George Bard, 
Vicar of Staines, 
d. 1616.

Maximilian, 
of Caversfield, Bucks, 
d. Feb., 1690-91, 
aged 82.

Henry, 
b. 1616, d. 1656, 
m. Anne Gardner, 1645 
(she d. 1668).

Nathaniel, 
(4th son), 
d. early in 1714; 
m. his cousin 
Persiana, and 
left issue.

Charles, 
2nd Viscount, 
b. Jan. 1, 1647-48; 
slain at St. 
Christopher's 
1665, s.p.

Anne, 
m. Rupert, 
Prince Palatine, 
d. Aug. 3, 1708, 
aged 52. 

Frances, 
m. her cousin 
Persiana, 
d. 1739, 
leaving issue.

Dudley Bard, 
killed at the 
siege of Buda, 
July-Aug., 1686, 
aged 20.

Anne was a spinster in 1668, when she took the oath as heir and administratrix to her mother's estate (Probate Office, Administrations, July 13, 1668, p. 105). The year of Frances' death is given in an inscription quoted by Miss E. Scott in her article in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. xvi., p. 760 (October, 1900), though I have not been able to verify it myself from the authority she quotes, viz., 'L'Histoire du Peuple de Dieu.' This is a work by J. J. Berruyer, S.J. (1681-1758), the first edition being of 1728 (Paris). It is a history of the people of Israel, in many volumes, and seems to have no possible connection with an inscription on Frances Bard's tomb. There is some error somewhere. If the lady was fifty-two in 1708, she was born in 1656, more than two years after her father left Europe; and if her son was twenty in 1686, he must have been born in 1666. Therefore, she had a son when she was ten years of age, and the marriage certificate being dated July 30, 1664, she was only eight when married. Everything points to an understatement of her age at death; more probably she was sixty instead of fifty-two. Mr. J. F. Chance thinks she must have been the eldest child, and born some time in 1646. The exact date of her death, which took place in the Elector of Hanover's camp at Muhlburg, close to Karlsruhe in Baden, is obtained from 'Briefe des Herzogs Ernst August zu Braunschweig Luneburg an Johann Franz Diedrich von Wendt,' edited by Enrich, Graf Kielmansegg (Hannover, 1902), p. 162.

The date of Persiana's husband's death is from Mr. J. F. Chance's paper in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. xi. (1896), p. 527. There is no evidence at King's College, Cambridge, that Anne,
Lady Bellomont, applied there for pecuniary relief, or was ever granted any, as stated by some writers.

Maximilian Bard seems to have been about seven years his brother's senior; he is said to have helped Henry with money, and had a great admiration for him. Maximilian must have made money by his trade of silkman or mercer, for on June 20, 1653, the manor of Caversfield, in Buckinghamshire, was conveyed to him and another. At his death it passed to Nathaniel as son and heir, who was followed by his son Thomas. He, with his two sons, Thomas and George, conveyed the estate on February 3, 1704, to William Vaux, an attorney, who held it till 1735, and so on (Lipscombe, 'History of Buckinghamshire,' 4 vols., 4to., 1847, vol. ii., pp. 594, 595). There is some discrepancy between Lipscombe's date for Nathaniel's death and that given in the table; the latter is taken from Mr. J. F. Chance's article already quoted.
CHAPTER XIX

TWO ENGLISHMEN SEIZE THE AMBASSADOR'S PROPERTY,
I APPEAR IN THE KING'S PRESENCE, AND THE ENGLISHMEN
ARE MADE PRISONERS

After we had buried the ambassador I wrote to the English factory at Agrah informing them of his death and the embargo imposed by the local official on his property as well as mine, wherefore I prayed them to send me the necessary recommendatory letters. I received no answer; but eight days afterwards two Englishmen appeared, one called Thomas Roch (? T. Roach)¹ and the other Raben Simitt (? Reuben Smith), dressed after the fashion and in the costume of the country, men in the service of the king Shahjahan, and captains of the bombardiers in the royal artillery.

They came to visit me, and when I saw them I asked what they had come about. They informed me that they had come under the king's orders to carry away the property of the ambassador, which lapsed to the crown. To that I retorted by asking if they bore any order, whereupon they laughed, and asked who I might be. I told them I was the servant of the ambassador, that the property in question had been made over to me, that I did not mean to let it go without their delivering

¹. Thanks to Mr. W. Foster, of the India Office, I have been able to refer to Sloane MS., No. 811, in the British Museum. 'Travels of Richard Bell, Gunfounder to Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, 1654-1668'. The Indian portion (fols. 1-22) seems to be a narrative by J. Cambell (Campbell), taken down by R. Bell. It is a wild romance, utterly un-chronological, at the side of which Manucci's wildest flight reads like sense and soberness. Still, there are some grains of fact. On vol. 5 Thomas Roach, Robert Smith, and John White are named as being with Aurangzeb, while Campbell was with Dara (?) [or Murad Bakhsh?]. Thomas Roach, chief gunner to the Mogul, appears in the Surat Records in 1667 and 1672, and in 1704 his son, Thomas, then sixty years of age, received charitable aid there. 'Surat Factory Records', Miscellaneous, vol. ii. (May 26, 1667), 'Factory Records', vol. cv. (Roach's letter from Agrah, May 8, 1671), vol. ii. Miscellaneous (November 20, 1672), and vol. xii. (September 25, 1704).
to me my belongings—that is, two muskets, four pistols, clothes, and other trinkets, which had been set apart. Their answer was that the whole belonged to the king; and without another word they went to find those who had put on the seals, and obtaining their consent, made themselves masters of everything, arranging to remove the whole to the city of Dihli.

I did not mean to abandon the property, and resolved to set out in their company. On the road they showed me not the least little sign of civility, such as Europeans, even of different nations, are accustomed to display in all parts of Asia when they come across each other. Many a time did I entreat them for God's sake to make over to me what was mine; but as they saw I was only a youth, they scoffed at me, and said: 'Shut your mouth; if you say a word we will take your horse and your arms away.' Seeing there was no other way out of it, I dissembled for the time being, but never despaired of getting back what belonged to me.

After three days' journey we arrived at Dihli, where the Englishmen deposited the property in a _sarae_, put seals on the room doors, and told me to go about my business. Then I began to make request that they would be so good as to separate my property from that of the ambassador and make it over to me, for it did not belong to the king. They burst out laughing and mocked at me, giving me the customary answer. As I took my leave I prayed them to do me the favour of telling me their names, so that if any one called me to account about that property I should be able to defend myself by pointing out the persons who had taken possession of it. I expressed my astonishment that they should lock up in a _sarae_ room property that they said belonged to the king. I asked them angrily whether the king had no other place in which to store [48] the goods that he owned; but they knew quite well that the property did not belong to them, and that they were taking the king's name in vain, solely in order that they might get hold of other people's goods. They replied that there was no need to know their names. As for my second remark, they only set to laughing, and thus went away in apparent triumph, not foreseeing what was to happen to them.

I retired to a room in the same _sarae_, not far from the one where the property was. Then I found out the names of those two Englishmen, so as to be able to take my own mea-
sures. Being anxious to know what was going on, there turned up on a visit to me a Frenchman called Clodio Malier, a founder employed in the artillery of Dara, first-born son of Shahjahan. With him I talked over what had happened to me with those two Englishmen; and said again that it did not seem to me possible that so great a monarch as the Mogul king should possess no other place to store the goods that belonged to him than a mere sarais, where travellers took up their quarters. The Frenchman assured me that the Englishmen had not seized the goods by order of the king, but that Thomas Roach, learning of the ambassador’s death, had sent in a petition to the prince Dara, by whom he was favoured, in the following terms: ‘A man of my country, a relation of mine, came from Europe, his purpose being to obtain the honour of serving under your highness, but his good fortune was of such little duration and so scanty that he was unable to attain his desire, being overtaken by death on reaching the sarais of Hodal, whereupon those who govern in that place laid an embargo upon his goods. Therefore I pray as a favour that your highness be pleased to issue orders for their delivery to me.’

The prince dealt with this petition as Thomas Roach hoped; but Raben Semitt (Reuben Smith), getting word of what Thomas Roach was about, held it not to be right that he should acquire the whole of the ambassador’s property, that it must be divided between the two of them. Thus he (R. Smith) accompanied him (T. Roach) as far as Hodal. Should he not consent to a division, he (R. Smith) threatened to tell the whole story to the king. Thomas Roach accepted the situation, so as not to lose the whole. This was the story told me by Clodio Malier, who bade me adieu with much civility and many offers of service. Being thus informed of what was going on, and confiding in my knowledge of the Turkish, but more especially of the Persian language, which is that chiefly used and the most current at the court of the

2. This Clodio Malier is probably identical with Claude Maille, of Bourges, in Tavernier’s ‘Travels’, i. 116, 117 (December, 1663, surgeon at Allahabad), 286, 289 (September, 1652, gunner in the Karnatik). In part iii, f. 223, Manucci speaks of meeting Clodio Menolhao, a French merchant, at Goa in 1666-67, and, as he calls him as old friend, it was probably the same man.
Mogul, I resolved to go to the secretary of the king, whose name was Vizirkan (Wazir Khan)\(^3\) to lodge a complaint. For this purpose I went to his house, and obtaining permission to enter, I reported to him what was going on. He directed me to sit down opposite to him, alongside one of his sons, who was of my age [49].

The secretary asked me whether I knew the accustomed mode of making obeisance before the king by those who enter his presence. I answered that I did. As he displayed a desire to see me do this, I arose, stood quite erect, and bending my body very low until my head was quite close to the ground, I placed my right hand with its back to the ground, then raising it, put it on my head, and stood up straight. This ceremonial I repeated three times, and this is done to the king only. The secretary was delighted to see a foreigner, young in years and newly arrived in the city, make his obeisances so confidently. I was dressed like a Turk, with a turban of red velvet bound with a blue ribbon, and dressed in satin of the same colour, also a waist-cloth of a gold-flowered pattern with a red ground. He was amused to see me got up like this, and asked the reason for adopting such a costume, and why I did not adopt the Mogul fashions, whereupon I acquainted him of the journey that I had made and the countries through which I had passed.

During this time a notice reached him that the king had decided to hold an audience that morning. Then, rising at once, he took me with him to the palace, telling me that it was requisite for me to go with him before the king. He warned me that, when I came into the king’s presence, I must perform the same obeisances that I had practised before him. When we got to the palace the king had already taken his seat on the throne. The secretary directed two men to present me to the king, while he (the secretary) should be talking to him. Accordingly they did present me, ordering me to appear in front of the king at a

3. Manucci must mean here not the King’s wazir, but Wazir Khan, the head official or Diwan to Prince Dara Shukoh. This man, Muhammad Salih (Wazir Khan), was killed at the Battle of Samugarh in June, 1658, Tarikh-i-Muhammad (1068 H.). The only other Wazir Khan then alive was serving in Malwah, and the office duties of Shahjahan’s wazir were then carried on by Rae Raghunath, Sa’dullah Khan having been dead two or three months.
distance of fifty paces, waiting until he should take notice of me before I made my obeisances.

I had noticed that when the secretary reached the place where is the railing, he made one bow, such as I had done in his house, then, when close to the throne, he made three bows, and approaching still nearer, he began to speak to the king. After a few words he raised his hand towards where I was, as if pointing me out. The king raised his eyes towards me, then the courtiers with me told me to make my obeisances, which I did. The secretary went on with his conversation, which I could not overhear by reason of the distance at which I was. All those who were present before the king were standing; only one man was seated at the side of the throne, but his seat was lower, and this was the prince Dara, the king's son.

I noted that the throne on which the king, Shahjahan, was seated stood in front of and near to the palace of the women, so that as soon as he came out of its door he reached the throne. It is like a table, adorned with all sorts of precious stones and flowers in enamel and gold. There are three cushions, a large one, five [50] spans in diameter, and circular, which serves as a support to the back, and two other square ones, one on each side, also a most lovely mattress. For in Turkey, and throughout the whole of Hindustan, they do not sit upon chairs, but upon carpets or mattresses, with their legs crossed. Around the throne, at the distance of one pace, are railings of gold of the height of one cubit, within which no one enters except the king's sons. Before they enter they come and, facing the king, go through their obeisance, then enter the palace and come out by the same door from which the king issued. Arriving there, they again make obeisance, and upon a sign from the king they take their seat in the same enclosure, but at the foot of and on one side of the throne. Thereupon the pages appear with the umbrella, parasol, betel, spittoon, sword, and fly-brusher.

Below the throne, several feet lower than it, a space is left, sufficient for the secretary (? wazir) and the greatest officials of the court. This space is surrounded by a silver railing. Near it stand 'grusberdares' (gurz-bardar)—that is to say, the bearers of golden maces, whose duty it is to carry orders from the court to princes of the blood royal. After a descent of a
few more steps there is another space of greater size, where are the captians and other officials, also the 'grusberdares' (gurz-bardars) with silver maces, who convey the orders of the court to the governors, generals, and other princes. These are placed with their backs to a railing of wood painted vermilion, which surrounds the space.

The hall in which stood the royal seat is adorned with twenty highly-decorated pillars, which support the roof. This roof stretches far enough to cover the spaces enclosed within the silver railing, and is hidden half-way by an awning of brocade. Further, a canopy over the king's throne is upheld by four golden pillars.

Outside the wooden railing is a great square, where, close to the railing, stand nine horses on one side and nine on the other, all saddled and equipped. Near to the pillars are brought certain elephants on every day that the king gives audience, and there they make their obeisance, as I shall describe when I speak of the elephants (ii. 5). Behind the horses already spoken of were four handsomely-ornoded elephants, and in the square a considerable number of soldiers stand on guard. At the end was a great hall, where were stationed the players on instruments, and these, upon the king's appearing to give audience, played very loudly, to give notice that the king was already in the audience hall.

The silence preserved was astonishing, and the order devoid of confusion. For this purpose there are officials, whose business it is to see that the people are placed in proper order. Some of these officials held gold sticks in their hand, and these came within the silver railing. The others carried silver sticks, and they took great heed that throughout the court nothing was done which could displease the king [51].

After I had received my permission to go, I left in the company of the two courtiers, and returned to the sarae. There I showed them where I had put up, and the room in which was the property. Thereupon they broke the seals and brought out all the things and carried them away.

The next day, about nine o'clock in the morning, there came two servants of the secretary (wazir) to fetch me. They took me to his palace, where I found him seated in the same hall where I had spoken to him the day before. As I came in I observed that the ambassador's property was lying there.
I made the usual obeisances to the secretary (wazir). Then, with a pleasant look on his face, he asked me if I identified the two thieves, pointing with his hand to one corner of the hall. Noticing this, I turned my face that way and saw the two English impostors, loaded with iron, fetters on their feet and shackles on their necks, and very much ashamed, being afraid they would be decapitated.

Turning again to the secretary, I craved leave to speak to them, and going near to them, I said: 'It would have been more honest to let me have the little that was mine, but then you wanted to acquire more than was yours; you suffer through your excess of greed, and in your desire to embrace all, you are left with nothing. You laughed, you scoffed, and had no tenderness for me, and now I sorrow for love of you, and feel compassion for the miserable condition in which I see you. You may make certain that I shall not fail to deal towards you with more charity and consideration than you showed to me on the road from Hodal.'

Returning to the secretary (wazir), he told me to look at the things and inform him whether any article was missing, for the prisoners would have to pay for anything deficient. I examined the property in his presence, and ascertained that it was complete. Since my things had been separated and were kept apart, I prayed him as a favour to issue orders that they should be returned to me. In addition, most of the ambassador's goods belonged to an English trader, named Mestre Jonh (Mr. Young), dwelling in Surat, from whom the ambassador had obtained them, promising to repay him afterwards.

The secretary (wazir) told me to sit down beside his son who was in front of him; he said he would give me many things, and making me great promises, said to me, that if I consented to remain in his house he would treat me like a son. In case I did not agree, he did not mean to give me anything. My answer was that I could not live in his house, that I cared very little about the loss of my own things, but should grieve a very great deal if he did not give to Mestre Jonh (Mr. Young) those that were his.

Upon this the secretary (wazir) asked me minutely which were the ambassador's and which Mestre Jonh's (Mr. Young's) things. I pointed them all out in detail, one of the secretary's clerks taking the whole down in writing. I told him that
besides these goods Mestre Jonh (Mr. Young) had lent the ambassador the sum of four thousand patacas [about £800] and an Arab horse (already in the secretary's (wazir's) possession). Finally, I begged [52] leave to return to my abode, and he, in sending me off, directed me to return in two days to speak to him in the same place.

Accordingly this I did, and he said to me then that he had spoken to the king, who ordered that the property should be sent to the Governor of Surat for the purpose of being made over to Mestre Jonh (Mr. Young), with the exception of the Arab horse, which the king kept for himself, giving an order to pay to the said Jonh (Young) one thousand patacas, the price at which it had been valued. He took nothing else but the litter which was destined for him.

After this I made a fresh application to the secretary (wazir) that he would order my property to be given to me; but his answer was that the whole must go to Surat and be made over to Mestre Jonh (Mr. Young), who, if he liked, might give them to me. Thus he was unable to dispose in any way of this property. But if I consented to live with him, he would give me a great deal more, and repeated that he would cherish me as his son, and many other promises. For all these words and the kindness he had displayed I gave him thanks over and over again; but as for living with him, that could never be. It was not right for me to do so, being a Christian. The secretary (wazir) cut short my speech, and, losing his temper, said angrily: 'You do not know that you are the king's slave.'

Hearing these words, I rose to my feet, and answered that Europeans were not, and never would be, slaves of anyone: and in great haste I left the hall, resolved to give my life rather than live in his house. Coming out at the door, I vaulted lightly on to my horse, and took my way somewhat hurriedly, dreading lest the secretary (wazir) might send some one after me to attack me. Then my groom warned me that two foot soldiers were hurrying after us, trying to overtake us. Then I turned my horse round, and, putting my hand on my cutlass, set off to face them. I asked what they wanted. They made me a bow, and answered that the secretary (wazir) sent me ten gold rupees for the purchase of betel. I took them and went on my way. I was determined to return to Surat that I might find myself among Europeans.
At this time I met Clodio Malier, who carried me off to his house, and there I told him of my resolve. He did not approve. Then by his arguments he succeeded in persuading me. Having got as far as the court, what was the good of leaving it again without first seeing what there was there, so that I might report on the riches and greatness of the kings of the Mogul, exceeding the riches of other kings, as may be seen in the course of this my book?

As I was a youth, carried away by curiosity, but still more by the friendship shown to me by Clodio, and reflecting that I had already in him one friend who could do me some good in this kingdom, and be of help to me in some affair, I determined to remain where I was [53].
Chapter XX

Of the Way I was Sent for to the Court of Prince Dara

After three days had elapsed, Clodio Malier was sent for to the palace of Prince Dara, who inquired if he knew of the arrival of a European youth who had come with the ambassador of England, and a few days before had appeared in the king's presence to make a complaint of injuries done by a captain of artillery and other Englishmen. Clodio answered that he knew me well, that, seeing me unprotected, he had taken me into his house, adding that I was a youth of quality. He wished that, before allowing me to leave the Mogul kingdom, I should see something of the king's and the princes' riches, so that on my return to Europe I might declare the wealth and grandeur of the Moguls.

Thereupon the prince said to him that he wanted to speak to me, and thus he must not fail to find a way to bring me to his presence. When Clodio Malier came home, he said to me at once, with a joyous countenance, that I had already captured good fortune, for the eldest prince, a generous man and friendly to Europeans, had shown himself interested about me and wanted to speak to me. I rejoiced at this good news, knowing that the Europeans who served this prince had a good life of it, and received adequate pay. Thus I, too, was desirous of obtaining some employment at his court. I made up my mind, for that reason, not to put off my visit, and I asked Clodio if we should have to wait long before complying with the prince's desire. My friendly shelterer replied to me that it was not wise to delay, otherwise we might lose the favourable opportunity. For the resolves of the great were like birds: if the bird-lime stuck to them, they were easily caught; but if they once flew away, it was very hard to lay hold of them a second time.

For these reasons we started the very same day, and repaired to the court of the above-named prince. As soon as he was informed of our arrival, he gave the order to allow us to enter. When I reached his presence, and had made the usual
obesances, he asked me if I could speak Persian, and put some
other questions with a pleased and friendly expression on his
face. He was delighted at seeing a youth of not more than
eighteen years and a foreigner, with such quick-wittedness that
he had learned to make the proper obesiance without any
shyness. Then I answered the questions, showing myself
acquainted with Turkey and Persia and other important mat-
ters. The whole of my replies were in Persian, by which I
proved to the prince that I could [54] speak sufficiently well the
language about which he had asked me.

At the conclusion of the above talk he directed that the
ambassador’s letter be given to me. It had already been
opened; and I was directed to translate it into Persian. The
letter was in Latin, written in letters of gold, and it differed
but little from the letter presented to the King of Persia. Being
thus already acquainted with the business, I had little
difficulty in translating it. Next the prince asked what the
letter was written on, for it seemed to him like a skin, and
not paper. I answered that it was of vellum skin, and it was
the usage for European kings, when forwarding letters to far-
off kingdoms, to have the more important matters written on
vellum skin, in order that they might be better protected against
the inclemencies of the weather and of the journey than they
would be if they were on paper.

At the end of this conversation Dara asked me if I wished
to remain for a time in the Mogul country, to which I replied
affirmatively. He said to me, with a smile on his face: “Would
you like to enter my service?” As this was the very question,
and none other, that I was hoping for, I replied that I should
have put to very good use the wearinesses and fatigues of my
journey if I had the good fortune to serve under so famous a
prince.

He then directed that every month they should give me
eighty rupees of pay, a sum equal to forty patacas. He
ordered them to deliver to me at once, in his presence, a serpao
(sarapa) and thirty rupees and a good horse. He put me in
the charge of one of his trusted eunuchs called Coja Mosquis

1. This passage proves that the pataca is to be taken as worth two
rupees.
2. A sarapa (literally, ‘head to foot’) is a complete set of vestments.
(Khwajah Miskin), with instructions to look after the little European and see that he was well trained and educated. I returned thanks to the prince, and seeing how well Dara was inclined towards me, I prayed for leave to entreat another favour—that is to say, the liberty of the two English prisoners; and through the mediation of the prince, they were released in a few days by order of the king.

I came out from the prince's presence. Although Dara desired that Khwajah Miskin should teach me the court ceremonial in order to turn me into a courtier, I took means to prevent my being made into a Mahomedan. So I did not go to seek out the said Khwajah Miskin, but kept in the company of the Europeans. Some of these were surgeons, but the greater number artillerymen in the Mogul service, an honourable employment. For European artillerymen who took service in that branch had only to take aim; as for all the rest—the fatigue of raising, lowering, loading, and firing—this was the business of artificers [55] or labourers kept for the purpose. However, when Aurangzeb came to the throne, he, seeing the insolent behaviour and the drunkenness of such-like men, deprived them of all their privileges, except that of distilling spirits, and forced them to do sentry duty like other soldiers, thus leaving them with no estimation or reputation in the army. But the old plan continued in force up to the evacuation of the fortress of Bacar (Bhakkar) and the beheading of Prince Dara, as further on I shall relate (I., 254,258).

For some time I dwelt in the house of Clodio, and when I had acquired the means, I hired a separate house. Then came a man to me and said that he would put me in the way of gaining money. I inquired from him what it was he wanted. He told me that he wanted nothing beyond permission to distil spirits under my protection and close to my house. He would give me ten rupees every day; thus I should be put to no expense: all I had to do was to assert that he was my servant. I agreed to the bargain, and out of regard for me no one said a word to him, for the Europeans in the service of Dara had this privilege of distilling spirits and selling them without hindrance.

Finding myself with sufficient pay, and in good condition, I wrote to Mestre Jonh (Henry Young) at Surat, giving him notice of the king's orders—how he had ordered all the ambas-
sador's property to be placed in the hands of the governor of Surat with directions to make it over to him. After some months he replied that he had then received delivery of everything.

When I left Venice I already knew sufficiently how to speak the Italian language, and in addition a little French. During this journey I learnt the Turkish and Persian languages. Finding myself established in India, I now set to work to learn the Indian tongue. Furthermore, as I was desirous of knowing about matters in the Mogul kingdom, I found an aged man of letters, who offered to read to me the 'Royal Chronicles of the Mogul kings and princes.' Therefore, I am of opinion that the reader will be glad to listen to me, seeing that I have special information. I will speak of all the Mogul kings in my Second Book, which will close with the death of Aurangzeb's brothers, and therein will be seen what happened to me.4

3. Manucci's aged man of letters proved only a broken reed, for, until the reign of Shahjahan is reached, his 'Royal Chronicles' yield nothing more than a farrago of the wildest and most improbable legend.
4. In the text folio 56 is blank.
Vol. I  

I. Taimur-i-Lang

To face page 97
[57] BOOK II

OF THE MOGUL KINGS UP TO THE REIGNING
SOVEREIGN, AURANGZEB

I WISHED to divide this book into chapters to make easier to
the reader the succession of the events I write about; but since
the authors of the Chronicles, and the historians of the wars,
do not divide their books into chapters, it would be impossible
to arrange under special headings a history so full of varied
occurrences. Therefore the reader must be satisfied if I con-
form to their practice, simply dividing the work under headings
for each particular king.

OF TEMURLANG (TAIMUR-I-LANG) THE GREAT

Much might be written about this great conqueror. But
as so many have described the exploits of Taimur-i-lang, I will
content myself with giving a simple mention of this great king.
His father [? grandfather] was of the Tartar race, of the
Chagata (Chaghata) family, and a Mahomedan. He was the
lord over several villages, owner of many flocks, camels and
horses, and a man of great authority in that province. He had
an only daughter of great beauty, who was sought in marriage
by many potentates, including even the King of Tartary him-
self. But her father would not accord her to any of them.

It came to pass one day when she had reached a sufficient
age that she became with child, whereby her father was much
enraged, and sought to slay her. Questioning her, he asked
why she had thus dishonoured her family. Her answer was

1. The following shows the true names and order of succession
   in juxtaposition with our author's statement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manucci's List.</th>
<th>S. Lane Poole's List.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Taimur.</td>
<td>1. Taimur, died 807 H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abu Sa'id.</td>
<td>3. [Muhammad]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sekh 'Umar.</td>
<td>4. Abu Sa'id, died 873.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mahmud.</td>
<td>5. 'Umar Shokh (fifth son), died 899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
that it was no dishonour, because if he wished to know the father of the child she bore, he need only go into her room at early morn, and he would know all that had happened. Without fail the father went the next morning to his daughter's room, and saw that a ray of the sun came through a chink in the window and played upon her, then, turning into an animal, went out by the same window with a cry. The father, fully satisfied, declared that she was pregnant by the sun. Thus is it written in the Chronicle of Taimur-i-lang. I also was told that if this were so, then Taimur-i-lang must have been engendered by some evil spirit. All the same, he called himself Child of the Sun, and for such he is accounted. Thus all the Mogul kings and princes bear a sun as the device [58] upon their standards, and nobody else may use it. As he was born with a crown of hair longer than usual in the centre of his scalp, the astrologers prognosticated that he would be a great man, lord of many crowns. On this account he wore the whole of his hair, and his descendants, as they are not born thus equipped, shave their heads.

Taimur-i-lang was slightly lame in one leg, which is indicated by his name, for temur signifies 'separated,' and lang means 'lame.' This cripple devoted himself from his youth up to arms, and early showed that he had come into the world to govern it. Thus many a time he would play with his boy companions at government, always making himself the king. When he had grown up a little, he said to his playmates that he wanted to start a new game. This was the appointment of the boys to different posts of authority; he divided the neighbouring villages among them, and constituted himself king and judge. They came and reported how a camel had fallen into a pond: would he decide what was to be done? His decision was that if the pond was unprotected, the owner of it must take out the camel alive, or would have to pay; if there were a hedge, he was not under that obligation. They came with another complaint—that a wolf had carried off a lamb; his

2. This story of miraculous conception is transferred, apparently, from the daughter of Juna Bahadur, Qiyat, Barlas, who gave birth at one time to three sons, one of whom was the ancestor, in the fourteenth degree, of Taimur-i-lang (see Akbar namah, translated by H. Beveridge, i. 178-183).

3. According to the dictionaries, taimur is Turkish for 'iron.'
his answer was that this was due to the shepherd’s neglect, and he deserved a beating. Finally, they came to say they had captured a thief. He ordered him to be hanged, which was done accordingly. In carrying out the jest the boy died in sober truth, the terrified lads taking flight each to his own home.

The relations of the boy who had been hanged, who belonged to another village, took up arms against Taimur-i-lang. The latter, helped by his servants and shepherds, defended himself and routed his enemies. Thus little by little war extended, Taimur-i-lang always coming out the conqueror, so that he soon acquired the adjoining villages. Seeing his strength so much increased, he resolved to obtain the territories of a powerful prince called Sultan Mahamud (Sultan Muhammad). Suddenly he entered the land and took the largest village that the other had, which was situated in the middle of his province. Still, things did not happen to Taimur’s liking; in the end he was totally defeated, and forced to disguise himself as a poor traveller in order to get back to his country, begging alms as he went.

Arriving at a certain village, he prayed an old woman to give him something to eat. The old woman gave him a dish filled quite full, and he, being very hungry, thrust his hand into the very middle of the platter, thereby burning himself. Blowing on his hand [59], and shaking it about, he said the dish was very hot. The old woman laughed heartily, and at the same time taught him a good lesson, saying: ‘You are like Taimur-i-lang, who did not know how to take this country, for he came right into the middle of it, and had to go out again defeated. If he had begun by attacking the confines, he could in time have made himself master of the whole. It is the same with you, who have just tried to begin in the middle, while if you had travelled round the edge, you could have eaten the whole without once burning yourself.’

Listening to her, Taimur-i-lang profited by the good lesson, and when he reached his own country, he gathered together a new force and renewed the war. He followed the old woman’s advice and became master of all his adversary’s country, but he could not capture the king himself; therefore he issued a proclamation that whoever caught him should receive a reward. When he heard this, the prince disguised himself
and fled, hiding himself in a tower. It happened that a herds-
man, searching for a cow he had lost, entered the tower. He
was a man whom the prince recognised; supposing that he had
come to search for him, he drew forth some jewels and gave
them to the herdsman, praying him not to say a word to any-
one. The herdsman went off with the jewels to the abode of
Taimur-i-lang in the hope of selling them and then buying
another cow. On his arrival he was brought before Taimur-i-
lang, who asked where he had got these jewels. The herdsman
answered: 'You take the jewels and give me a cow.' They
bound him until he confessed where he had obtained the
jewels. He admitted that a man in a tower not far off had
given them to him. They presented the herdsman with two
cows, and by Taimur-i-lang's orders started for the said tower,
where they laid hold of the fugitive prince and threw him
down from the wall. Taimur-i-lang remained the master, and
began to increase in strength.

Desirous of continuing his successes, he attacked the King
of Kabul. After many adventures and struggles, and the mur-
der of the Kabul king, he became ruler of that rich country.
Issuing thence, he crossed the river Indo (Indus), and rushing
from one place to another, began to interfere with the Patani
(Pathan) princes, more especially he of Dihli, so that the said
princes might submit to him and pay him tribute; for Taimur-
i-lang, having been victorious from his earliest youth, had
formed the design of becoming a still greater conqueror, not
resting content with one principality or one kingdom. With
this idea he proceeded to claim tribute and homage.

Following up his victories, he next wished to compel the
Rana, a Hindu king dwelling in the middle of Hindustan, to
pay him tribute and obey his orders [60]. The Hindu king
refused to comply. As soon as he heard that Taimur-i-lang
had with him a large army, he took the field against him at
the head of one hundred thousand horsemen, all of them Raj-
puts. These are the most warlike people in all Hindustan.
When the Rana saw that Taimur-i-lang had no more than
twelve thousand horse, he decided that it was not expedient to

4. This campaign against the Rana is, of course, quite mythical,
Taimur never having penetrated as far as that territory. It may be
garbled version of Babar's contest with Rana Sanga in 1527
(Elphinstone, 375).
lead the attack in person, and it would suffice to send his generals to annihilate the invader.

Taimur-i-lang on his side was afraid at seeing come against him so great an army of such valiant warriors; he therefore held a council of war. His generals were of opinion that he should give up the undertaking. When this decision became known to one of Taimur-i-lang’s mule-drivers, he sought at once to speak with him; but the guards would not allow him to enter, so he took his turban and threw it into the tent of Taimur-i-lang, crying aloud that he had urgent need of speaking to his lord.

On hearing the voice, Taimur-i-lang called him in and gave him leave to speak. The man spoke thus: ‘You, my lord, have been victorious unto this day, and all the princes against whom you have made war have been subdued and rendered submissive to your orders. But now a rumour is heard that you mean to retreat for fear of the Rajput soldiers. If that is true, it will lead to the rebellion against you of all those you have conquered. Thus, both you and us, we shall lose our lives ingloriously. Better were it to die sword in hand like heroes than like cowards to retreat, even a single step.’

This speech of the muleteer was the cause of Taimur-i-lang’s deciding not to retreat. On learning that the Hindu king did not mean to command in person, he gave orders that two thousand horsemen should march by another route to a place where they could attack the tent occupied by the king. When a force had been detached from that huge Hindu army with the intention of sweeping away the Mahomedans, apparently so few in number, he would give the agreed-on signal.

The two thousand men started, and at dawn the Rajputs came out into the field of battle against Taimur-i-lang. The latter, pretending to take to flight, allowed the enemy to pursue him. Meanwhile the two thousand Mahomedans attacked the Rana’s tents, which became the scene of a great uproar, and it was with great difficulty that the Rana escaped with his life. When this news came to the ears of the Rajputs pursuing Taimur-i-lang, they turned round at once to aid their king. Taimur-i-lang’s soldiers, recovering heart and courage, pursued their pursuers and won the battle. Thus Taimur-i-lang forced the Rana, or Hindu king, to make a peace and concede great advantages. In consequence of this defeat, the Rana
made a vow never to attack the Moguls, but to be content with defending himself; and this vow he transmitted as an ordinance to his descendants, who observe it to this day.

After this victory Taimur-i-lang returned to Kabul. Finding himself [61] master of great wealth, with great experience in warfare, he made up his mind to march against the great Bayazet (Bayazid) the Second. Passing through Persia he appeared preoccupied. His generals asked the reason, assuming that he was in doubt of succeeding well. They said to him that there was no occasion for depression; he was already accustomed to conquer, and had with him valiant and veteran soldiers under invincible commanders. Taimur-i-lang replied with the greatest calmness that he had never had any anxiety about victory over the Persians, but what he was in search of was a suitable governor to place over Turkey instead of Bayazid. He assumed that he had already got the latter in the cage.

I shall not write here the doings of Taimur-i-lang against Bayazid, many authors having written about them. All I will say is that after so many and such great victories, he became desirous of invading Hindustan, and taking possession of all these realms; he marched through his kingdoms, and a little time after his arrival died at Kabul.

The cause of his death was his own son, Sultan Miraxa (Sultan Miran Shah), the sole heir of so famous a father. There was a fixed order that the soldiers must see that their horses did not fight with each other, and if such fighting occurred, Taimur-i-lang at once ordered the owner of the horse to be decapitated. It so happened that his son's horses fought, and thus it became necessary that the universally promulgated sentence should be executed upon Sultan Mir Shah, and dearly as he loved his son, he did not like to give a bad example. But at the thought of losing him he fell into such grief and became so cast down, that in a few hours he died himself.

No one could recount properly the courage or the vigour or the wealth of this conqueror, who paid his soldiers and generals at one time for eight years in advance, relying on the fidelity of his vassals. Then, after having reigned twenty and

5. Should be Bayazid I., 1389-1402. Bayazid II. reigned 1481-1512, whereas Taimur died in 1405. Bayazid I. was made prisoner in 1402 (see S. L. Poole, 'Mohammadan Dynasties,' 195, 268).
four years, nine months and two days, his courage and his enterprises came to an end in the year one thousand four hundred and one, and he was buried at the city of Kabul.

**OF THE KING SULTAN MIRAN SHAH, THE SECOND [KING] OF THIS FAMILY**

Sultan Miran Shah wished to be heir of the conquests and valour of his father as he was of his wealth, but Fortune did not design to accord to him the favour she displayed to Taimuri-lang. This king, like his father, made irruptions into Hindustan, plundering it in one direction or another, but usually he was compelled to flee defeated into his own territories. His chief efforts were directed against the King of Cascar (Kashghar), his neighbour, but he could never secure the victory over this king [62]; nay, he was seven times defeated and a prisoner of that same king. But that king was so generous that each time he captured him (Miran Shah) he released him after a few days. Scoffing at him, he would tell him to go back once more to his own country; he should go there and make ready a new army and more valiant warriors. He would then take the field in the hope of meeting him, and capture him once more. For it was a delight to fight against him, and to see the persistence in warfare which he had inherited from his father.

Fortune never long favours the same persons, and she allowed this king during one battle to fall into the hands of Sultan Miran Shah. This latter took advantage of this piece of good luck, never once remembering the favours received from this very king. Forthwith he ordered his eyes to be removed, and placed him in very harsh confinement. Thus did he repay the liberty given to him seven times by this king. But neither in this way did Miran Shah increase his fortunes, and he met his death from those same hands that so many times had freed him.

The interested reader should know that most of the Mahomedan great men pride themselves much upon their good shooting with bow and arrow. For this reason they practise many times a day in shooting at the target. One day Miran Shah was at this exercise, when his nobles said to him that the king, then his prisoner, could shoot so well with the bow that, even in his then condition, devoid of sight, and without aiming
at the target, he could make no mistake in his shot. It sufficed
to strike the mark with your foot, and on hearing the sound,
he would shoot straight at it. Miran Shah, being anxious to
see such a feat, gave an order to place in his hands a bow and
arrow, causing him to be told that he should draw when he
heard the sound. He excused himself, saying that no one could
direct him to shoot when the king was present but the king
himself. This message was brought to Miran Shah, who assen-
ted, not knowing the trick that the prisoner meant to play him.
When he said ‘Shoot,’ the prisoner, having beforehand his arrow
in readiness in his bow, let it off straight at the place whence
came the king’s voice, and with such dexterity that it penetrated
his chest and killed him on the spot. This king, Sultan Miran
Shah, reigned nineteen years, three months, and five days, and
came to the end of his misfortunes, leaving in his place his first-
born son, Abuxaid (Abu Sa‘id) [63].

OF THE THIRD KING OF TAIMUR-I-LANG’S
FAMILY, SULTAN ABUXAID (ABU SA‘ID)

This king did not yield to his people the love and affection
that his two predecessors had done. On the contrary, he was
a great tyrant, and did much injury to his vassals, chastising
them most rigorously and unjustly. This was the reason that,
seeing themselves so oppressed, they resolved upon slaying their
king and delivering themselves from such an encumbrance.
Abu Sa‘id learnt that not only the people, but also the nobles
of the court, were resolved to kill him. He therefore decided
to absent himself. Disguising himself in the garb of a mendi-
cant, and taking with him two servants, he would beg alms in
foreign lands, and thus escape with his life.

He fled, and the nobles placed upon the throne his brother,
effecting to secure better treatment from the second son of
Miran Shah than they had obtained from the elder brother.
But they were treated according to the proverb, ‘Whoever flees
from the lesser evil often finishes with falling into greater.’
For this second son, without right or reason, ordered the be-
headed of high and low, rich and poor, lords and servingmen,

6. Really, Miran Shah only survived his father three years, Abu
Sa‘id was not his son, but his grandson.
making no distinctions. Not content with robbing them of wealth and honour, he wanted in addition to drink the blood of the innocent.

Therefore they decided to go in search of Abu Sa'id, and request him to be good enough once more to take on himself the care of governing the kingdom. After much exertion they found him, and raised him to the throne. In place of giving thanks to his brother for the vengeance he had taken upon the rebels, and for the life which he had conceded to him, he (Abu Sa'id) was a cruel fratricide. For, forgetting the favours that he had received from God, he sent a tyrannical order to have his brother beheaded. Thus began the evil custom still followed in the Mogul realm, that on the death of their father one brother seeks the means of killing all his brethren, never failing in this if he finds a chance, as can be seen further on in my story.

The two servants who had accompanied Abu Sa'id in his misfortunes, seeing him once more king, looked forward to great rewards for the fidelity they had displayed. But the king overlooked their great love and affection. At length, receiving nothing at all, they decided to go in person to the king, praying him to be so good as to give them some office as a recompense for the fatigues, hardships, and pains that they had endured on his account. On hearing the request of these faithful servants, in which they set forth the burdens that they had borne on his account, and prayed for some reward, Abu Sa'id frowned, and in a harsh and menacing voice told them to go away and never come again into his presence. They were astonished at this kind of talk, and made petition most humbly that they desired to know the offences for which he was angry with them. For they were as faithful in his misfortunes as in his greatness [64], while others turned him out and persecuted him to the death. He answered that from this very cause he detested the sight of them, for beholding them brought to mind his sufferings, whereby he was made sad. Therefore they must depart. He did them a great favour in not ordering their heads to be cut off. But he warned them not to remain in his territories, for it would not be very long before he executed that design, which had been in his mind for a long time.
Besides hearing it from the chronicles, this story was frequently related to me by Mirza Ad, who was manager of the estate of the queen, wife of Aurangzeb and mother of Shah 'Alam, when I complained that Shah 'Alam did not carry out the promises he had made to me on the occasions when I was indispensable to him for the treatment of his women. I was then, as will be seen in my second part, physician to his household. This man (Mirza Ad), who was a very great friend of mine, and a person without private interests to serve (a thing to be remarked on, as being so rare among Mahomedans), said to me that the Mogul kings were the descendants of the above king (Abu Sa'id). They bestow gifts on anyone when they require him, but the gifts and the memory of the benefits received cease directly the time of necessity has passed. This puts me in mind of the Italian proverb: Passato il ponto, gabato il facto ('The bridge crossed, Fate is mocked').

This king in his time did nothing of any value. He loved to be always at peace, and take his ease at home amidst the endearments of his women. Thus, after a reign of eight years, one month, and twelve days, he died, leaving behind him two evil precedents for the Moguls. The first was the assassination of brothers; and the second one, shared by almost all their great men, the speaking of fair words, and backing them by oaths upon the Alcorao (the Quran), when they are pressed by necessity, and declining to be bound by those promises when the necessity no longer exists.

OF SULTAN SECOMOR (SHEKH 'UMAR), FOURTH KING OF THE FAMILY OF TAIMUR-I-LANG

When Sultan Abu Sa'id died, he left his eldest son, named Sultan Secomor (Shekh 'Umar), heir to his kingdom, but not to his great wickedness. Thus the son was much esteemed and loved by his people, feared and respected by all the neighbouring kings. These latter, recollecting the conquests of Taimur-i-lang, dreaded that he (Shekh 'Umar) might be inheritor and imitator of his great-grandfather—he who had conquered many kingdoms with such ease. But he was satisfied with what

7. Perhaps meant for Mir Hadi. There was such a person, but I have no evidence that he held the office referred to.
he had inherited and acquired, and desired to live in peace, having found that everyone respected him.

The Mahomedans are very keen on breeding pigeons in large numbers; they make them fly all together, calling out, whistling, and waving with a cloth fastened at the end of [65] a stick, running and making signals from the terraced roofs, with a view of encouraging the pigeons to attack the flock of someone else. In this way the flocks are so trained that they fight in the air. Then, when the owners whistle and make the signs above described, the pigeons assemble and fly away to their homes, except a few, who, losing their way in the confusion, allow themselves in their innocence to be carried off along with their adversaries. It is for this end that they fly these flocks, and over and over again they send them out and win more pigeons. Every owner is overjoyed at seeing his own pigeons the most dexterous in misleading their opponents.

Sultan Shekh `Umar was much enamoured of this game. At last, on one occasion, he was running from one end to the other of his roof with the stick in his hand, making signs and whistling, when he fell by accident to the foot of the palace wall, and was dashed to pieces, leaving an example to his descendants to be more careful, and to erect a defence on their roofs to prevent such a fall. For this reason they make fences of large ornamented pillars. This king reigned twenty and five years, two months, and seven days, leaving his eldest son as heir to the kingdom.

OF THE FIFTH KING, SULTAN MAHAMED (MAHAMUD)¹

He was a strict observer of the Mahomedan faith, an enemy of idols, and consequently of the Hindus. He made war against them many times, and defeated many petty Hindu kings, rendering them tributaries of his crown. This king never failed to read the Quran many times a day, and thus covered his iniquity, for he was very ambitious and covetous. He never failed to draw profit from any opening for the acquisition of territory or the defeat of a neighbouring prince.

8. The person intended is, I suppose, Sultan Mahmud, died 900 H., second son of Abu Sa`id, and therefore brother, instead of son of `Umar Shekh, uncle, instead of father, of Babar.
Once it happened that he gained a great victory over the Patani (Pathan) king in the open field, not far from the mountains of those Pathans. After the battle he rode out, toward the evening, puffed up with the spectacle of the numerous deaths that his army had caused among the enemy. He was full of vain-glory at seeing so many dead bodies, and, unable to contain himself for joy, made various demonstrations, and made up his mind to continue this career of victory. But a Pathan—I know not whether out of fright or for some other cause—had hidden among the corpses. Seeing the king unprotected and on horseback, he let fly an arrow, with which he ended the vain-glory, the victories, and the projects of Sultan Mahmud. After a reign of eight years, one month, and fourteen days, he left his immense treasures to his firstborn son, Sultan Babar [66].

SULTAN BABAR, THE SIXTH KING

Although Sultan Babar had inherited so much wealth from his father, Sultan Mahmud, he was not thereby induced to be content with the countries conquered by his predecessors. But instigated by their victories, he, too, was anxious to give like proof of his valour. For this reason he warred against diverse petty princes of Hindustan, until at length he came against the King of Dihli, of Pathan race, Sultan Amavixa. A sanguinary battle ensued, and after the war had taken various turns, he (Babar) succeeded in killing the said Sultan Ibrahim Shah. Thus the victorious Babar took the city of Dihli, and there set up the throne, which is still occupied by the kings, his descendants.

This city was founded by a powerful Hindu king called Biguer Magid (Bikramajit), by whom the name of Dihli was given to it. The meaning is 'steadfast.' It was here that he established his court; furthermore, he believed that no one could ever capture the city. But the Sultan Alaudin (Ala-ud-din), a Pathan king, came down and conquered the Hindu king, and

9. 'Amavi Xa' is, I presume, intended for Ibrahim Shah (1517-1526).
10. Platts suggests, on the contrary, that the name is from a word dahal, 'trembling, shaking,' the soil being so loose that a tent-peg would not hold in it.
began to reign at the selfsame capital in the year one thousand and ninety-five or thereabouts. The Pathans continued to govern Hindustan for four hundred and twenty-four years, a little less or more, until Sultan Babar of the Mogul race conquered Sultan Ibrahim Shah in the year one thousand five hundred and nineteen."

**NAMES OF THE PATHAN KINGS.**

After this mention of the Pathan kings I give their number, with the name of each and the number of years he reigned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Reign</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sultan Alaudin (Fire of the Faith), 'Ala-ud-din</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sultan Xabudin (Crown of the Faith), Shahab-ud-din</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sultan Maxudin goris (Soldier of the Faith), Mu'izz-ud-din, Ghor</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. In default of a male heir, the daughter of Sultan Maxudin, Gori, succeeded, called Bibi Rage (Bibi Riziyah)—that is, 'Prosperous Queen'</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sultan Nassuridin, her son (Victorious in the Faith), Nasir-ud-din</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sultan Jacobin (Voice in the Faith), Ghiyas-ud-din</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sultan Gelaludin (Impassioned in the Faith), Jalal-ud-din</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sultan Cotabdin Assen (North in the Faith), Qutb-ud-din</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sultan Toocluc (Standard of the Faith), Muhammad Tughlak</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sultan Mahamed Adel (Thanks to God), Muhammad 'Adil</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Sultan Ferusxa (Of Lucky Day), Firuz Shah</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sultan Peroxa (Royal Saint), Piru Shah</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Sultan Fatexa (Victorious King), Fath Shah</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sultan Babar (The Lion), Babar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sultan Amanetcan (The Entrusted), Amanat Khan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sultan Gueseria (The Pious), Khizr Khan</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Sultan Mobarec (May it be lucky), Mubarak</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sultan Mahamed (Praise to God), Muhammad</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. The chronology here and the successions in the list that follows are so hopelessly wrong that it is useless to spend time in correcting them. Manucci’s translations of the names are also most of them quite wrong. I give them without alteration.
19. Sultan Jacodin Lodi (Voice in the Faith),
   Ghiyas-ud-din ... ... ... ... 5 5 8
20. Sultan Caxoro Calan (Lucky Day), Khusru
   Kalan ... ... ... ... 3 6 8
21. Sultan Alaudin (Faith of the Fire), ‘Ala-ud-din ... 1 6 10
22. Sultan Belo can (Powerful among the Strong),
   Bahol Khan ... ... ... ... 40 8 6
23. Sultan Secunda Lodi (Alexander), Sikandar, Lodi
   29 5 7
24. Sultan Ebrahim (Admiration), Ibrahim ... 8 8 3
25. Sultan Babar Calandar (The Poor Lion), Babar,
   Kalantar ... ... ... ... 5 4 9
26. Sultan Amayunt Gori (Regal Grandeur),
   Humayun, Ghori ... ... ... ... 21 1 3
27. Sultan Shams Shah (The Sun), Sher Shah ? ... 8 8 3
28. Sultan Salemxa (Welfare of the Laws), Salim Shah
   5 10 8
29. Sultan Ferroxa (Brave Warrior), Firuz Shah ... 0 0 15
30. Sultan Mahamed Adil (Doer of Justice),
   Muhammad ‘Adil ... ... ... ... 1 4 1
31. Sultan Amuvixa (Light of Peace), Ibrahim Shah ? 2 6 0

This was the last of the kings of Pathan race [68]. I will
not note what I have seen in the chronicles, a task for which
I should require many years. It is impossible to describe all
the different events of their rule—the conquests that they made,
or their political acts. All I shall say is that they were bar-
barous, avaricious, and harsh. They were the first Maho-
medans to descend from the western frontier into Hindustan,
their abode being up to the present day between the river Indus
and Kabul.

Babar was much loved by his people, who saw he possessed
good qualities, was a conqueror full of liberality and generosity,
and fond of making large presents. Above all, they found that
he observed the greatest care in seeing that strict justice was
done. When a people is well ruled, the king must be very
energetic. Still, the chief cause of the realm being in such good
order was a highly-placed official at the court called Ranguildas
(? Rangi Das).12 He was so wise that his mere word was as

12. This name and the story connected with the man are quite
impossible. Mr. H. Beveridge, the greatest living authority on the
period, can only suggest a distant resemblance to Bāqī Chaghānianī's
advice to Babar (see the ‘Habib-us-siyar,' Bombay edition, ii. 318;
Babar’s ‘Memoirs,' (Pavet de Courcelle), i. 274; W. Erskine's 'History
of India,' i. 209, and ‘Khāfi Khan,' i. 34).
an oracle to the government, and of such good judgment that his counsels were ever most accurate. But as courts are usually productive of envy, there were never wanting those who were envious of this great man. These backbiters told so many idle tales about him that the king made up his mind to seize him and take his life. This principal official did not foresee that as the reward of his faithful service he should undergo such misfortunes, in order to satisfy the ill-will of his rivals. He was taken, and while the king was still hesitating whether he should be executed or not, he managed to escape from prison. Disguising himself, he took refuge in a little village, where, being content to pass his life in poverty, he was unlikely to be discovered.

It happened that after the removal of this great counsellor the people began to find that things did not continue as before, nor was the accustomed justice done. They began to speak against their king; they plotted treason, and he became very unpopular. Babar was astonished at this change, for he did not know the reason why such a quiet and submissive population should begin to plot a rebellion. Inquiring into the matter, he found out that the administration was not in good order, for his ministers were not acting with the justice that had been customary. He thus became anxious to find once more his faithful Ranguilidas. He made every possible effort, but could not discover where he had gone. Being aware that the fugitive was a man of judgment, Babar came to the resolve to issue an order throughout his empire that all inhabitants of the villages should repair to Dihli. In this way he expected to discover the whereabouts of that great administrator of Hindustan, for the villagers would without fail search out the cleverest men to put forward objections against an impossibility. Thus through their excuses he might be able to attain his desire.

Thus it came to pass that the inhabitants of the village where dwelt Ranguilidas, by reason of their experience [69] of the clever and appropriate advice he had already given them, laid before him the command and will of the king. They could not think of what excuse to bring forward at court, for how could the whole population go? Ranguilidas answered that they should go at once to court, and say to the king that his people had already decided to come to Dihli, but not knowing
their way there, the inhabitants of that city must come forth to be their guides. When the king heard this excuse, he asked who was the inventor of such an answer. As they did not know the man's name, the king ordered them to produce him at court, and thus he recovered his counsellor, who in a brief space restored the kingdom to order. If only kings could know how all-important it is to find good counsellors, they would be more careful in the selection of their ministers, and more suspicious about crediting the slander which abounds in royal palaces.

This king, with the help of such a minister, continued to look after his people, and finding himself in Hindustan, and the possessor of great wealth and of an extensive empire, he paid little heed to his ancient country, from which Taimur-i-lang had sprung. Thus he left an opening for the descendants of the King of Cascar (Kashghar) to revolt, and crowning themselves kings of the territories they had lost, they soon made themselves masters of the villages originally owned by Taimur-i-lang. Nor up to this day do the Mogul kings take the trouble of acquiring again the lands referred to, which are very remote, and yield little revenue. This king, Babar, after governing for nineteen years, three months, and twelve days, came to the end of his life, leaving behind him to his descendants in Hindustan great renown as a conqueror and a just ruler, above all to his eldest-born son the Sultan Amayun (Humayun).

OF SULTAN HUMAYUN, SEVENTH KING OF THE FAMILY OF TAIMUR-I-LANG

As is taught by experience, and is recounted by historians, the strength derived from the power to tame tigers and lions serves oftentimes to make men lose their human qualities and change into wild beasts. Thus it happened to Xira (Shera), of Pathan race—that is to say, 'Lion's Cub.' This man was transformed into a great lion, for such was the name he took when he became a king—that is, Xirxa (Sher Shah), which means 'Royal Lion.' This man, from being one of his retinue, was made by Sultan Humayun a general; yet, after so many and so great benefits, the king having raised him above all others, he revolted and turned his weapons against his lord. The latter was forced to order out against him a powerful
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army. But the evil fortune of Humayun decided that Xira (Shera) [70] should come out victorious over and over again. At length the king found it necessary to take the field in person. But as the course of war is uncertain, it came to pass that Humayun too was defeated, and was obliged to take to flight in disguise in order to save his life. After he had reigned eleven years he fled and took refuge in Persia, obtaining the armed assistance of the king of that country, and then returned to tempt Fortune.

What happened to this king during his flight was a very curious thing. It was on this wise: Once at noon he had dismounted for a rest. An eagle with outspread wings hovered in the air over his face until Humayun awoke. It thus prevented the rays of the sun from interrupting the sleep of the fugitive king. The few people who had followed the king in his flight were amazed at this occurrence. When the king awoke, his courtiers told him with great delight not to be cast down, that he was destined to be once more King of Hindustan, thus foretelling what was actually to happen.

After arrival in Persia, the first meeting with the king took place in a garden. There the Persian king received him, being seated on a stool of small size, whereon two persons could not take their place. One of the followers of Humayun saw at once that the object of the King of Persia was to behold a King of Hindustan either standing on foot in his presence, or seated on the bare ground. Forthwith the man cut open the covering of his quiver and spread it out in front of the royal seat. On this cloth Humayun at once sat down.13

The King of Persia was lost in admiration at the readiness with which this official, a companion of Humayun's misfortunes, extricated his master from the embarrassment in which he found himself, being obliged, although King of Hindustan, either to sit down on the ground or to remain standing in the presence of another king. The Persian king asked King Humayun how he could lose his kingdom when he had such attentive and well-affected servants. Humayun answered that he lost his kingdom because he raised to greatness men who were ungrateful. After a little talk the sixth successor of the

13. This incident is historical; it occurred in 1544, and the hero of it was Haji Muhammad, Kushkah (see W. Erskine's 'History of India,' ii. 294, and Stewart's 'Jouber,' p. 73).
famous Taimur-i-lang took his leave and went to a palace, where the King of Persia sent the necessary supplies until the opportunity arose of aiding him to recover his kingdom.

Shera was such a just man, that after he had made himself master of the kingdom, he had compassion upon Humayun and sent him his wife, who had been left behind in Hindustan. At that time she was with child. Sher Shah sent him (Humayun), a letter, in which he swore by the Quran that her honour had in no way suffered, for she had done her husband no injury during their quarrel, not even in thought, adding that he was wrong to conceive such a shameful idea of his wife, a woman respected, well-behaved, and virtuous. When this letter reached Humayun, he decided to take back his wife and live with her; after this he quitted Persia, as I shall tell hereafter.

[71] I know that some authors, notably the author Faria, the Portuguese,\(^4\) write otherwise about the way that the queen was obtained. But he was not well informed, and wrote what the common people told him. He did not know that the inhabitants of India are very loquacious, taking no care, either grandees or poor people, whether they are speaking truth or falsehood. Many authors write down what they hear without making the inquiries they ought to make. It would be much better if, before they wrote, they dwelt for some time in the Mogul realm and learnt the language of the country, and consorted with the officials of the court; in that way they could easily get hold of the truth. I am one who has had time enough; I lived with the men best informed of any; I had long converse with them, and they told me the truth. In addition to what I have seen in the chronicles, it was no little profit to me in writing these pages that I dwelt within the Mogul realm for thirty and four years, and that I was physician to Xaalam (Shah 'Alam), the eldest son of Aurangzeb.

Shera, when he became lord over the kingdom, changed his name, and to impose fear upon his enemies called himself Sher Shah. When he became undisputed king, he never forgot to treat his subjects with great equity and kindness. For this end, he sent out orders through all the land to build, at

14. The only passage I can find in Faria y Souza's history, edition of 1666, is in i. 344, and it seems to agree, and not conflict, with what Manucci has said.
a distance of twelve leagues from each other, saraes where travellers could take shelter. To provide attendants at these saraes, he bought a number of married slaves, and appointed them and their wives to look after travellers—to prepare their food, to provide cool water for them to drink, and warm water for washing their bodies, a bedstead to rest upon furnished with mattresses and sheets; and they were to wait on travellers just as if they were their own private servants, and provide food for wayfaires on foot at the cost of the king. Of these saraes I spoke before in the eighteenth chapter (I. 43).

Since the time of Humayun many more saraes have been built upon the royal highways throughout the realm, from one end of it to the other. Nor are there ever wanting charitable persons who every day are building new ones, with gardens, reservoirs, and ponds to perpetuate their own names. In these saraes travellers are pestered by dealers, who offer for sale different kinds of cloth, not only white, but coloured; also by musicians, dancing-boys, women dancers, barbers, tailors, washermen, farriers with horse-shoes, endless cheating physicians, and many sellers of grass and straw for the horses. All these things are cheap; but there are no longer dainty morsels for the foot-travellers, to be eaten at the cost of the king, or any supply of bedsteads with mattresses and sheets. Still there is never any dearth of women of pleasure.

In the time of this king, Sher Shah, weights and scales were introduced into Hindustan, for before then everything was bought by inspection. It was then also that there were first introduced yard-measures with the royal seal; previously everything was measured by spans and cubits. The king was so generous and liberal that those [72] who wished to go to Mecca were granted passages both ways and the necessary means of support. Finding himself undisputed master of Hindustan, and loved by his people, he made war against the Rana, a Hindu king, assuming command of the army in person. But he was repulsed in such a fashion that if the Hindu king had pursued he would have become the lord of the whole country. However, the Rana contented himself with winning the battle and delivering his kingdom. During the retreat Sher Shah admitted that it was his own fault, and said to his confidants that for a few fields of millet he had run the risk of losing his
kingdom. This he said because the territories of the Rana yield great quantities of millet.\textsuperscript{19}

Sher Shah was much interested in directing the use of cannon, often discharging them himself; and at the end of his reign, not far from the territories of Bengal, after he had governed for twelve years, he fired off a cannon the recoil of which killed him. He was buried in the middle of a great reservoir, not far from a place called Samchergao (Sasseram), where I was several times, but it is not worth while to speak of that.\textsuperscript{18}

The king, Sher Shah, being dead, Hindustan fell into confusion, for there were many who tried to become king and govern it. Thereupon a holy mendicant (faqir) named Xadaullah (Shah Dulah),\textsuperscript{17} sent off in great haste one of his faithful disciples with boots and a whip as a present to the king, Humayun, and a message to the effect that Effort was the Mother of Good Luck. Humayun understood what Shah Dulah meant. With great skill he asked help from the King of Persia, promising to show him gratitude, and should he win back Hindustan, to give him the country from the confines of Candar (Qandahar) as far as the town of Serend (Sihrin), which lies at a distance of eighty-four leagues from the city of Dihli. The king sent to him twelve thousand selected horse-men, and advised him to make use of the Rajput princes in attacking and defeating the powerful Pathan tribe.

Thus he (Humayun) left Persia with his son who was born there, and went off to tempt Fortune anew, and try to get back his throne. He entered his former territories, and continuously added to his army from the men of Cabal (Kabul), the Baloch (Biloq), Gaqueres (Ghakkars), and Rajputs. He was uninterruptedly victorious over the forces of his enemies. Anticipat-

\begin{enumerate}
\item This was in 1544 (compare Elphinstone, 'History,' 396, where the story is given; see also the \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, Jarrett, ii. 271).
\item In spite of this assertion, it is doubtful whether Manucci could ever have been at Sasseram (in Behar).
\item Shah Dulah, Gujarati, Panjabi, is the person intended. There is, however, a clear anachronism; for, at the earliest, that holy man was born \textit{circa} 1567-1568, while Humayun recovered Dihli in 1555, and died in 1556. The saint's shrine is in Gujarat town (see Khazinat-ul-asfiyah, ii. 102, and S. Mahomed Latif in \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society}, July, 1896, p. 574).
\end{enumerate}
ing that it would be difficult to capture the city of Laor (Lahor),
he had recourse before he reached it to the following deceptions. He chose five hundred valiant men of high spirit and
recklessness, who dressed themselves like hermits in tattered
raiment, and went barefooted with chaplets of beads in their
hands. They represented themselves as specially holy men,
and gave out [73] that they were on their way to Mecca. They
entered the city, and assembled below the palace of the gover-
nor, called Aziscan ('Aziz Khan), of the Pathan tribe, and
demanded alms for themselves, so that they might be able to
go on their road. ‘Aziz Khan compassionately sent and called
them within the fortress, in order to give them food and some
help in money, thereby hoping for a reward to his own soul.
They came into his presence most devoutly, but resolute to
carry out their trick. On drawing near to the governor, they
began to pray God to grant him great reward for the alms he
had given them. Then, drawing their swords from beneath
their cloaks, they cut him to pieces, and gaining possession
of the fortress, slew all that were found there.18 The result of the
trick was notified to Humayun, who, marching on without de-
lay, made himself master of Lahor. After a short time he
left it, in order to capture the city of Dihli. He fought several
battles, the principal one in the neighbourhood of Panipat,
three days’ journey before arriving at Dihli. There he fought
a very stiff battle, and in it the Pathan who called himself king
having been killed, Humayun became once more lord of Hin-
dustan, and brought the Pathans under subjection.

First of all Humayun remembered the holy mendicant
Shah Dulah, to whom he gave villages and an income sufficient
for him and his descendants, also many privileges, of which
they have the enjoyment to this day. This faqir is venerated
as a saint, the Mogul kings and princes having much respect
for the village which contains his tomb. This village is not
far from the town of Little Guzurate (Gujarat), forty leagues
from Lahor. His descendants are much favoured and receive
many presents from the Mogul princes. But he (Humayun)
did not know that he had to die so soon, and his death came
to pass in the following manner.

18. There is nothing about this in the Akbarnamah, nor any
mention of an ‘Aziz Khan (see H. Beveridge’s translation, i. 624).
Humayun knew full well that after the years of our life all men, great and small, king and subject, are bound to quit world. He therefore took steps to prepare a mausoleum where his body should repose. He issued orders for the preparation of the materials, and he had already selected the site. This was at the approach to Dihli, close to a long bridge of twelve arches. While the building was being erected he was anxious to inspect it, and mounted to the highest point, not foreseeing that he was going to his destruction. Leaning his breast upon his staff, he admired the beauty and nobility of the structure. His staff slipped, and he fell to the bottom, breaking his bones. He was buried in the building, which stands in the midst of a great garden. It is adorned inside with many paintings and stones of various kinds, and the roof of the dome is gilded. At this mausoleum, as well as in those of all the kings, there is placed an official of position, having a good salary, who looks after the building and distributes abundant alms to the poor, for which purpose there is a special income. It is his duty to enter the vault once every day, to sweep it out, to place over the tomb a coverlet made of rich brocade, and upon this again a quantity of flowers—such as roses, jasmine, and other sweet-smelling blossoms. At the sides of this covering are placed the arms of the dead king—that is to say, his quiver full of arrows, his bow, his sword, dagger or poignard, lance, musket—all of them weapons of the greatest price. Once I obtained entrance to this mausoleum through the favour of one of my friends, as I will relate when speaking of Akbar's tomb (I., 90).

Humayun died two years, nine months, and fourteen days after he had recovered his kingdom, leaving an only son called Akebar (Akbar).

OF AKBAR, THIRD KING OF HINDUSTAN AND EIGHTH OF THE FAMILY OF TAIMUR-I-LANG

If any of the Mogul kings inherited the valour and judgment of Taimur-i-lang, it was, without contradiction, the king Akbar.

19. This is the Barahpalah (twelve-arched) bridge, built in 1612. The tomb is about half a mile to the north of it (see Carr-Stephen, 'Archaeology of Delhi,' 202, 209).
who was born in Persia at the time when his father, Humayun, was living there, as I have already stated above (I., 72). This king, adopting the advice given to his father by the King of Persia, allied himself to several Rajput princes, thus bringing them over to his side. With their aid he conquered the greater part of Hindustan, routing the remaining Pathans in different battles and bringing them into subjection to his orders. So great was the dread in which Akbar was held by the Hindu princes that they come to offer their services, paying him tribute and voluntarily giving him their daughters. He received them all with open arms; but he forced them to fight against the other Hindu princes, aiding them with his own army. In this way he destroyed many of them in those days. Still, in spite of all this, the Hindus are up to this day more numerous than the Mahomedans. But they can do nothing against the Moguls, for from of old time it has been the fashion of the Rajputs to dispute among themselves. If they were only of one mind they would be able to thrust out every other tribe and race [75]. Although the conquests of Akbar were many, I will recount only some of the principal; still, in this king's time some special events have happened, and I will take leave to give to my readers some notion thereof, at which they will rejoice not a little.

In the first place it is fitting to speak of the conquest that he made of the kingdom of Guzurate (Gujarat) from the king Sultan Bahader (Bahadur). It was from him at the same period that the Portuguese took the fortress of Dio (Diu), which is in the vicinity of Surat and Cambaya (Kambayat). At his death he (Bahadur) left his sons captives in the hands of Akbar, and there they remained until the end of their lives. Akbar well demonstrated on this occasion how important it is for a king to be present himself during an enterprise of importance, for his forces being in battle array opposite those of Sultan Bahadur, his captains began to talk of avoiding an action for fear of being beaten, since Bahadur's army was much the more powerful. When Akbar learnt this, he hurried in person to the spot, although at a distance of four days' journey from the army, and thus so completely restored the courage of his troops that they gained a victory and routed the foe.

Secondly, it is necessary to speak of Akbar's conquest of the Decan (Dakhin), of which the principal places are Brampur

20. As is well known, Akbar was born in Sind, not in Persia.
(Burhanpur), Acer (Aisirgarh), Amadanagar (Ahmadnagar), and Doltabad (Daulatabad). The two first named belonged to Melec Mostafa (Malik Mustafa), a Mahomedan. Amadanagar (Ahmadnagar) belonged to the princess Chande Bibi (Chand Bibi), and Doltabad (Daulatabad) to Meleque Ambar (Malik ‘Ambar).21

The events connected with the conquest of Aisirgarh are worthy of notice. At Asir dwelt Malik Mustafa, lord of forty thousand horsemen. Akbar strictly invested the said fortress, and a scarcity of water arose. Malik Mustafa resolved on flight, but while leaving the place he was captured by the sentries. Concealing that he intended to escape, he asked to be taken into the presence of Akbar, having something to say to him. They took him to the king, and as soon as he arrived Akbar asked: ‘Who are you, and what do you want?’ He answered: ‘I am the king Malik Mustafa, and come to seek your advice.’ Obtaining leave to speak, he said: ‘I have no water in the fortress, only enough for this one night; what advice do you give me?’ Akbar’s answer was: ‘Go your way; if God means to leave you the fortress, He will equally give you water.’

The following night so much rain fell that much damage was done in Akbar’s camp. Repenting of having given liberty to one whom he had already in his hands, Akbar raised the investment. Some time afterwards he returned to invest the fortress and took it, as also Brampur (Burhanpur).

Subsequently he (Akbar) went against the Princess Chande Biby (Chand Bibi)—that is, ‘Lady Moon’; she also was a Mahomedan. She defended herself with great vigour, but was obliged to surrender the fortress for want of provisions. This princess was so grieved at seeing herself despoiled of her dignities that she made up her mind not to allow her wealth to fall into the [76] hands of Akbar. With this idea she gave orders that all the gold she had should be melted and made into cannon-balls. Upon these she had words engraved to the effect that the ball belonged to anyone who found it, that no one had the right to take it by force from the finder, adding other words of malediction against him who acted otherwise. The cannon were loaded with these balls, and they were discharged in all directions. After the fortress was taken King Akbar fell in love with her

21. I do not know who is meant by Malik Mustafa; the other two names are well known.
for her beauty, and transferred her to his own palace. In my
time it happened that near the said fortress a grass-cutter found
one of the said balls, which weighed eight pounds and was of
gold. When the general Bader Can (Bahadur Khan) heard this
fact, he ordered the ball to be brought before him, and directed
that the inscribed letters should be deciphered. Their meaning
was that the ball should be left with the finder. He (Bahadur
Khan) took it for himself, saying he had complied with the wishes
of Chand Bibi, and that he had not fallen into any sin. After
this conquest, Akbar marched against Malik ‘Ambar, lord of fifty
thousand horse, and overcoming him, took from him Daulatabad.
Thus those who knew not how to aid each other were all
defeated, and Akbar remained master of the whole Decan
(Dakhin).

In the third place we must put the conquest of the kingdom
of Caxemir (Kashmir). For this realm was not taken by force
of arms, but solely because the King of Kashmir was greatly
frightened by Akbar's victories, and made an offer to him of the
kingdom rather than go to war. Akbar saw the feebleness of
heart of this king, for with a few men he could have defended
himself, Kashmir being a country which cannot be entered by
force owing to the great height at which it lies—on very high
mountains, with steep paths so few and so narrow that one man
could stop a whole army. Akbar therefore issued orders that
men of that country should not be recruited as soldiers, that
they were unworthy to carry arms. In effect, he allowed not
one of them to serve as a soldier. They are employed only as
tailors—being good at needlework—as barbers, and they are
excellent cooks. Many of them are dealers in the very fine wol-
len materials made in the said kingdom. The people of Kash-
mir are very good-looking, of a light complexion, with black hair
and eyes and high noses. Thus there is little difference between
them and the Jews, either in physiognomy or character, being
deceitful and without stability.

In the fourth place we come to the war he (Akbar) waged
against the Rana, a Hindu king whose lands were twelve days' 
journey distant from Dhilli. The first thing he (Akbar) did was
to surround the fortress called Chitor, the which I have seen
many a time. This fortress was on a hill [77] of no very great
height, but its sides are quite smooth like walls; it lies in the
midst of a wide, open plain. This plain is a league and a half
long and half a league wide. At the foot [of the hill] is a stream called Nag—that is to say, 'Snake.' In this fortress are fine springs of sweet water, and during a time of siege supplies are collected enough to support the people in it; it cannot be taken by force of arms, as will be seen from this my narrative.

Before Akbar came to invest this fortress, he despatched an ambassador to the rajah who was governor, directing him to forward his wife. If he did not agree to send her, he would come himself to fetch her. For he had been told that she was of great beauty, and so perfect that in all the world there was none other like her. Since, also, there was in the world no other king of greater valour or of greater wealth than himself (Akbar), therefore the most beautiful of women was his by right. If she were not delivered to him he would harry the whole kingdom with fire and sword in order to accomplish his desire. Therefore it were well if the rajah agreed to send him the lovely Padmany (Padmawati), as she was called, meaning 'the woman perfect in everything.' The Portuguese writer Faria mentions her many times.

The rajah replied to Akbar that he need not trouble himself to come, because rather than give up his wife he would lose a hundred thousand lives, and in case he resolved to come he would encounter a veritable Rajput. Akbar was angered at this answer, believing that there could not be in the world anyone who would dare to resist his demands or risk himself against his valour. He began his march to the fortress. When he heard of this movement, the rajah, who was called Jamel (? Jai Mall), which means 'Well-born,' with his brother called Fata (Fath)—that is to say, 'Victory'—came out against Akbar at the head of his cavalry, of Hindu race and of the Rajput tribe. There followed many encounters in the open plain. For Akbar was anxious to demonstrate his bravery, his strength, and the wealth he possessed, and at the same time to

22. Padmini is the first and highest of the four classes into which women are divided by Hindus. Padmawati, a heroine of romance, is, I think, meant. So far as she is historical, she lived about 1303, and was taken by 'Ala-ud-din when he conquered Chitor. There are four poems in which she figures. Manucci's tale seems constructed out of three elements: (1) The 'Ala-ud-din story, (2) the attack on Chitor by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1533 (E. C. Bayley, 'History of Gujarat,' 370), (3) Akbar's siege of Chitor in 1568.
prove that he was able to punish those who resisted him. He
had taken with him a very large army, against which the brothers
were unable to hold their own. They were therefore forced to
take shelter in their fortress, where they endured an investment
of twelve years. Akbar was astonished at such great persistence,
and began to understand that there might be found in the world
a fortress which could resist his victorious arms. Seeing that he
was able to do nothing against this fortress, he made up his mind
to continue his conquests [elsewhere], and leave this fortress in
the hands of its owner, or, to speak more correctly, he feigned
so to do, in order to acquire by means of treason what he had
not been able to take by force of arms.

For this end he sent an ambassador to Rajah Jai Mall, in-
forming [78] him of his intention to depart. Before starting,
however, he would like to meet him, a feast by way of farewell.
His reason was that he wished the pleasure of seeing such a
valiant man; should he not wish to quit the fortress, he (Akbar)
would go himself to say farewell, if permission were granted.
The rajah, who would not venture to come out for fear of some
treachery, and having no idea of what Akbar was about to do,
replied with the greatest openness that, should he (Akbar) wish
to come into the fortress, he would be thoroughly welcome. If
the fortress had been closed against the great hero, it was only
because he had tried to enter it as a conqueror; but when he
wanted to entire in a friendly manner, its gates would be thrown
open. The only condition was that there should not be more
than five hundred persons in his suite. No offence ought to be
taken at this condition; for, as a faithful vassal of the Rana,
he was under an obligation to take the precautions usual in time
of war.

Akbar accepted the proposal. He entered the fortress with
his five hundred, where he was well received, and great honours
were paid him. The rajah gave him a great feast, and laid be-
fore him many presents of valuable jewels. Akbar received all
this with signs of friendship, and as a return for this good feel-
ing, he gave to the rajah several elephants and caparisoned horses,
also a sword accompanied by a shield ornamented with valuable
stones, and other rarities. In the conversion that they had Akbar
praised greatly the rajah's courage and that of his officers, but
above all displayed his admiration of the fortress, declaring it
to be impregnable.
With this talk he succeeded in gaining the affection of the rajah, and taking his leave, said to him that from that day henceforth he would always look on him as a friend. With these demonstrations of friendliness and such-like talk Akbar took his leave, the rajah escorting him as far as the gate. When the false friend and great conqueror Akbar found himself there, he raised his hand to his neck and took off a string of pearls of inestimable value, saying to the rajah: I offer you this string of pearls in remembrance of me, and as a mark of how much I like you.' So saying, he put the necklace round the rajah's neck. Then he (Akbar) embraced the rajah with both arms in such a manner that all of a sudden he dragged him out of the fort gateway. The five hundred men in Akbar's retinue placed their hands on their swords, and began to strike out right and left; and men held ready for the purpose ran up and carried off the rajah to the army before his soldiers could come to his assistance.

Great were the astonishment and uproar in the fortress; with equal expedition they closed the gates and stood to arms. They suspected that the enemy by treachery had made himself master of that invincible fortress. All the commanders hastened to their posts. It was only the chief of them all that was wanting—the rajah! Not knowing what to decide upon, they carried the sad news to lovely Padmini. She bravely replied that they should not lose [79] their accustomed courage, that they must consider the rajah as already dead, and that she had assumed his place in the defence of the stronghold. Thus the treacherous Akbar would not be able to triumph through his deceptions, if they on their side resolved not to falter. Inspiring the officers with fresh courage, she forthwith mounted a horse and seized a lance; and thus equipped, followed by all officers, she went the rounds, giving new orders, saying that not only need they not fear the strength of Akbar, but she was certain and assured in her mind that they were able to resist the armies of the whole world, and she could never lose the fortress while backed up by such troops.

Akbar imagined that, having taken Jai Mall prisoner, the fortress was already in his hands, and that he was already in enjoyment of Padmini's beauty. He therefore wrote a letter to pretty Padmini requesting her to surrender the stronghold, adding that if she did not make it over to him, he would cut off the head of her beloved rajah, Jai Mall. The courageous Ama-
zon replied that so far as she was concerned Rajah Jai Mall was already dead, while to take his place there were within the fort other braver and stronger warriors. They counted this as the day on which the siege had commenced, and were determined to fight on while life endured. Never would they yield.

Akbar, seeing them so resolute, and knowing how stiff-necked the Rajputs, raised the siege. But he left all the carpets spread in his tents as a sign that he would shortly return, and had not given up the hope of taking the place. He marched away and repaired to the town of Fatepur (Fathpur Sikri), which he had founded in remembrance of a great victory won over the Pathans. Here he placed Rajah Jai Mall in solitary confinement. Meanwhile he still solicited the famous Padmini with a thousand promises, letters, and valuable presents. He sent a message to her that if she would accede to the desires of a renowned king and conqueror, he pledged his word to make of her the greatest queen in his palaces. But Padmini would not consent, neither through message, nor presents, nor soft words of intermediaries. She remained faithful to her husband.

Still, in order to deceive the deceiver, she pretended to have been won by Akbar's love. After much carrying of messages to and fro, she sent word to him that, overcome by his persistence, she had made up her mind to join him. There was, however, one condition: before she appeared in his presence she wished to say farewell to her husband, in order to be absolved from the oath of fidelity that she had given him. When that was done, she would without hesitation place herself at the king's disposal. King Akbar conceded everything that the lovely Padmini demanded, flattering himself that his pains of martyrdom were on the way to be soon assuaged.

She set to work to make the necessary preparations for her journey with great [80] pomp and majesty. She prepared a handsome palanquin, well closed up, collected many eunuchs and and foot-runners to surround it, giving them orders not to allow anyone to come close to it. Then, pretending she had relinquished the fortress into the hands of Fath, she caused the closed palanquin to be sent out, accompanied by three thousand Rajput horse, all men of valour; following it were many other well-closed palanquins, as if each held a lady of her suite. The start was so conducted that everybody understood Padmini had gone
(all except those who had been charged with carrying out the matter), and lamentation arose at the loss of such a princess.

When this cavalcade set out, a message was despatched to Akbar, saying that the princess was now on her way, full of longing to take up her abode with him; but she sent a warning not to forget the promise that he had given her, to allow her to take leave of her former husband. If the slightest hesitation arose about this promise, she was resolved to kill herself, having brought with her for this purpose a large, well-sharpened poignard. The whole of this story was make-believe, for in the palanquins there was no one, while the horsemen were intended for the rescue of Rajah Jai Mall from prison.

Akbar, who thought that the princess in her letter was speaking the truth, sent to her many times messages with presents of fruit and flowers, displaying his anxiety to behold her for whom he had such ardent longing. On the arrival of the messengers, the clever eunuchs received the gifts, and, approaching the palanquin, pretended to deliver the message and receive the reply, which they invented themselves and sent back to the king. Once they returned an answer to the king that he must relieve her from such constant gifts, for was she not already assured of his affection and goodwill? The only thing yet to be done was to say goodbye to her husband, when she would be at his disposal. So great was the anxiety of Akbar to see the beloved Padmini delivered into his hands that he feared she might take her life with her own hands, believing that she spoke the truth, and he was anxious that nothing should be done to displease her. He sent back word that she might advance in all confidence, that he gave her the liberty of going wherever she pleased.

On the day that she was to enter the town the king sent out a lovely litter for her to ride in after she had said goodbye to her husband, also a number of palanquins and carriages full of ladies, a great many eunuchs, and all the state retinue of a queen. But the men on guard over the princess, having well learnt their lesson, allowed no one to draw near to the palanquin. They made straight for the prison where Rajah Jai Mall was kept, taking with them the palanquin, into which they put two men to cut off the fetters of the prisoner. On reaching the place he was freed at once. In a very little time three men came out of the prison, one being the rajah, who mounted a good horse, kept ready at hand for the purpose. He placed himself in the
midst of his Rajputs, who were waiting for him and gave him hearty salutations; then, without delay, spurring [81] their horses, they rode off, leaving behind the empty palanquins and the astonished eunuchs and ladies who had come out to escort the princess to Akbar.

Akbar was waiting in a garden, where he intended to receive the princess. A messenger arrived in the greatest haste to acquaint him with what had happened. On seeing him, the king with a cheerful face asked him if the long-desired Padmini had arrived. The messenger hesitated, not liking to speak for fear the king might in a passion order his head to be cut off on hearing a report of the deception practised and the flight of the rajah. But upon Akbar repeating the question, he answered that the rajah had fled, and recounted the events. Akbar stood amazed at such a report, and pressing his head with both hands, said in a loud, heart-rending voice: ‘I am deceived by those I had deceived!’ Then he gave orders that the rajah should be pursued and seized. But before the order could be carried out the rajah had gone a long way, there being on the road many changes of horses. In a short space of time he arrived at the fortress of Chitor, where he was received with great rejoicing by all, more especially by the faithful Padmini, to whom was accorded the praise of being a clever, prudent, and experienced woman, who had known how with such finesse to regain her husband and deceive the man who imagined himself the astutest person in all the world.

When the rajah found himself again within his fortress, he sent a letter to Akbar, wherein he at one and the same time denounced his treachery, and intimated that, since women could do so well against him, he had no fear in challenging him to come once more to attack the fortress. He ordered the erection at the highest point in the Chitor fort of a pillar, on which were inscribed words to the effect that no faith should ever be placed in the treacherous Moguls. Angered and aggrieved, Akbar marched a second time against the fortress of Chitor, resolved either to lose his life or to take the place. It was invested, and at the cost of much bloodshed he raised a wall with a tower (cavaleyro, a cavalier, or tower upon a wall), and fought on for a long time without doing any harm to the fortress, although on both sides many men were killed.
It happened one day that Akbar was upon the tower (or cavalier), whence he saw a man appear in the fortress near the walls to make an inspection. He fired with his matchlock and killed the man. The following day he heard that the man he had killed was the Rajah Jai Mall, who, following the Rajput custom, was burned lying in the arms of the renowned Padmini.

This custom was introduced by a law of the great king Biguer-Majid (Bikramajit), founder of the city of Dihli, by reason of Rajput wives murdering their husbands by poison. By this glorious end was taken from the world the most beautiful woman of Hindustan, about whom there had been so many and such prolonged wars [82]. Thus Akbar with all his tricks could not achieve his designs, and her death put an end to the vain hopes of the enamoured king. He continued to invest the fortress, and the Rajputs defended it with the same valour as before.

The Hindu king, the Rana, seeing that Akbar did not mean to raise the siege, while on his side he had no intention of surrendering the place to him, sent out to sue for peace on the condition that the fortress should belong to neither him nor to Akbar. Akbar accepted the offer, and as a memorial of so many wars a tablet was placed above the gate with an inscription to this effect: 'Neither yours nor mine for ever.'23 I have seen this stone several times, and up to this day it is in the same place; but the fortress was a mere night-shelter for herdsmen until Aurangzeb ordered it to be repaired, as I shall recount hereafter (II., 189).

Although King Akbar found that his conquering star did not seem willing to accord him the mastery over Chitor, not in the least did he on that account desist from attempting other enterprises. He took from the hands of the Pathans and of the Hindus the kingdoms of Bengalla (Bengal), and of Tata (Tatthah) or Sindi (Sind). In the latter is the fortress called Bacar (Bhakkar), of which I shall speak further on, in connection with the war of Prince Aurangzeb against his brother Dara, the heir-apparent (I., 225, 251).

It happened to Akbar, as it usually happens to conquerors, that he saw himself several times in peril of losing both his

23. Catrou, 82, renders it 'Ne vous fiez jamais aux Mogols qui vous ont trahis,' and attributes the placing of the tablet to the Rana. The text says se poz, 'was placed,' and the words are 'Nem eu nem vos pera sempre.'
conquests and his freedom. But the fidelity of his soldiers prevented ill-luck from overwhelming him. Among other risks he ran, one of the chief was when some of his captains put it into the head of his only son Janguir (Jahangir) to rebel. Jahangir assigned as reason that he was already of an age that made him fit to govern, and he did not approve of waiting longer; he meant to demonstrate his ability as a governor, and adduced other reasons equally devoid of validity. Jahangir, then a youth, allowed himself, in spite of his natural goodness, to be led astray by the soft words of traitors, and rose against his father, hoping that Fortune, abandoning Akbar, would transfer herself to his side. But it was not so. Akbar was able to make such efforts that in a short time Jahangir was taken a prisoner. The love which Akbar had to his only son held him back from the severity with which he ought to have chastised him; still, he did not omit to give him somewhat of a lesson. Some days afterwards, when both were going out together to the chase, Jahangir saw on the roadside the impaled bodies of the rebellious captains. Akbar said to him: 'Thus are rebels dealt with; you knew well that I had no other son than you, and that you must inherit the whole of my conquests. Therefore, you set a very bad example [83], and historians will not fail to record you as the first of the great Taimur-i-lang's race who rebelled against his father. It may well be that the crime was not really yours, but that of those men there who gave you bad advice, for which they have received their reward. It very nearly happened that, as you had shared in the crime, so likewise you should have shared the penalty. But the love and affection that I have for you would not permit me to vent on you my just indignation.'

Since the killing of these captains induced perturbation in the army, Akbar decided on taking a rest for a time, to give opportunity for the remembrance of their impalement to be effaced. He resolved to found a city as a memorial of his victories, and gave to it the name of Fatehabad (Fathabad)—that is to say, 'Peopled by victory.' In this city he lived for some time. Then, for certain reasons, chiefly in order to reduce some rebel-

24. This revolt occurred late in 1600, when Jahangir was about thirty-two.
25. Evidently Fathpur Sikri, south of Agra, is intended.
lious Rajput villagers, who objected to pay tribute until they had been overcome by force of arms, he (Akbar) decided to leave Fathabad and found another city twelve leagues off, on the bank of the river Jamana (Jamnannah). For this purpose he selected the village called Agra in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-three. After the foundation of the city, it was renamed Akbarabad—that is to say, 'Built by Akbar.' Thus Fathabad became uninhabited. In spite of this, the rebellious villagers did not desist from their risings, chiefly round about the town of Matora (Mathura, Muttra), to which Aurangzeb gave the title of Essalamabad (Islamabad)—that is to say, 'Peopled by the Faithful.' Mathura is twenty leagues from Agra in the direction of Dihli, and on the same side of the river Jamnannah. The chief cause of these risings is their not wishing to pay the customary tribute.

When Akbar decided to build the city of Akbarabad, he gave an order that his palaces should be made of copper (bronze). But they represented to him that this could not be done. Enough metal could not be procured to erect lofty palaces such as the king desired. Another reason was that they would not be habitable in the hot season on account of the high temperature, or in the winter, from the great cold. Thus he abandoned this project, and built his palace and the fortress of red hewn stones of great size.

The city is situated in a great open plain on the bank of the river Jamnannah, which, as it were, divides it into two halves on the eastern side. The city is a large one, with a circumference of twelve leagues, and is surrounded by many gardens. It is not walled, but nevertheless has great gateways in the principal streets. The fortress is placed on the bank of the river, with a ditch which can be filled [84] with water from the river. On both sides the fortress is adorned with beautiful palaces for the princes of the blood-royal and the grandees. Opposite these palaces, on the other side of the river, is a large garden and a village, and many tombs, of which I shall speak hereafter.

During the time that the said city was being brought to perfection the king's amusement was to mount on a mad elephant, simply to make it combat with another one. This is a very dangerous affair, for many elephant-drivers (cornacas) lose their lives in this amusement, and thus their wives, when drivers mount their elephants for a combat, break their bracelets
and take off their jewels as a sign that they are widows. I shall speak of these elephant fights in another place (III. 20); the only object of what I now say is to let you know the courage of this king (Akbar), of which I now relate the following instance.

It happened that the villagers, of whom I have spoken before (ante, f. 83), raised such a great rebellion that Akbar was obliged to go against them in person. He surrounded a fort into which many of them had retired, a place that it was impossible to escalade. Therefore orders were given that the most courageous of the elephants should be sent to batter in the gate. He (Akbar) disguised himself, and at dawn appeared near the gate, and, mounting upon a very bold elephant, attacked the gate. In the first assault the animal was not able to knock it down; it was driven to the assault once more, the gate fell, and the fortress was taken. The driver of the elephant asked the pretended elephant-driver what his name was, as he was anxious to report his bravery to the king and announce that he was the cause of the victory. Akbar replied that before giving his name he wanted to know that of the elephant. The driver said the elephant was called the 'Active'; thereupon Akbar said that his name was 'Breaker-in of Gateways.' The following day, when the elephants were paraded before him, he gave to 'Active' the title of 'Active, Breaker-in of Gateways,' and made him captain of all the elephants, with an increase of pay. He rewarded the elephant-driver by a serpao (sarapa), whereby the man learnt that the 'Breaker-in of Gateways' was the very king himself.

He had a great deal of trouble with these rebels, and after returning home victorious he was forced to order his captains to go against them several times. These officers, on reaching the rebel villages, carried out their orders to slay and behead (the only remedies he applied, and after him the other Mogol kings did the same). In order to defend themselves these villagers hid in the thorny scrub or retired behind the slight walls surrounding their villages. The women stood behind their husbands with spears and arrows. When the husband had shot off his matchlock, his wife handed him the lance, while she reloaded the matchlock. Thus did they defend themselves until they were no longer able to continue [85]. When reduced to extremity, they cut their wives’ and daughters’ throats, then in desperation they threw themselves against the enemy’s ranks, and several times they succeeded in gaining the day by mere reckless courage.
Every time that a general won a victory the heads of the villagers were sent as booty to the city of Agrah to be displayed in the royal square before all the people as a proof of their success. After twenty-four hours the heads were removed to the imperial highway, where they were hung from the trees or deposited in holes on pillars built for this purpose. Each pillar could accommodate one hundred heads. Many a time have I seen in the city piles of these villagers' heads. Once I saw ten thousand of them; they could be recognised by their being shaven, with huge moustaches, mostly reddish in colour. In the thirty-four years that I dwelt in this Mogul kingdom I traveled often from Agrah to Dihli, and every time there was a number of fresh heads on the roadside and many bodies of thieves hanging from the trees, who were punished thus for robbing on the highway. Thus passers-by are forced to hold their noses on account of the odour from the dead, and hasten their steps out of apprehension of the living. The villagers were not able to take vengeance on their first enemy, Akbar, in his lifetime, but how they avenged themselves on his bones after his death I shall tell hereafter (I. 91).

Some astrologers assert that the planet Mars dominates this country (India), for even the animals are bold and resolute, and men who travel there, through drinking its water, acquire a great eagerness to fight. Thus it happened to an Armenian acquaintance of mine called Alaberdy. He had come to this country to sell some merchandise. After seven days had passed he felt an itching to quarrel, every moment laying hold of his sword as if making ready for combat. He began to reflect that he was a trader, and had come to sell his goods; it was not proper for him to risk the loss of his capital. He managed to suppress this impulse, chiefly from not being a man of much courage. There was no reason for his being so restless, but in spite of his reasonings he continued to feel these desires. Thus it is only fair to assert what I did just now as to [the cause of] this inclination. I noted with special interest as I travelled about in this country that all the oxen and cows of these provinces have their horns turned to the front and very sharp, and it is recognised throughout the Mogul realm that while only of small stature, and not very bulky, they are very savage.

On the occasion which was lately spoken of (ante, f. 84), when Akbar engaged in the great feat of knocking [86] down the
gates of a fortress, a powerful Hindu prince said to him that he wished to give him a piece of advice if he would deign to listen to him. Akbar replied that he might speak openly. The prince told him that it was not a good thing to get upon an elephant by placing one foot upon its tusk, as Akbar and the grandees usually did in those days, the elephant being seated, for in that way they ran great danger of the elephant, when savage, killing the man who was trying to mount, a thing very easy for it to accomplish. It were better to mount at the side with the aid of a ladder. The king was pleased with the prince’s advice, and put it into practice. To show himself grateful, he said to the prince that he was desirous of giving him, too, a piece of good advice; it was that he should return to his own territory. If perchance he (Akbar) or any of his descendants invited him to visit the court, he should send excuses, for a great man never had much benefit from a stay in the court of another great man, as the great never had much love or affection for others of their own rank.

He said this because he was aware of the way in which he himself treated the princes who attended his court—that is, he sought some method of giving them with civility some affront. This he did to another prince, to whom he had promised many honours. On arrival at the court the noble found that Akbar did not carry out his promises. On this account the prince was much distressed. To make fun of him, Akbar said to him that if it were his desire to leave for his own country permission would be given to him. This speech allowed the prince an opening for displaying by his very disgusted face how he felt the affront of such words, but he spoke not a syllable in reply. Noticing this silence, Akbar flew into a rage, and said to him that liberty to go home should never be accorded him until he had spoken in his (Akbar’s) presence. The prince persisted in not speaking; he would not say even a single word. Thereupon the king issued an order that every time he sat in audience the prince must appear. It would be seen whether he would speak without being asked. Akbar was anxious that the prince should speak, so that he might give him leave to go. But he found that after coming for many days to audience, the prince could not be made to speak. Then he (Akbar) invented this trick to make the man speak without any question being put to him. He ordered them to find out what the prince was most interested in, and they
ascertained that he was very skilful in the chase, and well ac-
quainted with the points of animals. Orders were given that
every day when the prince was present they should introduce
talk about the virtues and properties of the above-named, but
saying always the contrary to the facts. One day the king asked
one of his intimates a number of questions about the nature
and the age of animals. To these he answered the exact con-
trary of what is the case, when His Majesty displayed his
admiration, and seemed perfectly satisfied with the reply [87],
while the Hindu prince rubbed his hands, bit his lips, and
changed colour, displaying every sign of wishing to speak and
instruct them as to the truth. But, on account of his vow, he
did not dare to speak unless spoken to by the king.

Finally Akbar asked how you could distinguish and old
lion from a young one. They answered that the lion when old
stuck his claws into the ground, and raising himself on his paws,
gave forth roars that made the hills to tremble. This time the
prince was unable to suppress his desire to speak. With an
agitated countenance he said to the courtiers that he was much
astonished at their temerity in telling so many falsehoods to such
a famous king. He wondered much that, having no knowledge
of such things, they should attempt to give descriptions as if
they were past-masters in the subject. The other lies he would
allow to pass, but must protest that when the lion sticks his
claw into the ground, and lifting himself on his paws, roars
aloud, it is a sign that he is young and is calling to his lioness.
When he walks with the pads of his feet on the ground and his
claw sticking up when he roars, it shows that he is old and is
not in health. Akbar was very pleased at seeing himself at quits
with this prince, who had refused to speak. He bestowed on
him a string of pearls, an elephant, and a ‘serpao’ (sarapa, a set
of robes), and gave him leave to depart for his own country.
But before he left, Akbar demanded of him his tents, which
were of scarlet colour and embroidered, sending him in their
place others of a different colour. He imposed on the prince
the command that he should never again use scarlet tents, and
made it a law that only the Mogul kings and princes of the
blood-royal should be allowed either to possess or to use tents
of scarlet colour.

Although Akbar took rest several times for short periods,
he was ever possessed with a craving for the conquest of new
territory. Such was his anxiety that even in his sleep he was unable to refrain from giving hints of his designs. Once upon a time it happened that while asleep he rose to a sitting posture in his bed, made signs with his hand towards the territory of a Hindu prince, and laid hold of his chin with the other hand, as if defying him; for he shaved off his beard as do the Rajputs, with the idea of thereby winning them over with greater ease. These movements were noticed by a water-carrier of the royal household, who thereupon disclosed the king's intentions, saying the king meant to march against Raja Carn (Karan). Off went several officials to tell the king that in the city there was much talk of his wishing to march against Rajah Karan. At this the king was much amazed, because he had wished to carry out this project without letting anyone know. He gave orders that they should search diligently for the first publisher of this his purpose. On finding out that the water-carrier was the first spreader of the report, the king asked him if he had heard this piece of news from anyone. The water-carrier replied that one day His Majesty had made the gestures above described, and in this manner he had guessed his intentions, and in order to be ready for a march, he had begun to make the necessary preparations. Thereupon the king said: 'The fault is mine and not yours, for you show yourself rather a man of understanding than a culprit, and Rajah Karan is under great obligation to you.' Thenceforth he confided to the man a more honourable office.

Nevertheless he determined to attempt another enterprise. This was to make war against the Pathan tribe, which dwells on the other side of the Indus River, to the west, up to the boundary of the Kabul kingdom. There are in these regions several princess, all of whom dwell in the midst of mountains. They are a very ferocious people, of fair complexion, and all adherents of the Mahomedan faith. One of these princes alone can collect three hundred thousand lancers, all barbarous, uncouth, and unruly, for they do not make much use of cavalry. Against them Akbar sent a force of eighty thousand cavalry, in order to force them at the least to submit themselves and pay tribute, imagining that the mere fame of his conquests, which had

26. Probably Rae Lonkaran, Kachhwaahah, Shekhawat, of Sambhar, is intended (see _Ma. asir-ul-umara_, ii. 116).
subdued many princes and impelled them to offer relinquishment of their territories and payment of tribute, would equally impose on these Pathans the necessity of submitting.

Thus the eighty thousand horsemen passed into the hills, but no one knew what happened to them, seeing that not one living creature of them all came out to convey the news of their fate. The rumour is that the guides conducted the army by certain difficult routes, and when they were once within the passes the inhabitants closed the exits, so that all died without effecting anything.

During the conquests that this king made in Hindustan, he acquired much artillery made by the Chinese, who in ancient times were lords of the whole of Hindustan, as I shall state hereafter under this same heading (I., 98). Although he had seen artillery fired off many times in battles, he was yet most anxious to see practice at a target. But finding that his gunners were no use at taking aim, and knowing Europeans to be most expert, he forwarded an order to the governor of the port of Surat to send him a good gunner.

There was at the time in Surat a very skilful Englishman (they say that the English were the first European merchants to arrive in the said port). With the permission of the chief of the English he was sent to the king, who assigned to him as pay the sum of five hundred rupees a month. However, the English race [89], like other Europeans, being fond of drinking wine, a thing they cannot procure in Hindustan owing to its prohibition under the Mahomedan law, the gunner, in spite of all those rupees, was most unhappy. One day Akbar directed the Englishman to fire at the target, for which purpose a great sheet had been erected in front of the palace on the bank of the river. The gunner intentionally fired the ball into the air, so that it disappeared. On this account the king was much put out, thinking that the gunner had no skill in aiming. He asked the man the reason of such a great error in his aim, when he had such repute in the art of discharging cannon. The Englishman replied that the mistake arose from his not being able to see; if he had drunk wine he could aim straight at the target. The king commanded that they should bring him spirits (of which there was no want in the royal household, where it is made for giving to the elephants to increase their courage).
When he saw the spirits, the Englishman was highly delighted; he seized the bottle, putting it to his mouth with the same eagerness that a thirsting stag rushes to a crystal spring. At one go he drank the whole, and then licked his moustaches. The king was amazed and astounded to see the great pleasure that the Englishman had in drinking spirits. Purposely the Englishman made all sorts of gestures to show his satisfaction; then, turning towards the target, he rubbed his eyes, and asked them to take away the sheet and replace it by a pot stuck upon a stick. So said, so done. He discharged the piece and knocked the pot to bits. At this the king and all the courtiers were lost in amazement at such a good shot. It was on account of this fact that Akbar conceded to Europeans the permission to distil spirits for their own consumption, and would not allow anyone to interfere with them. He said that as the European people must have been created at the same time as spirits, and if deprived of them were like fish out of their element, unless they had drink they could not see plain. Thus it is recorded in the chronicles of Akbar, and until this day the Farangis retain the privilege that he granted to them.

This affair was also the cause of Akbar’s fondness for Europeans, and the reason why he ordered that a great number should be taken into his service, such as lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, surgeons, and gunners of various nations. Among them there being many Catholics, they petitioned the king that either he would allow them to depart for their homes or permit the religious orders to settle in Agrah, for the fact was that without priests they could not exist. Akbar sent envoys to the city of Goa to obtain priests, whereupon the Jesuit fathers came. For them he ordered the construction of a church in Agrah, and thus first of all Europeans became servants of the Mogul kings.

Finding himself conqueror of almost the whole of Hindustan, Akbar followed [90] the example of his father. Although he made little account of his soul, he took care to prepare a resting-place for his body with extreme magnificence. For the site he choose a garden on the road to Dihli, at three leagues’ distance from Agrah on the west, to which he gave the name of Secandara (Sikandrah)—that is to say, ‘Alexandria.’

This mausoleum is a very large dome (vaulted roof) of great height, made all of marble adorned with many kinds of precious stones, the roof all gilded and enamelled in many pleas-
ing colours. The garden is very large and pleasant, walled in on all sides, with various seats inside. There were drawings of human figures. Over these the king Aurangzeb ordered a coat of whitewash to be applied, so that the drawings might not be seen. He said such things were prohibited by the Mahomedan religion. I obtained entrance to this garden several times to inspect the mausoleum, being anxious to see the above-named figures before Aurangzeb should order them to be covered over.

The figures in the principal gateway of the garden were a crucifix, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Ignatius. I had a great desire to obtain entrance into the great dome I have spoken of, and at last one of the officials at the mausoleum, who was a friend of mine, and also wanted to make use of me, believing I was a physician, took me with him. The condition was that I should make a bow such as he made, with great reverence and punctiliousness, just as if the king were still alive. He opened the door, and I joined with him in making a very low bow in total silence, then barefooted I went round and saw everything. As I have already said, there was a holy crucifix delineated on the wall, on the right hand of the crucifix the image of Our Lady with the infant Jesus in her arms, while on the left was Saint Ignatius, the whole delineated. In the ceiling of the dome were great angels and cherubim and many other painted figures. There were also many censers which were lighted every day. The hall is paved all over with stones of different colours.

Outside the mausoleum, in the garden, were many Molas (Mulla)—that is to say, learned men—reading the Quran. On the dome outside, on the very highest point, was a ball, and upon it a pyramid, the whole gilt. Most curious of all is the reason for having these paintings; it was only because they were a novelty in those days; it was not on account of religion. During the time that Aurangzeb was actively at war with Shiva Ji, the villagers, of whom [91] I spoke before (I., 84), broke into the mausoleum in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-

27. Compare all this with Catrou, 114, who reproduces capa di calzo as a piece de brocard d'or, and turns the wall-paintings into a crucifix in relief and two statues. Nor does Manucci say that he received any permission from Aurangzeb to visit the tomb.

28. Note that here, 'as often elsewhere, Shiva Ji is used generically for the Mahrattas. Rajah Shiva Ji having died in 1681, Aurangzeb could not be fighting him in 1691.
one (1691),\(^{29}\) and after stealing all the stones and all the gold
work to be found, extracted the king’s bones and had the teme-
ritv to throw them on a fire and burn them. Aurangzeb was
much put out at the boldness and unruleness of these villagers,
and ordered against them his valiant Bader can (Bahadur Khan),
of which I will speak in its proper place (II., 252).

Akbar had been anxious for a long time to satisfy two sub-
jects of curiosity, which he kept in his heart. The first was to
know what language a child would speak who had not the use
of speech or any master to teach it.\(^{29}\) The second was to find the
source of the famous river Ganges. For the first of these in-
quiries he ordered the erection of a house with many rooms at
a distance of six leagues from the city of Agra, and directed
them to place in it twelve children, who should be retained
there till the age of twelve years. An injunction was laid on
everyone that, under pain of death, no one should speak a word
to them or allow them to communicate with each other. This
was done, because one set of men asserted that they would speak
the natural language, that which was the language of our first
parents. Others held that they would speak the Hebrew language;
others that they would not speak anything but Chaldean; while
the Hindu philosophers and mathematicians asserted that they
must infallibly speak the Samskrit (Sanskrit) language, which
is their Latin. However, the twelve years having passed, they
produced the twelve children before the king. Interpreters for
the various languages were called in to help. Each one put
questions to the children, and they answered just nothing at all.
On the contrary, they were timid, frightened, and fearful, and
such they continued to be for the rest of their lives.

For the second inquiry he selected persons of good judg-
ment and provided them with everything necessary—servants,
conveyances, and sufficient money. They were on their travels
for several months, and at the end of the time they returned

29. For this desecration of Akbar’s tomb, see ii. 252, and the note
there given.

30. For Akbar’s own account, see H. Beveridge’s ‘Father Jerome
Xavier,’ \textit{Journal of the Asiatic Society} (Bengal), vol. lvii., 1888. Part
I., p. 38. See also ‘Akbarnamah’ (twenty-seventh year of the reign),
‘Bibliotheca Indica’ edition, iii. 393; Lakhnau edition, iii. 241, line 6;
and ‘Muntakhab’ (Budauni), Lowe’s translation, vol. ii., p. 296.
and repaired to the king. He asked them what they had seen and where they had been. After all, the only thing they could say was that they had climbed many mountains, keeping always to the course of the stream, which each day grew smaller. After much marching, they arrived at mountains covered with forest. Here they had hard work to get through. When they had traversed these woods, they encountered a very high and large mountain having at its foot a great cow's head sculptured out of the very rock. From the mouth in this head issued a stream of water with such force that no one could keep his feet in front of it. They exerted themselves to ascend the great mountain, to see whether there was any river on beyond. But it was not possible to reach the top. Therefore they turned back and reported what they had seen. I am unable to affirm whether this was verily [92] the river Ganges or not. For it would require one to exhaust one's purse, and perhaps lose one's life, if another attempt were made.\footnote{31}

There happened to this king several things which will either be of use as a guide to his descendants or will serve to divert the reader. The first of these that I wish to recount is what happened to Akbar with a baniani (baniya).

The reader ought to know that the baniyas, of whom I will speak after the death of Akbar, under a separate heading (I., 100), are very chary of giving a direct answer. Akbar was desirous of satisfying his curiosity by an experiment on this great reluctance to answer. He gave an order that the chief of the baniyas should be sent for. This threw the whole of them into a great state of mind, and they assembled in much dread and tribulation beneath the fort to see what was going to happen. The chief of the baniyas entered the royal palace all of a tremble, surmising that some misfortune was about to befall him. On reaching the presence of Akbar, who was taking a walk in a

31. On this question of the source of the Ganges and the cow's mouth carved in the rock, see Bernouilli, 'Recherches sur l'Inde,' 1788, ii. 282, where, in a treatise on Tieffenthaler's map, Anquetil Duperron quotes F. Catrou, 'Histoire,' i. 162, 264 (101, 102 of 4to. edition). Anquetil also refers to a statement by Terri (E. Terry), printed in Melchizidec Thevenot's 'Recueil,' i. 10, and to Petis de la Croix's translation of 'Sharaf-ud-din,' iii. 131, 139 (English edition of 1723, ii. 78), or the Persian text, 'Bibliotheca Indica' edition, ii. 145, or Elliot, 'Historians of India,' iii. 478.
garden on the banks of a stream, Akbar asked him where that water went to. The baniya, confused and frightened, shook his head without saying a word. The king showed himself angry at this delay, and directed him to reply without any fear. The baniya answered tremblingly that, if His Majesty pleased, would he allow him the space of thirteen days in which to reflect over such an important piece of business? The baniya left the garden, much puzzled over such a question, while Akbar smiled to himself. Seeing that the king knew where the said water ran to, the baniya argued that the question must conceal some mystery.

Hardly had the man left the fortress, when all the other baniyas ran up to find out from their headman the reason of his being sent for. He replied in great dejection that he invited the oldest of them to his house, where he would disclose the royal questions. On arriving there he told them the whole matter, stating that he had not had the temerity to reply, since the king knew very well which way the said water ran; and as the king made himself out so simple, they ought to look out for some mishap. They were all amazed, not knowing what to think; they all anticipated ruin, and remained silent. Only one man got on his feet and said that if they would agree to give him something for his trouble, he would offer himself as able to satisfy the king without doing harm to anyone.

When the thirteen days had elapsed, men came from the king to summon the headman. He pretended he was very ill, and sent back [93] excuses to the king, and said that he would send some one in his place. When his reply came back, and along with it the substitute, this fresh baniya was called in, and Akbar asked him where the water went to. The wary and astute baniya pretended to be plunged in thought, as if he had no anticipation of such a question. After a few moments he asked for leave to tell a story. The king gave permission. It was about how he had married, and the sum of money that his father-in-law had promised him. After the marriage the promise was not kept. On his demanding payment of the debt, his father-in-law gave him a box on the ears. As he talked he moved his hands about, and when he said that his father-in-law hit him on the head, he struck his own hand on his turban, causing it to fall into the channel. Turning round, he looked on in amazement at seeing his turban moving along with the
current of water. Then he turned to Akbar and said, as if astonished: 'Your Majesty saw whither the water carried off my turban?' In this mode he pointed out where the water of the channel went. The king laughed heartily at seeing the baniyas so crafty in their affairs. He gave this baniya a serpao (sarapa) and made him head of them all, he being a man of some estimation in his tribe.

If the case of the baniya is a curious one, none the less curious is that which befell Akbar with the poor man. You must know first that in the Mogul kingdom there are different kinds of poor, otherwise called faqires (faqir), who ask alms. The more important among these are the bequedes (be-gaid)—that is to say, 'liberated'; while others are beters (be-tars)—that is to say, 'fearless.'

The first are very rude in manner, using great liberty in speech, fearing no one and paying no one respect, whatever his rank, using much abusive language and scandalous words, or polite sayings, just as it pleases them. These men often enter boldly into the houses of great men, and if the doorkeepers stop them from going in, they apply to the whole family much abusive language, sparing neither master nor mistress, nor sons, nor grandchildren, nor ancestors, coupling their names with the coarsest abuse. In spite of this the people of the house show no anger, but secure their departure by soft words, giving them some alms and begging their pardon. If the faqirs are allowed entrance, they march straight to where the master is and seat themselves close to him, although dirty, their feet all over mud, and clad in filthy rags. Without any deference or civility of speech, they take the tobacco-pipe out of the master's mouth and place it in their own. With much respect the master returns thanks for this honour, and secures [94] the man's departure by some money. They are so contumacious and insolent that sometimes they are not satisfied with what they get, and it is necessary to give them all they demand. Never do they beg you to give for the love of God, imagining they would anger God by asking alms in His name, alms being such a petty thing in comparison with the greatness of God. Everyone tries to find a means of satisfying them without showing any hesitation, for fear of some curse. In addition, the people of Hindustan are very kindly and compassionate.
The beters (be-tars) are faqirs who ask for alms with a sharp knife in their hand. They place themselves in front of a shop, and begin to shout for alms to be given them, pointing at what they want. When the shopkeeper refuses to give a man what he asks for, he wounds himself on the arms or on the head or on the legs, and, taking the blood, throws it into the shop as a sign of his curse. Ordinarily these faqirs ask for alms at the shops of the baniyas, who are very timid, and rather than see such wounds, give them what they ask, usually some money.

Akbar having noticed this class of faqirs, who cut their own bodies, concluded that such men would be sure to fight with great spirit and courage. He selected four thousand as armed horsemen with good pay, and he sent them against the villagers of Matora (Mathura). At the very first advance, without waiting for the fighting to begin, all of them turned tail, and fled as hard as they could go. On hearing of this cowardly flight, Akbar ordered them to be summoned, and asked them the cause; they had not even waited for the enemy, and yet had such courage that they inflicted wounds on themselves. Their reply was in very few words, and they made Akbar understand that their making cuts on themselves was not courage but deceit. They said: 'When we cut our own flesh, we avoid veins, nerves, and bones; but an enemy wounds without mercy, and it does not suit us to have our bodies cut about by the hands of others.' The king on hearing these words thrust them forth, being satisfied at having unveiled the cowardice and the deceit of this sort of faqir, of whom in the Mogul country there are to this day a great number.

I will now write of two cases which led to Akbar's leaving behind him regulations for his descendants. The first case was when at one stroke he raised one of his servants of low rank to the position of a great lord. This man, finding himself so suddenly wealthy, fell into anxiety about his manner of living, his behaviour to others, and the regulation of his expenditure. Thus by the next day he was mad. On hearing what had happened, Akbar fixed as a rule for his [95] descendants that they should not make any man a grandee all at once, but only little by little, and as a fact the royal house observes this rule to this day.

This rule was good, but the following one was nothing more than a piece of diabolical policy. It happened that Akbar had
married his daughter to a noble. After a time this son-in-law rose in rebellion with the idea of obtaining the throne, but fortune did not favour him in this enterprise, for he was captured through treachery and beheaded. Thus Akbar bequeathed to his descendants the rule not to give their daughters in marriage. This rule remained in force up to the time of Aurangzeb, who gave his daughters in marriage upon their insisting, as I shall recount hereafter (II., 41). However, although not married, the princesses nevertheless were not without their hidden pastimes. Recollecting what Sher—a.e., Sher Shah—had done to his father, Humayun—that is, he rebelled because he found himself very wealthy—Akbar left it as a law to his descendants that the Pathans should never receive higher pay than four hundred thousand rupees a year, that they were not to be appointed governors, and should only be employed as soldiers.

The grandeur he had attained and the conquests he had made rendered Akbar so proud that by his ordinance no one was allowed to sit down before him, except those of the blood royal. Unto this day this regulation is observed at the court of the Great Mogul. Everybody stands, only ambassadors receiving permission to be seated in the royal presence. Nor was he content with this, but ever grew in pride, as we read in the Holy Scriptures: ‘The pride of the enemies of God grows ever more and more’ (Superbia eorum qui te odurent ascendit semper). He attempted to found a new sect, a mixture of the faith of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahomedans, with much taken from the Hindus, adding certain matters invented by himself. His ambition was to display himself as a new founder of the faith, and therefore he entitled himself ‘Xa Gelaludim Akebar’ (Shah Jalal-ud-din Akbar), which means ‘King powerful in the sovereign faith.’ But God did not accord him time to accomplish his intention, for, coming to an end of his ill deeds, he procured his own death when trying to kill others by poison, as I now recount to you.

Akbar was a great warrior and also a great hunter. When he sought relaxation after any victory, or when awaiting an enemy, his usual diversion was to march hither and thither, enduring great fatigues, in search of something to kill. Since he was very bold, he went into the woods and wastes and mountains without [96] any protection. Once it happened that, with the greatest eagerness, he went into the hills to kill a tiger, hav-