for eighteen months, until he was released at once from those bonds and from the bonds of this world of vexation and anguish. Mir ‘Abdu’l-Latīf sought safety in flight and withdrew himself for a time to the mountains, and, relying on the promise of his late Majesty, came to India where he was honoured by being received into the imperial service and was gladdened by the emoluments which he received through the boundless liberality and generosity of the emperor. His present majesty also took some lessons from him in various passages of the Divān of Khāja Ḥāfīz and other books.

On the 5th Bajab in the year H. 981 (Oct. 31, 1573) in the new town of Fatḥpur Mir ‘Abdu’l-Latīf took his departure for paradise, the abode of bliss, and obtained the everlasting blessings of the heavenly damsels and mansions, and was buried on the ramparts of the fortress of Ajmer close to Mir Sayyid Ḥussein, "Khīng-sawār." Ṭ Qāsim-i-Arsalān found the chronogram

1 Or 'the divinely protected from error.'

2 'The rider of the grey horse.' Mir Sayyid Ḥussein is a saint who has a shrine at Ajmer.

20
"The glory of the race of Yas" for the date of his death.

Mir 'Abdu-'l-Latif's fortunate, noble, and orthodox son Mirza Ghiyasu-d-din 'Ali-yi-Akhund, entitled Naqib Khan, who is endowed with angelic qualities and adorned with the graces and perfection of learning, has no equal either in Arabia or in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history, and of chronicles, as has been said before. The author is more intimate with him than with any of the courtiers, and was his schoolfellow from childhood. He is now strenuously employed, night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated. One may say indeed that he has become a part of the life of the Khalifah of the age, who never dreams of losing his companionship for a moment. Of late he has been suffering from slight fever, but it is hoped that he will be blessed with a rapid recovery and complete restoration to health. Since the good are everywhere acceptable may they live long! As for the evil ones of the age, what need is there to utter prayers for them? The evil that they do brings its own reward and evil befalls the tongue which pollutes itself by the mention of these nameless scoundrels.

XXI. Khâja Muhammed Yaḥyâ.

He was a descendant in the fourth generation of the holy Khâja Aḥrâr (may God sanctify his soul!). He was well acquainted with the seven styles of penmanship, and was a professor of that art. He had great practice and wonderful skill in medicine and therapeutics. His excellent qualities and dis-

1 The chronogram gives the date 981.
2 Vide 'Imr-i-Akhari, i, 441. Akhund means 'theologian,' 'preacher,' or 'tutor.' Naqib Khan was made a commander of fifteen hundred at the beginning of Jahângir's reign, and died in A.D. 1614. He was buried at Ajmer, beside his wife, in the enclosure of Mu'īnu-d-din Cishti's tomb.
3 The renowned saint Khâja Nâsiru-d-din 'Ubaidu'llâh Aḥrâr. Vide 'Imr-i-Akhari, i, 322
position were an inheritance which he had received from his forbears, and although he was little given to discourse he exercised hospitality, and whatever he received from his ḫāqīr was spent in furnishing the table of friendship. He was the benefactor both of high and low. When the new heresy was introduced and the influence of the vilest of men waxed great he withdrew from this society and obtained leave to perform the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. He was made "leader of the pilgrimage" and was sent on his way to the holy places with ample store for the journey. When he had attained the felicity of completing the pilgrimage he returned, and passed his precious time in Āgra, in devotion and the service of the Most High God, which alone is the object for which man was created, until the importunate messenger of doom seized the garment of his holy life, and invited him to the abode of nearness to God and the threshold of His greatness, so that having obtained his release from this abode of distraction and darkness he entered into close fellowship with the faithful, the martyrs, and the pious.

Complet.

They call to thee from the highest heaven,
I know not what more thou hast to do with this world of snares.

XXII. Shaikh Ḥusain of Badakhshān.

He was one of the spiritual successors of the lord Shaikh Ḥusain of Kha'arazm (may God sanctify his soul!). Religious ecstasy, overpowering him, used to reduce him to a state like inebriety. Daily, after early morning prayers, the Ṣībāḥ, written by Shaikh Raahīd (may God sanctify his soul _), used to be read in his venerable assembly, after the rule of the Kibrawī order, and he would then fall into a religious ecstasy, and in like manner he was assiduous in reading the Ṭabānī of the Moulavī-yi-Ma'navī. His feet were firm in the path of the most pure law, and his speech sprang ever from spiritual knowledge, and

1 Maulana Jalalu-d-dīn-i-Rumin.
affected the hearts of his hearers. If at times one would praise him he would say, "It is yourself that you are regarding."

He stayed some time in Badāon for the purpose of seeing some Turks who had attached themselves to him as their spiritual leader, and made that place resplendent with the light of his presence, and the bounty of his blessed companionship reached the inhabitants of that district. Returning thence he came to Āgra, and thence hastened to the court of the great God.

XXIII. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir.

He is one of the descendants of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir the second, of Uch, who was entitled his holiness Ghauṣ-i-Rabbānī (may God be graciously pleased with them!). Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, were both educated in piety, devotion, and temperance, and were distinguished for their mental perfections. They lived for some time in Fathpūr, and the emperor, at the time when religious controversy waxed warm, extended his patronage to Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, and appointed him to Gujarāt with the title of Sadr, and sent him to Shāhbaẓ Khān.1 This was, in fact, banishment. The Shaikh, however, rendered good service to the state, and constantly2 sent express messengers with representations containing full news3 of the rebels, and other matters, so that a commission was issued, granting him the rank of commander of three hundred. But just then the messenger of death delivered in his ear the joyful message, "Return thou to thy Lord," and he responded cheerfully to the messenger of God. His elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir, was then banished to the glorious city of Makkah, and at the time when the Khānkhānān, son of Bairām Khān,4 and Mīrza Niẓāμu'd-dīn Ahmad had the control

1 Shāhbaẓ Khān Kambū; vide Ain-i-Ikhbar 1, 309. Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh was apparently sent to Gujarāt in 1578-79, at which time Shāhbaẓ Khān was in Western Rājpūtāna.

2 براي in both MSS. The text has براي.

3 إخبار in both MSS. The text has إخبار.

4 Mīrza 'Abdu'r-Rahim. Vide Ain-i-Akbār 1, 334. It was probably in 1588 that Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir was sent to Makkah.
of affairs in Gujarāt, he went thither, and having obtained from them provisions for his journey and attached himself to a company of pilgrims he obtained the glory of performing the pilgrimage of the Hajj. Thence he returned to his own native place, Lāhör, where he now lives, ¹ engaged in the service of God and in devotion, and remaining steadfast in the same.

XXIV Ṣha'īkh Ḥu-l-Matāli ¹⁰²

He is the nephew, the son-in-law and the spiritual successor of his holiness the true spiritual guide, the abode of saintship, him who is seated in the chair of unity, lord of the sword of might and the troop of power of the Eternal One, the manifestation of the perfections of Muḥammad, Miyaḥ Sha'īkh Dā'ūd ² (may God sanctify his soul!). He is, in the swift pursuit of righteousness, the phoenix of the age, a pattern in all states and assemblies of holy poverty and self-effacement. If mention be made of those favoured by God it is his name which is most appropriately mentioned, and if the talk be of those who excel their fellows it is his name which is first spoken. He is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor. He has himself written verses to that purport.—

Couplets.

"I am ever inebriated with the cup of love.
What should I know of 'this' and 'that'—
I who worship Dā'ūd?"

"How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech of all?
Nay, it requires the breath of Dā'ūd, which can soften even iron."

¹ In A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596-96).
² Vide p. 47.
"I sit on the throne of poverty, now that I have attained my desire,
I reign like Sulaimān, for I am heart and soul the slave of Dā'ūd."  

Quatrain.
"Lord, grant to me one glance of the eye which I desire,  
Grant to me freedom alike from being and non-existence,
And although I be not worthy of this high fortune,
Grant to me one atom of the love of Shaikh Dā'ūd."  

One of his sayings is this:—"Oh, Abū-'l-Ma'āli, be the slave of the Lord, the Most High, and be not the slave of money and jewels!" It is said that in the year of his auspicious birth he was taken to his holiness, the universally respected Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd (may God sanctify his tomb!) and that his worthy father asked the Miyān to give a name to his auspicious offspring. His holiness the Miyān said, "Let his name be Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'āli." As this name was very uncommon in India the bestowal of it has been regarded as a prophecy of the return of the Mughuls, and of the appearance of the army of the emperor Humāyūn (may his grave be fragrant!) and a year had not passed when that emperor, who has now obtained forgiveness of his sins, returned to India, and (the spiritual influence of) Abū-'l-Ma'āli placed him who had thus conformed to that influence in possession of the country of the Panjab. The words "Abū-'l-Ma'āli, the Worshipper of God" were found to give the date of his birth. The few flowing verses quoted below, which are to be interpreted mystically and not literally, are some of the products of his bright genius.

1 Or 'of my true object of desire.'
2 In both MSS. the second and fourth hemistichs of this quatrain are transposed.
3 Literally, 'the pole-star of pole-stars.'
4 Sic.
5 Because it was more common among them.
A fragment.

Ghurbati 1 speaks in his religious ecstasy,
An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility.

Ghurbati! Make thy life a sacrifice to Him,
For the felicity of union with Him is not bestowed as a worthless gift.

Keep the mention of love in thine heart, and open not thy lips.
Keep the mouth of this flask well closed, lest (cold) air should enter it.

Ghurbati! Raise the cry of 'I am God!' 2 and fear 104 not the stake,
For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this path.

That which we have seen and known of that Soul of Souls
(We learnt) not to repeat, but to see and to know.

The following copy of a letter is one of his wonderful epistles which he sent to me in Lāhor:—

Versus.
I increased my desire and my heart is in grief,
And within my bowels a fire is kindled.
When will the absent return from their long journey? 3

1 The taḥmālus or poetical name of Abu-ʾl-Maʿāli.
2 The reference is to Mansūr, vide p. 87, note 7.
3 These verses should be completed by a fourth hemistich, which is wanting in the text and the MSS.
"My dear one,—At this time of dejection in my separation from every friend and stranger I had come to regard the news even of those who asked after the well-being of all as a letter-carrier and messenger, and used to hope for greetings and a message, when suddenly your affectionate letter took the place of a prescription for the restoration to health of those cast down with melancholy at separation from their friends, and redoubled my desire to see you, and my affection. Now the verses of that holy man of the Qadiri order, the seething of whose waves of eloquence astonishes and bewilders the soul, expel the anguish of my heart, and I beg that you will excuse me (for quoting them):—

Ho, ye (who hearken)! I wonder at all men.
And in my drunkenness I see neither that which is before me nor that which is behind.
And there is nothing, I swear by God, in my bowels but desire for you,
My heart seeth you, as though I saw from your eyes.
From my grave whisper in the ears of my absent friends
That they are the objects of my regard both in life and death.
When Munkir and Nakir shall come to me
I shall answer to Nakir at the time of his coming,
and to Munkir.
And will say 'Question not me, but another' concerning them, for I am verily their friend,
And the bond of my love for them has suffered no change.
We all convey salutations to all of you.
Written by the humble Abū-'l-Maʿālī.'

And in another letter he wrote the following couplet:—
"As for that dear one who nightly moveth near me,
Blest will be the day when he appears clearly before me."

Both MSS. insert ('and') here.
"Salutations blended with the desire of seeing you and flanked like the banners of the Ḥanīfī school of the Qadiriyyah order are sent to you. Know that your friend has important business with Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qhafūr, and Shaikh 'Umar, which can be settled by a moment’s attention from you. If you can spare any of your precious time to bring it about it will, in truth, be most fruitful in benefits. My blessing."

XXV. MAULĀNĀ JALĀL OF TALA.

Tala is a famous quarter of Lāhūr. The Maulānā is a relative of Ḥāji Malīdī, who was one of the most famous Shaikhs. He is now one of the most learned men of the time, and has been appointed as a teacher at Lāhūr. He is a pupil of Mullā Ismā‘īl of Ucch, and has also received instruction from other teachers. He is a most expert lapidary, possesses great acumen, and has much store of learning in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory. They say that he has been engaged in teaching since he was eight years old. He has a good delivery and speaks unambiguously so that he is able readily to convey to the understanding of his pupils the sense of arguments on knotty points of speculative and traditional science. He is kind-hearted, pious and religious, and has the Qur‘ān by heart. He is endowed with noble qualities. The correction and arrangement of the Quranic exegesis¹ of Shaikh Faizi is principally his work. His age is between fifty and sixty.

Couplet.

What of argument regarding knowledge? Though it travel as 106
far as Fāqīh,²
The mention of the name of Maulānā Jamālu’d-dīn Muḥam-
mad will accompany it.

XXVI. MAULĀNĀ ‘ABDU’-SH-SHAKŪR OF LĀHŪR.

He is a most eminent and distinguished sage, and well known

¹ The مراحل الإلهام ('rays of inspiration').
² One of two bright stars near the North Pole.
for the vigour of his understanding and his natural acumen. His belief in the Shaikh’s is unshaken, and the firmness of his confidence in these men is wonderful. Most of his precious time is expended in perusing the works of this class of men, and he employs his life in the recitation of supererogatory prayers and petitions and in the perusal of the Qur’an, and whatever comes to his board is at the disposal of the poor and needy. At the time when the controversy with the ‘Ulama and the Shaikhs took place he was banished,1 and having been appointed to be Qazi of Jaunpūr he was sent thither. When he joined the imperial Court at the time when it was at Ilahābad the Qaziship of Jaunpūr was bestowed on the Ottoman Qazi-zāda, an accomplished man of pleasant disposition and adorned with many mental perfections. Since that time Maulana ‘Abdu-ah-Shakūr has remained there in retirement, engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, contenting himself with what is sufficient for subsistence, averse from covetousness, far removed from worldly perils and fears, and near to the salvation of faith.

XXVII. Shaikh Kābir, son of Shaikh Munawwar.2

He is the successor of his respected father. He is a young man who in childhood attained to perfection and excelled holy men. If in these latter days there be a son who is better than was his father it may be said that it is he who has attained this condition. He prosecuted his studies in most of those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary curriculum under his father, and his respected father-in-law, Miyān Sa’dūllāh Bani Isrā’īl, and subsequently made the society and companionship of his fellows the rule of his life, and became a

1 In A.D. 1579. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 277, where ‘Abdu-ah-Shakūr is called Gauḍār, i.e., wearer of a darvīsh’s robe.
3 Shaikh Munawwar was born at Lāhor and was noted for his memory and learning. When the ‘Ulama of Lāhor were banished in 1579 he was made Qadi of Mālwa. He was afterwards imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he died in A.D. 1602-03. Shaikh Kābir himself died at Ahmadshāh in Gujarat in A.D. 1617.
courtier. May the most Holy God (be He exalted!) grant him repentance for his indulgence in opium, his pride, and his lying and boasting. At the time when, in accordance with the imperial order, he accompanied his father to the purāna of Bajwāra ¹ and the spurs of the northern mountains, and was employed in the administration of that district, he wrote a letter to me from which the degree of perfection to which he, as a man, had attained may be inferred. That letter was as follows:—

Poetry.

I had a heart by means of which I enjoyed life, but my heart perished from me owing to the change which it suffered.

"May the attendants of that possessor of a sublime disposition, that resort of excellence, be in good health. Oh, my lord! The concerns of my heart and soul, that is to say the only true concerns of a man, are firmly established on the threshold of sincere affection; but my earthly body (may the dust of the world be on its head!) consorts with the birds and beasts of the wilderness of superfluity;² may, by God! it consorts with a multitude from the sight of which the very birds and beasts could not choose but flee. Glory be to God! I know not where I may find a remedy. My vile spirit now knows what a blessing health is. From the time when I first came to years of discretion to this day, when I have reached my fortieth year, all my endeavours have been directed towards the companionship of the most spiritually-minded men, wherein I might seek a remedy for my spiritual imperfections and the diseases of my soul, and now zeal for the Supreme and jealous God (may His majesty be exalted!) having affected me has brought on me a sore affliction, which

¹ There were two purānas of this name. One was in the Āgra sarkār of the Ḍēṣa of Āgra (Am, ii, 182) and the other was in the Beth Jālandhar Dūb sarkār of the Ḍēṣa of Lābor (Am, ii, 316). The latter is the town mentioned here. It is now a town in the District and tahsil of Hoshiarpur in the Panjāb. Vide 'Imperial Gazettes of India' (new series), vi, 220.

² The writer perhaps means the wilderness of the vulgar crowd.
none but He can cure. Cheerfulness, contentment, and the quiet enjoyment of health have all been snatched from me. You, O Maulavi, will surely have experienced the magnanimous and affectionate solicitude of the Nawwāb Fayyāzi, that most learned and most wise man, unique in this age (may God enrich us from his perfection, and may He bestow on us the profitable honour of his discourse!), and you must have recognized it as one of the greatest of the Lord’s benefits, and have returned thanks for this great gift. At the time when prayers are answered put up a petition for the needs of your slave. Salutations to you. May the attendants of the sympathetic Miyān Ahmad, the marvel of the age, be in good health, and believe me to be desirous of reunion."

XXVIII. Shaikh Sa’dū-‘llāh, the Grammarians.

Biyāna is one of the districts in the eastern portion of India. The Shaikh from his childhood was in the service of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, and passed his time with him in fasts of forty days and in exorcism, and subsequently himself continued these practices. He built a hospice in the district of Biyāna and was for many years resorted to by students and followers of the religious life. He employed himself in the instruction and spiritual guidance of such men. In knowledge of syntax he had no equal in his time. For seventy years he never broke his fast save on

1 مسافى رتت in both MSS. The text has ‘remedy for my days.’ I have followed the MSS.
3 Vide Aīn-i-Akbari, i, 545, where he is called ‘Maulānā Sa’dū-‘llāh.’
4 Then a pargana town in the sarkār and sāba of Agra (Aīn-i-Akbari, ii, 182), now the headquarters of a tahsīl in the Bharatpur State in Eastern Rajputana (Imperial Gazetteer of India (new series), vii, 637, s.v. Bayāna). In the Aīn (ii, 180) Biyāna, which is a very ancient city, is mentioned as having been formerly the capital of a province of which Agra was a dependent village.
5 Vide p. 6.
6 MS. (A) has بز لعبتات by transposition of dots. The reading of the text and MS. (B) is correct.