CONTENT.

TILE-MOSAICS

OF

THE LAHORE FORT.

BY

J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D.

Illustrated by seven Page Plates in Colours
and eight Monochrome Plates.

Published under the patronage of the Government of India.

PHOTOGRAPHED, PRINTED, AND PUBLISHED BY W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., ELM HOUSE, HANOVER ST., PECKHAM, LONDON
LONDON AGENT—BERNARD QUARITCH, II, GRAFTON ST., NEW BOND ST., W.
Messrs. Griggs have the honour to announce the issue of

The Second Part of

The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India.

With descriptive Notes and References

by JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., &c.

This Second Part is issued in succession to the First Part, which dealt with the Earliest Indian Monuments, and contains, like the latter, 170 high class Photo-Collotype Plates of famous Hindu Monuments, Temples and Sculptures, illustrating Indian Art, History and Mythology. Beginning with Bodh-Gaya and Amaravati, it completes the series of Cave-Temples at Bhaja, Udayagiri, Kanheri, Elura, Elephanta, Badami, Dhammar and Ajanta (to which 29 plates are given); Gupta and other Monolithic pillars; the Kashmir temples; the peculiar early temples in Manbhum, Singhbum, &c.; very early examples of brick temples, and numerous others in the United Provinces; the early shrines at Osia, &c., in Rajputana and Rewa; a considerable number of mythological and artistic sculptures from various districts; and a large selection of illustrations from the Kanarese and Maratha areas.

The reproductions were made by permission of the Secretary of State for India in Council from the well known collections of Negatives at the India Office, London, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The subjects reproduced, in size about 10" x 8", were largely photographed many years ago and are thus in many instances shown in a state of preservation not known at the present day. They form together a record of the development of the various styles of Indian Architecture and are indispensable to Artists, Architects, Orientalists, Universities, Schools, and Museums.

The work is supplied in Portfolio Form or as a Bound Volume,
Size IMP. 4to. (15" X 11").

Price for Volume II. £10 NETT, CARRIAGE PAID.

For Part III. About 100 Plates have already been prepared and it is expected that the whole will be completed within twelve months.

Early Orders will be received by

W. GRIGGS & SONS Ltd.
HANOVER STREET, PECKHAM, LONDON, S.E.

A Few copies of Part I. are still available.
TILE-MOSAICS OF THE LAHORE FORT.

By J. PH. VOGEI., PH. D.
SUPERINTENDENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, NORTHERN CIRCLE.

IV. SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

ANIMAL FIGHTS.

From our inspection of the pictured wall of Lahore, it has been noticed that a large number of tile-mosaics relate to animal-fights which were no less favourable an entertainment at the Moghul Court than in ancient Rome. But whereas the Circenses of the Caesars were chiefly intended to propitiate the populace, the animal combats of Moghul India were meant in the first place for the amusement of the emperor and his court. Hence the scene of such entertainments was the palace, or in the case of elephant fights the sandy ground between the palace and the river. "On a choisi expres cette place proche de l'eau," says Tavernier,1 "parce que l'elephant qui a eu la victoire estant en fureur on n'en pourroit de long-temps venir a bout, si on ne le poussoit dans la riviere, a quoy il faut user d'artifice, en attachant au bout d'une demi-piqure des fusées et des petards ou l'on met le feu pour le chasser vers l'eau; car quand il est dedans environ deux ou trois pieds il s'appaise incontinent."

It seems that animal fights as a royal amusement were not unknown in India before the advent of the Muhammadans.

But no reference is made to it in indigenous literature. We may assume that in a country where the respect for animal life is carried to such a pitch, there must always have been a strong feeling against such a custom, especially among the cultured classes of society.

It would seem that only under the rule of the Great Moghuls animal fights became a recognized recreation of the royal court. François Bernier2 has left us the following description of an elephant fight at Delhi which he must have often witnessed during his stay at the court of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb:

"Il faut icy vous faire part d'un Divertissement par où finissent ordinairement ces Festes, et qui nous est inconnu en Europe; c'est le combat des Elefants que le Roy, les Dames de la Cour, et les Omrahs voyent de divers apparabens de la Porteresse, et qui se fait devant tout le peuple dans cette grande Place sabloneseuse qui regarde la Riviere.

L'on fait une muraille de terre de trois ou quatre pieds de largeur, et de cinq ou six de hauteur: les deux Elefants qui doivent combattre s'en viennent de front, l'un d'un costé de cette muraille, et l'autre de l'autre, chacun ayant deux Conducteurs dessus, afin que si le premier qui est sur les epaules et qui a le grand crochet de fer a la main pour faire tourner l'Elephant a droite et a gauche, vient a tomber, le second qui est sur le derriere se jette aussi-tot en sa place. Ces quatre Conducteurs animent chacun leur Elefant au combat, et a passer vigoureusement sur son ennemy, tantot en leur parlant doucement et tantot en les querrellant comme des lanches et les talonnant tres-rudement. Quand ils ont ainsi esté long-temps pousses et animes, alors on voit ces deux grosses, musses venir a la muraille, s'aborder lourdement et se donner de si terribles coups de dents, de teste et de trompe, qu'on diroit qu'ils s'iroient crever l'un l'autre. Ce combat continue quelque temps, cesse et recommence par plusieurs fois, jusqu'a ce que la muraille s'estante eblouee, le plus courageux des deux passe sur l'autre, luy fait tourner le dos, le poursuit a coups de dents et de trompe, et s'acharne tellement apres, qu'il n'y a pas moyen de les separer: s'il ce n'est avec des Cherksys qui sont certains feux d'artifice qu'on jette entre-deux; car cet animal est tres-peureux et craint sur tout le feu: d'ou vient que depuis qu'on se sert d'armes a feu dans les armées, les Elefants n'y servent presque plus de rien. Veritablement il s'en trouve quelques uns de ces braves qu'on amene de l'Isle de Ceilan, qui ne sont pas si peureux; mais encore n'est-ce qu'apres les avoir des années entieres accoustumés, en leur tirant tous les jours devant eux des mousquets, en leur jetant des petars de papier entre les jambes.

Au reste le combat des Elefants ne seroit pas trop desagreable a voir s'il n'etoit un peu trop cruel a cause qu'il arrive souvent que quelques-uns de ces pauvres misereables Conducteurs sont foulez aux pieds et y perissent; car les Elefants dans le combat ont cette malice qu'ils tachent sur tout de fraper de leur trompe et d'attirer en bas le Conducteur de leur adversaire; et c'est pour cela que le jour que ces pauvres Conducteurs savent qu'ils ont a faire combattre les Elefants, ils disent adieu a leurs femmes et a leurs enfants, comme s'ils estoient condamne a la mort:

THE LAHORE FORT.

Ce qui les encourage et les console, c'est que quand ils échappent, et qu'ils se retrouvent bien de leur devoir, le Roy augmente leur paye, et leur fait donner sur l'heure un sac de Peyssas, ce qui vient à être environ cinquante francs ; ou s'ils y demeurent, il fait laisser la paye pour la veuve, et l'Office au fils quand il y en a. Un autre malheur accompagne souvent ce combat ; c'est que dans cette grande foule de monde qui s'y trouve ordinairement ; il y en a toujours quelques-uns d'attraper qui sont renverser par l'Elefant, ou foule aux pieds des chevaux et des hommes qui s'écartent et font tous tout d'un coup, et tombent les uns sur les autres lors que les Elefans sont en furie, et que l'un poursuit l'autre ; de sorte qu'on ne peut voir ce jeu-là de près qu'avec danger. Pour may, la seconde fois que je le vis, je me repens assez de m'être si fort approché, et si je n'euus eu un bon cheval et deux bons Valets, je crois que l'aurois payé cher aussi bien que beaucoup d'autres.

Another account of an elephant fight in which Aurangzeb displayed great courage, I quote from a native historian. For a translation of the passage I am indebted to my late Assistant Maulvi Nur Bakhsh.

"How the dignified and patient Prince, Muhammad Aurungzeb, stood firm against the onslaught of the elephant Sidhkar, huge as a mountain, and smote with his spear that mad, malignant and unruly beast."

"The Emperor of the age on any day finds his delight in watching the fights of elephants that resemble wander-working thunderclouds moving in the heavens"—

"Gigantic are they all, like thunderbolts in action. With their hindquarters hewn of granite, anvilheaded."

"But especially on the auspicious day of Monday—the week-day of the august accession—the sovereign's whole attention is devoted to opening wide the portals of every kind of pleasure, and every cause of delection; while neither injury nor harm may reach a living being. Yet this latter is inevitable in the battling of these animals, huge as mountains, and fighting like demons. At times some of the spectators sink into annihilation beneath the limbs of these two four-legged horizon; while sometimes these will slay each other through excess of emulation and the fury of their wrath."

"It came to pass on Tuesday the 29th [Zul-qadah A. H. 1042] that by the Emperor's commands two elephants, of the famous and magnificent royal herd, were set to fight beneath the balcony for public appearance [jaroka darshan] of the mansion inhabited by the Emperor in the days when he was a prince. One of these was the tusker Sidhkar, the other with no tusks was named Surat-Sundar; both huge as mountains, swift as clouds, and roaring like thunder, so that from terror at their trumpeting a troubled cry arose in the highest heaven; and in the field of battle they looked on fire as water, on rivers as a mirage."

"These two gigantic beasts that like the raging hurricane or roaring sea would uproot an opponent's fixed position with one movement, or extinguish an adversary's lamp of life with a single breath—fell to in the field of strife, and with their rock-splitting charges shook the foundations of the earth."

"In their vicious struggles they moved a little way from the far-seeing Emperor's field of view, and continued fighting at the foot of the audience balcony of the palace inside the fort."

"The ruler of the world [Shah Jehan] anxious to see the spectacle, mounted, and accompanied by his good fortune, moving as lord of the luminaries of heaven, started for the spot. A few pieces in front of him rode the princes of exalted dignity who became absorbed in viewing this wondrous entertainment. On the right of Sidhkar was that chief star in the mansion of felicity, Muhammad Dard Shihok, and on the left the jewel of the casket of royalty, Muhammad Shah Shuja' Bahadur; and the head and source of good fortune, Muhammad Aurungzeb."

"When these two fiery and ferocious beasts drew apart, backing several paces, they left a short space between them, whereupon Sidhkar, seeing his antagonist at a distance, in that vicious condition of passion, kept every moment making charges and violent rushes from excess of rage and anger, and then ran towards that champion of the lists of bravery, Muhammad Aurungzeb. He, that warrior like Rustam and hunter of elephants moved [not] from his place, holding firmly with the hand of heroism the bridle reins of his steed, swift as wind or lightning; for by reason of its exceeding swiftness—"

"He could not take his saddle from its back, Unless his two hands clasped it to his breast. Through courage he moved not one hairbreadth from his place. From facing a torrent he turned aside. From firmness of nature and excessive keenness Throughout his body nought moved save his pulse."

"When the elephant had come close, by the aid of heaven and the imperial power of surmounting difficulties, he stretched forth the arm of valour and with his spear wounded that ferocious, diabolical beast on its forehead."

2 Horizont (lit, without a pillar) is the name of a mountain in Persia which, it is said, Farhad laboured to dig through to please his beloved Shirin.
The residents of the holy enclosures and the constant attendants at the oratories of mankind breathed out, on behalf of the hand and strong arm of that apple of the eye of sovereignty [Aurangzeb] invoking the averting of danger, and the sound sleepers of the sleep of forgetfulness awoke at the shouting of praise and applause. The spectators were lost in amazement. When the Mighty Lord, His Majesty, the second Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction, in the flower of his youth made the body of a raging tiger food for his blood-drinking and dragon-like sword (as will be here recorded), the display of like prowess by his sons is not to be marvelled at. "The tiger's cub is c'er a tiger born."

The more enraged on being wounded, the brute drew nearer intent on mischief. In spite of the kindling and throwing of catherine wheels and rockets—through which the terrestrial globe from the violence of the flames had become a globe of fire—all was in vain. It [the elephant] striking the Prince's horse with its tusks, threw it down. That tiger in the forest of bravery [Aurangzeb] fell from his saddle on to the ground. Promptly and quickly, in a second, he rose with his hand on the hilt of his sword."

"The Prince of exalted rank, Muhammad Shah Shuja' Bahadur, beholding things in such a pass—the way being obstructed by the crowd of people and the great quantity of fireworks and the spreading of their smoke—hastily turned the reins of his bay horse, moving like the heavens, in order to draw near and use his spear. Suddenly, just as he was riding to the attack, a catherine wheel struck the horse on the forehead. It reared, and that priceless person [Shah Shuja'] fell off. Raja Jai Singh, son of Raja Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Raja Man Singh—who from his birth is one of the trusted servants of the court, and sits in the seat of Raja Man Singh—also rode at the elephant. As his horse shied and would not face the elephant, he moved away to the right of it and flung his spear."

At this moment—when the quiescent souls of the worldley were agitated by grief and the times as well as those belonging to this age were in confusion and reeling in giddiness—His Majesty the King of Kings, in his own pure person, came to the spot and issued an order that the mace-bearers and all the others having the felicity of belonging to his retinue, should make an advance."

"When Surat-Sundar found his opponent in the fight was otherwise engaged, he seized the opportunity and renewed the attack. Sidhkar finding it impossible to turn round, took to flight. Surat-Sundar turned his head to pursue the fugitive and both, not minding ups and downs, fled like the wind."

"The Prince [Aurangzeb], watched by Fortune and protected by the guardianship of the Eternal, acquired a new lease of life by seeing the sun-like countenance of the King of the world and the age. The God-fearing monarch first drew into his loving embrace that newly-grown plant in the garden of sovereignty, the prince Aurangzeb, and by the kiss of affection conferred the adornment of felicity, and favoured him with many kinds of gifts and the title of "Valiant" (Bahadur). Then, he [Shah Jehan] showed favour to that apple of the eye of the state, Muhammad Shah Shuja' Bahadur, and opened his pearl-showering lips in words of praise and admiration."

"On Friday the 2nd Zil-Hijjah of the year 1042, equivalent to 21st of Khuradad, which was the day of weighment of the 15th year of the elephant-overthrowing prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur, that Potentate and River of gifts [Shah Jehan] caused that star in the mansion of kingship [Aurangzeb] to be weighed in the Hall of Private and Public Audience against red coin [gold] and made over the amount, being 5000 Ashrafs to that fortunate person [Aurangzeb], and exalted that one of lofty disposition with the gift of robes of honour—a jewelled pigrette; a chaplet of pearls adorned with several rubies and emeralds of great price; a jewelled bracelet; an armlet jewelled with diamonds; many kinds of rings set in rubies, cornelians, diamonds and pearls; a jewelled hanger; a phal' dagger; a jewel-hilted sword; a shield; jewelled belts; a jewelled spear; two gabeihaq horses, one of them named Sarfaraz with a jewelled saddle, the other with gold and enamel trappings; the elephant Sidhkar along with a female. The total value of the present was two lakhs of rupees."

"Clever writers of Persian and Hindustani produced the story of that doer of Rustam-like deeds [Aurangzeb] both in verse and prose, and filled full the skirt of their expectation with liberal presents. Saidi of Gilán, having the title of Bedil Khan, wrote this man-testing adventure in verse, and laid it before the pure Place of petition [Shah Jehan]. By royal order he was weighed against coin and received the amount equivalent to his weight, namely 5000 rupees."
I may mention here that Maulvi Nur Bakhsh has been fortunate enough to obtain at Delhi a manuscript copy of the Persian poem in honour of Aurangzeb's valour by Bedil Khan mentioned in the above passage.

The historical elephant-fight at which Aurangzeb displayed so great courage seems to have been as favourite a subject with the painters as with the poets of the Moghul Court. Recently I have acquired for the Delhi Museum of Archaeology an ancient picture on which the scene is treated with great fidelity. The centre of the picture is occupied by the massive black elephant Sidhkr which is opposed by Aurangzeb seated on his prancing white horse and thrusting his spear in its trunk. In the background the other elephant Surat Sunda is shown running after its opponent, the action being very well expressed by the artist. Shah Jehan with his two sons Dara Shukoh and Shah Shuja, all on horseback, are also visible in the background, the last mentioned evidently coming to the rescue of his brother. Another horseman, probably Raja Jai Singh of Amber, is seen in the foreground ready to attack the elephant with his raised spear. Numerous attendants armed with long staves, to the end of some of which cressets are attached, surround the group. Shah Jehan and his three sons are not only distinguished by haloes, but each of them has his name written in Persian, so that there cannot be the slightest doubt with regard to the subject of the picture and the identity of the actors.

The Lahore Museum also possesses a sketch illustrating the scene of Aurangzeb's valour above described, but it is evidently a late copy, as in several important points it does not agree as well with the contemporaneous account as the Delhi picture. It presumably was made in Kangra in the 18th century, the names of the persons represented being written not in Persian but in Nagari. The central group of Aurangzeb and the elephants is rendered in very much the same way as on the older picture. But the second elephant is absent. Shah Shuja has been replaced by his brother Murad Bakhsh and a sixth horseman has been introduced who according to the inscription represents Mahabat Khan (Khan Khanan). It will be noticed that the Badshah Namah mentioned neither Murad Bakhsh nor Khan Khanan.

One of the panels (No. 12) on the Lahore Fort also might quite well be taken as an illustration of Aurangzeb's youthful exploit narrated in such flowery style by the author of the Badshah Namah. It shows a horseman facing an elephant, whose attack he calmly waits with lifted lance. It should be remembered that this panel is found on that part of the Fort wall which was probably built and decorated in the beginning of Shah Jehan's reign, about the same time when the event described above took place.1

Abdul-zafir relates that the immediate cause of Akbar's last illness was the excitement due to an elephant fight and Prince Khusrau's bad behaviour on that occasion. "The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusrau at an elephant fight. Salim (Jahangir) had an elephant of the name of Giranbar, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of Abru, one of Khusrau's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, Rantahman, was selected as tabanchah, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram (Shah Jehan) sat at a window, whilst Salim and Khusrau were on horseback in the arena. Giranbar completely worsted Abru, and as he mauled him too severely, the tabanchah elephant was sent off to Abru's assistance. But Jahangir's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khusrau to Salim to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salim said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Giranbar, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamnab. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified when at that moment Khusrau came up and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for Ali, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusrau's bad behaviour had made him ill."

An inspection of the tile-mosaics will show how well they agree with the contemporaneous accounts above quoted, though we must of course make allowance for their primarily decorative character. They show us the various stages of the combat. In most cases each elephant is mounted by two men, in accordance with Bernier's description, and on some panels we notice one or two horsemen who are trying to separate the animals by means of a cross-shaped cresset or catherine wheel (Persian charbhi). This instrument, an invention of Akbar, is described by Abdul-zafir in the following terms:

1The inscription on the Hathb Pol which records the construction of the Shah (or Saman) Burj is dated in the 19th year of Shah Jehan's reign or A.D. 1641 (A.D. 1681), whilst the elephant fight, at which Aurangzeb distinguished himself, took place in A.D. 1632. It is however possible that at the time when the inscription was recorded the decorative work was yet to be completed.


3Hakim 'Ali of Gilan, surnamed 'Ali-va-ta-samsi" the soldier of the age" was Akbar's physician.

THE LAHORE FORT.

"The charkhi is a piece of hollowed bamboo, half a yard and two tassajees long, and has a hole in the middle. It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves. A fusee wrapped in paper, is put into each end. Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick, which serves as a handle. Upon fire being put in both ends, it turns round, and makes a frightful noise. When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals, when they will get quiet. Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting, they used to light a fire; but people had much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect. His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all."  

It seems that under the latter Moghuls elephant fights fell into disuse owing to the poverty of the court. Mention is made of a battle at Agra on the 8th August 1712, in the reign of Jahandar Shah. The custom was revived by the Nawabs of Oudh. Bishop Heber\(^3\) on his visit to Lucknow in October 1824, notes: "I had the usual compliment paid me of an offer to have a fight of animals under my window at breakfast, which I declined. It is a sight that religious persons among the Musulmans themselves condemn as inhuman, and I did not want to be reckoned less merciful to animals than their own Mullahs. Nor was the King, who is himself pretty well tired of such sights, displeased, I found, that his elephants and rams had a holiday."

We have noticed on the Fort wall a fine panel (No. 39) showing a group of four camels, two of which are engaged in a fierce fight. We learn from Abul-fazl that camel-fights also were among the entertainments of the Moghul court.

"From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shown a great liking for this curiously shaped animal; and it is of great use, for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens; and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty. The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Iran and Turan."

"From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel-fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness. The best of these khagh camels, which is named Shakhpassand ("approved of by the Shah"), is a country bred twelve years old: it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up every fineness of the art of wrestling."

The occurrence of a panel with two fighting bulls (No. 17) would perhaps justify us in including bull-fights also among the recreations of Moghul India, though I have not found them mentioned in literature. I may point out that the same subject occurs in a wall-painting at Fatehpur-Sikri.\(^4\)

"I have noticed in the course of this paper that antelopes also were kept for fighting purposes. That even this kind of sport was not devoid of danger appears from a note in the Tarikh-i-Haqqi which relates that in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595) the King [Akbar], while witnessing an antelope-fight, was wounded in the thigh by one of their horns, which penetrated very deep. Great alarm was felt throughout the country, but after retiring for a few days to the inner apartments, and soothing himself on the carpet of affection, he recovered, by the blessing of God, and restored comfort to the hearts of all the world."\(^5\)

To conclude my account of the animal fights in vogue at the Moghul Court, I quote the following curious note from the Ain-i-Akbari.\(^6\)

"Frogs also may be trained to catch sparrows. This looks very funny. His Majesty, from curiosity, likes to see spiders fight, and amuses himself in watching the attempts of the flies to escape, their jumps, and combats with their foe.

I am in the power of love; and if I have thousands of wishes, it is no crime; and if my passionate heart has an (unlawful) desire, it is no crime.

And in truth, His Majesty’s fondness for leopards is an example of the power of love, and is an instance of his wonderful insight."

I would take me too long to give more details. It is impossible to enumerate all particulars; hence it is better to go to another subject.\(^1\)


\(^2\) To the Emperor of China through the Upper Province of India, London 1829, Vol. II, p. 74.

\(^3\) Ain-i-Akbari (Brockmann) p. 149.

\(^4\) J. W. Smith, Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri Part 1; plate VIII. Boulter, Panjpeer Vol. II, pp. 428. speaks of "cows granded Buffs de Bengale pro bono progressus nonus a combinaire le Lion ou le Tyger."


\(^6\) This historian may think Abul-fazl for having preserved this little trait of Akbar’s character. In several places of the Ain, Abul-fazl tries hard to describe to His Majesty’s memory, in order to bring his work to life, having in mind that the spirit of the nation. But as “higher meanings” were intended to explain the history which Akbar took in the frog and spider fights, Abul-fazl has to recognize the fact that peculiar lessons will lead even a worthless man to addictions and to actions opposed to the general honor of his character." (Brockmann).