ing failed in getting a shot at it. Separated from his men and weary, he sat himself down beneath a shady tree. While reflecting on what it was best for him to do, there came towards him a hairy creeping thing of scarlet colour. Akbar took an arrow from his quiver and slew the creeping thing or worm (verme), the arrow falling on the ground before him. Hardly had the creeping thing or worm died when a deer passed in front of him. Taking up the same arrow with which he had slain the serpent, he fixed it in his bow and shot at the deer, which forthwith fell dead, without having been wounded in a mortal place. Akbar was amazed at seeing the fallen deer lying quite motionless. He was still considering what could be the reason of such a sudden death when the huntsmen arrived, who were in pursuit of the same deer that the king had killed. On their appearing, he gave orders for the deer to be dragged before him. The huntsmen laid hold of the deer, when it fell to pieces, one portion here, another there, the whole being rotten. The king was astonished and amazed, and suspected that someone had done him a trick and placed poison on the arrows. He asked what could be the cause of this thing. The huntsmen answered that the deer had died of some subtile poison. Thereupon the king said that before shooting at the deer, with the same arrow he had killed a worm, to which he pointed. The huntsmen examined the worm and then begged the king to leave the spot at once, for that worm was the very essence of poison, its smell alone was sufficient to cause death. If it had done him no harm it was because he had sat to the windward, and thus the smell could not reach his royal person.

The king ordered that the said worm should be kept and put in a glass phial; and he confined to an official the duty of preserving poisons so that they could be produced when he gave the order. This practice has been passed on to all the Mogul kings, it being one of the bad examples that Akbar bequeathed to his descendants. The official has the care of various poisons, and when the king desires to take the life secretly of any grandee, he orders the poison to be applied on the hood and the cuffs of the cabayas (qaba, Persian, 'a long gown') which are given at his audiences to those present at court; or to those who are not there he sends a messenger with this kind of robe (serpao=
and thus, under the cloak of honour, abridges their lives. In this manner Akbar killed many princes, who either, afraid of his power, came voluntarily to offer their submission and pay him tribute, or, overcome in battle and warfare, were forced to submit themselves [97].

The policy of thus getting rid of these great men he bequeathed to his descendants, who unto this day follow it with great exactitude. The practice consists in never showing any irritation, whatever be the offence committed by these princes or rajahs. On the contrary, at such junctures he made a show of being well-inclined towards them, gave them promotion to higher rank, and, if away from court, sent them friendly letters. Having thus put them off their guard, he took their life by poison, which was put upon the gowns or other presents.

He employed another method at court, whereby he finally met with his own death. The reader should know that the greatest honour that can be done by a Mogul king to a favoured person is to give him with his own hands a folded betel-leaf. Akbar did this honour to various persons at different times; but many, having been thus honoured, died shortly afterwards. This king had a box to hold betel with three divisions: in the first were the leaves; in the second, the restorative pills which he ate; in the third, other pills, poisoned but quite similar to the restorative ones. When the king was pleased to confer a very great honour, he gave a betel-leaf and then one of his restoratives. But when he meant to kill anyone, after offering the betel, he handed him one of the imitated pills, whereby without fail the man's life was sacrificed.

It happened one day that the king wished to kill one of the grandees, and took by oversight one of the poisoned pills and ate it, taking it for one of the restoratives, with the object of giving confidence to the other man. After a little time he recognised the mistake he had made; but there was no remedy, and thus, through his own death, was disclosed the way that he had killed others. This was the well-earned chastisement of his crimes, and he received the measures that he had meted out to so many others.

Leaving an only son, Janguir (Jahangir), he was buried in the tomb that he had himself prepared, as I have already said.

32. Sarapa, literally 'head to foot,' a complete set of robes of honour.
(I., 90), after having governed Hindustan for forty-nine years, seven months, and three days. There is no doubt that this king was the first who brought Hindustan into subjection, and was the most successful in war. He transmitted to his descendants several precepts of policy which, although not suitable for a mortal man with an immortal soul, who knows that he must give account before God for all his deeds, and there obtain their merited reward or punishment, were still in accordance with the faith of Muhammad. They demonstrated that Akbar was a man of good judgment, if we are to speak of him as a whole.

With regard to Akbar's possession of artillery in Hindustan, and also in connection with the affair he had with the baniya, the opportunity is given me to speak first of the Chinese, secondly of the baniyas. I judge it appropriate to place here what I have to say on these two points, in order to afford the reader clearer and more distinct information as to how very probable it is that the Chinese were once the lords of Hindustan, and also to paint in accurate colours the astuteness of the baniyas [98].

**Probability of the Chinese Having Been in Hindustan**

I opine that this little account will be of some satisfaction to the reader, more especially at a time when so many write about the Chinese, their empire and their conquests. Although I do not affirm that the Chinese were in ancient times masters of any other countries besides China, nevertheless it appears to me very probable that, in addition to the lands they now occupy, they might once have had a much more extensive empire. I could adduce many reasons for this assumption of mine, but as I have decided not to write on any other subject than the Mogul Empire, I leave it to other inquiring minds to deal with this question. All I will say is that there is a good foundation for asserting that the Chinese were once lords of Hindustan, and that they were ejected by the Pathans, seeing that they were opposed to the entrance of foreigners into the empire of China, and put to death those whose evil fortune impelled them to enter the Chinese territory. On the whole, it

33. The second half of this sentence is obscure, but it reads so in the text.
appears to me the strongest reasons for affirming that the Chinese were once in Hindustan are the things I have seen there; of which I will give a brief account to the reader, leaving it to him to decide whether they ever were or not in the lands of which we are speaking.

During the time that I dwelt in Hindustan I saw various ancient buildings with many Chinese images and letters cut on the stones and other such works, all of which give rise to the idea that the Chinese had dwelt here. Two leagues from the city of Dilhi there is an ancient city called Cojacotobdim (Khwajah Qutb-ud-din), so named from an ancient tomb, still existing, whose builders have vanished. At this place I have seen several times a very ancient hall built of great stones. In front of the said hall there is a pillar of bronze[12] buried in the rock; it is two arms’ length in height and nine palms in circumference. On this pillar there are some engraved letters, and to this day no one has been able to recognise what letters they are, although many inquirers have done their best to find out what they are meant to denote. The inhabitants say that the letters are Chinese.

Signs of the presence of the Chinese are not wanting in Hindustan. These are found chiefly in the country of the Dacan (Dakhin), where there is a hill called Alura[33] (Ilurah, Ellora), twenty-four leagues distant from Aurangabad, towards the west. At that place there are several caves dug out by pickaxes, forming lovely open courts, halls, rooms, cells, having corner-stones ornamented with various Chinese figures, and some reservoirs of natural water provided with many steps. In one of these halls there are thirteen statues, sculptured out of the live rock. Each one has its own special form. The principal statue is one with a wound on the finger and a comical expression of face; it is

34. As to this pillar, which is of iron, see Carr-Stephen, ‘Archaeology of Delhi,’ pp. 16-24, and A. Harcourt, ‘Guide,’ p. 115. The inscription, in an ancient form of Nagari script, was first deciphered by James Princep, and, of course, has no connection with the Chinese language or people.

35. Ellora is about fifteen miles north-west of Aurangabad (see Willmott and Syed Hossain, ‘Sketch of Nizam’s Dominions,’ ii. 440, who quote, on pp. 442-448, Jean Thevenot’s description of his visit in 1667). Mr. Burgees has published a full account in his ‘Rock Temples of Elura’ (1877).
breathing on the wound and writhing its body. The others behold this figure with wonder and amaze [99]. One bites his lips, another puts his finger in his mouth, another holds his head with both hands, another twists his nostrils, another seems to be weeping; the eyes of another are starting from his head with fear; one has his mouth open, another bites his tongue; one has his hands folded, another is in the act of striking the ground with his foot, one has his hand placed over his mouth, and another is holding his heard. These works of art are in an open place. As they are so cleverly done, and their appearance somewhat Chinese, many say that they were executed by the ancient Chinese. Besides these statues, there is in the same place a fallen building which seems to have been a tower. At the foot of it are many stone figures resembling the Chinese.

I also visited the island of Salcette (Salset),36 owned by the Portuguese, and not far from the town of Bassaim (Bassein). In the middle of this island there is a mountain having many sculptured figures and many dwellings. You go into a very deep cave which is quite dark. When you have got well in you hear a great noise of waters. An inquiring Portuguese of some boldness went in with a light until he reached a deep cavern, whence issued the noise of running water. He threw in a bundle of straw, which came out in the river six leagues from the said cave, near a village called Thana, which is situated in the same island, near the mainland. The inhabitants of the island, and the most experienced old men, say that this labyrinth is extremely ancient, made in the time when the Chinese were lords over India; that they cut through a tongue of land to allow of the passage of the river, and thus formed the island. It can be plainly perceived that this is the work of man's hand, for if you cross the river at its narrowest part you can see (and I have seen) the severed rocks.37

36. Salsete (Sashti) is an island to the north of Bombay Island, with which it is now connected by a bridge and causeway. It is eighteen miles long by ten broad. The hill in its centre is called Kaneri (Kanheri). Thana is about three miles east of that hill (‘Bombay Gazetteer,’ xiv., ‘Thana,’ pp. 121-190).

37. As Dr. Codrington points out, this is a mere fancy. The island of Salsette is formed by the Bassein creek joining the Thana creek at Thana, the junction not being artificial or through any high or severed rocks; it is a tidal way of a not unusual kind.
On the coast of Choramandal, near the sea, there is also a rock called Mavelivarao (Mahabalipuram), distant four leagues from a place called Sadrasta patao (Sadrasta-patanam, or Sadras), where there are many sculptured figures resembling Chinese. There is also on that coast a town called Negapatao (Negapatanam), and outside the town on the sea-beach is a large temple (pagode) known as the China Pagoda. In the year one thousand six hundred ninety and two there was a war between the Dutch and the owner of that territory, Lourenco Piter, who at that time was governor of Negapatanam and of all the Choromandal coast, ordered this pagoda to be destroyed; and he converted it into a battery, on which he mounted eight pieces of artillery. More than half of the pagoda was knocked down after the greatest exertions. They discovered in the pagoda, between the walls, many images of a metal which looked like gold, and up to this day no one knows of what kind this metal is. The images were Chinese.

I reserved for this place what I have to say about the artillery that Akbar possessed in Hindustan, because the statement I am about to make may be held a novelty in Europe—that is to say, the idea that the first inventors of artillery were the Chinese. For the most experienced historians of our Europe write that artillery was invented in the year one thousand three hundred and eighty by Bertoldo Nigro, a German, whereas the artillery owned by Akbar was much older. I have seen many large cannon of excellent metal, with the breach made plain just like a drum. The imperfection of the work proved that these were the earliest; nor can the credit for such work be given to any other nation than the Chinese, who of all peoples are noted as the most ingenious. Thus it becomes proved, as the most

38. Maha-bali-puram, or Seven Pagodas, thirty-three miles south of Madras ('Madras Manual of Administration,' iii. 806). Sadras is a town on the coast, seven miles south of Seven Pagodas (ibid., 775).

39. A town on the sea coast, in the Tanjur district, 160 miles from Madras. An ancient brick tower, 70 feet high, of supposed Jain or Buddhist origin, is known as the China tower ('Madras Manual of Ad.,' iii. 581).

40. This is Laurens Pit, the younger, who was Dutch chief at Negapatanam in 1690, 1691 (see Dubois, Vies des Gouverneurs généraux, pp. 247, 263). He also conducted the correspondence with Johannes Bachures, an envoy sent to the Mogul's Court in the Dakhin.
probable opinion, that the Chinese were once in ancient times the masters of Hindustan.

ABOUT THE BANIYAS

Events give rise to the writing by historians of many things they would not otherwise record. Although I meant to write elsewhere about these baniyas, of whom there are many in the Mogul kingdom, I apprehend it to be appropriate to write about them here, seizing the occasion of what happened to Akbar.

The baniyas are a certain class of Hindus who eat neither flesh nor fish, and only consume grain, vegetables, milk, and a great deal of butter. They are very desirous of owning a cow, from the worship that they pay to this animal. They are so devoted to the cow, in whom rests their entire hope of salvation, that in the agony of death they take hold of a cow's tail and die with it in their hand. By this act they imagine they are absolved from all their sins; they think that the cow carries them aloft into the sky without their touching those flames of fire that they have merited for their sinful deeds. It is amazing to see the foolishness of this ill-placed devotion [101] paid by them to cows, for when purchance the animal urinates on the dying man while holding its tail in his hand, far from trying to keep him out of the way, they say that he has been made holy, and perform great rejoicings at great expense in gratitude for such a favour.

The reader must understand that it is not only the baniyas who thus reverence the cow, but also the whole of the Hindus, of whatever station in life. But the baniyas are the most superstitious on this subject. So much is this the case that when anyone commits a great sin—that is to say, either against the idols, or by forsaking his religion—if he consents to cleanse himself of such sin, he goes to the Brahmans, who are their priests. They give him cow-dung dissolved in its urine, adding a little butter, some sweet and some sour milk. On drinking this he is absolved, and some penance is added. I have seen one of these men with a padlock hanging from his lips, and he went about with it for some days as a penance.

By nature these baniyas are very timid, and object to carry arms. This is why they do not keep any weapons in their houses, neither a knife nor other implement by which injury can
be inflicted. They are very careful about the answers they give to questions, as can be seen from the affair which I recounted a little time ago (I., 92), and, according to popular sayings, it is their habit to dissemble even when someone asks them whether it is (they are, however, much more ready to answer if you talk about business). They give a useless answer; but if the questioner insists on a reply, they say first of all that they do not know. After that, if he still demands a direct answer, they say (for example): 'Do you not know that yesterday it was Thursday?' If the other returns to the charge, they say: 'I do not know that to-morrow is Saturday?' And if the inquirer persists, they answer with hesitation: 'Everybody says that to-day is Friday.'

On the contrary, if the talk is of business, they give a real answer, and are such strong arithmeticians that in the short time they can make any sort of calculation, never making a mistake of a single figure. They hold it as a great sin to kill any animal. Therefore, if they find on their bodies any louse or flea, and, or other kind of vermin, they lay hold of it with the tips of their fingers, and carry it away to a distance in a place of security. In their houses they have different receptacles full of these animals, whose sustenance is provided in the following manner: They search for some necessitous wret and paying him money, leave him for the whole night bound up the receptacle or the bed, and in this way the animals referred to are fed; for these baniyas are of a character more full of charity for animals than for men. Thus they make for animals niches in the walls of their houses, where all sorts of birds assemble and build their nests. To these they give food [102], and never harm them any harm.

In the kingdom of Guzurate (Gujarat) there is a town on the sea called Cambaya (Kambayat, Cambay); there these beyas have a hospital for sick birds, and reward a surgeon treating them. Once they got an injured falcon, and it was among the other birds, whereupon it began to kill and devour its fellows. Upon seeing this, they turned it out, saying that must be of Farangi race.

These baniyas have great veneration for the river Gang. They say that by bathing your body in it you attain redemption and become delivered from your sins. The same end is gair for those whose ashes are thrown into that river. For this reas
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after burning the dead man's body, as is the custom, the ashes of great nobles are carried from great distances followed by a great concourse, with much ceremonial and expenditure, to be thrown into the said river.

The baniyas carry this Ganges water in brass vessels through the kingdom far and near for delivery to their devotees, from whom they receive their reward. Many Hindu princes hold it a religious duty to drink such water. To this intent they send camels, who daily go and come, even if it be a two or three months' journey. There is another piece of foolishness they have—that is to say, when a man is near death they carry him to the bank of the said river, and finish off by killing him by dint of its waters. It happens often that out of devotion men die on the banks of this river, as I have seen, and the Hindus who pass by throw the body into it. This will suffice for an account of a people who do not deserve the name of man, who are to be found in great numbers in the Mogul kingdom.

OF JANGUIR (JAHANGIR), FOURTH KING OF HINDUSTAN, NINTH OF THE RACE OF TAIMUR-I-LANG

It is a truth tested by experience that sons dissipate what their fathers gained in the sweat of their brow; nor do all sons imitate the good qualities of their ancestors. Thus it was in Hindustan, for, after having seen one king who was a great soldier and a great conqueror, such as Akbar was, it had for king his only son, Jahangir, a man with no desire to undertake the labour of further conquest, one who contended himself with enjoying the fruit of his father's labours.

This king was fond of feasts, dancing, and music. Just as much as he was a friend of and devoted to these amusements was he inimical to the Mahomedan religion. For this reason he did many [103] things against it, chiefly in not observing the fast customary among the Mahomedans, in drinking wine, in eating pig's flesh, and other such things. In these actions he sought a means of scoffing at the Mahomedans, which I will recount as I proceed.

Once he sent for the Jesuit fathers and asked them what pork tasted like. They replied that it had a special taste and a most extraordinary flavour. He was desirous of eating of this flesh, and visited the house of the said fathers. There he ate pork and
drank wine, and acquired such a liking for such food and drink that subsequently he ate it and drank wine publicly many a time. The learned in the Mahomedan law gave him to understand repeatedly that wine and pork were prohibited in the Quran. Enraged at so many warnings, he sent out orders one day to assemble all the learned men. He inquired from them the religions in which it was allowable to drink wine and at the same time eat of pork. They replied that only the Christians had that liberty. He (Jahangir) then said publicly that he meant to become a Christian. To this end he forthwith ordered that tailors be summoned to cut out clothes after the European fashion, and that search should be made for hats. The learned men were in amazement, and taking counsel together, said that the king might eat and drink whatever he liked. I have met persons who were present at the time.

Jahangir, finding these men so easy to deal with, seized every occasion to aggravate them. To this end he ordered the casting of several figures of pigs in solid gold, which he kept in his palaces; and when he awoke from sleep, on seeing these images, he used to say he would rather see the figure of a pig than the face of a Mahomedan. These figures remained until his death, when his son Xaaiaahan (Shahjahan), who then became king, ordered them to be buried in front of the royal seat in the fortress of Lahor, where Jahangir usually lived. Many a time I sat there with the governor of the fortress. He used to say to me that if he had the wealth then beneath his body he would be a very rich man. This governor's name was Amanatcan (Amanat Khan), an old man belonging to the times of that king (Jahangir), a great friend of mine and of all Christians; he delighted to listen to talk about the Gospel. It was in this hall that King Jahangir gave audience; it was three hundred paces long and two hundred and fifty wide.

Among the other things done by Jahangir to annoy the Mahomedans was refusing to fast as they do every year for a whole

41. Apparently the man meant is Mirak Mu'in-ud-din Ahmad of Khwaf, made Amanat Khan in the early years of 'Alamgir's reign. His first entry into the imperial service was in 1050 H. (1640-1641), and he died in 1095 H. (1683-1684). He was grandfather of Shah Nawaz Khan, author of the 'Ma, asir-ul-umara' (see that work, i. 258-268). In 'Khafi Khan,' ii. 261, Amanat Khan is named as a former Diwan of Lahor. He appears again in Part V., f. 26.
month. During the daytime they eat and drink nothing; it is only at night they eat what is then made ready; during the day they retire [104] and go to sleep. At night they are jovial, taking their meal and conversing with their house fully lighted up. This king (Jahangir) did the exact contrary. Not a day passed without his giving audience, as he did near the middle of the day for about two hours or more, so as to incommode the people about his court. He ate and drank in front of them all, giving portions to those who seemed to him the most bigoted, with a view to make them break the fast. They ate for fear of an order being given to throw them to the lions. These beasts were kept in his presence, and were used to put to death whomsoever he pleased. Besides this, he had a small tray in which there were some very sharp lancets. When any soldier came into his presence with a courageous look or with his turban cocked, he called him near, and with one of the said lancets pierced his nose. If the soldier showed that it hurt him, he ordered the man to be ejected from the court with cuffs and buffeting, saying that a soldier who was afraid of such a little piece of iron as that would never in war-time endure lance-thrusts and sword-cuts. On the contrary, if the soldier made believe to meet the lancet without fear, he would double the man's pay, and his estimation rose at court. The king would say such men deserved the name of soldiers—they were veritable men of war.

It happened that a soldier killed a tiger, and making the skin into a coat, came to court with great pride. On seeing him, Jahangir fired his gun at him, and the bullet went through the man's leg, so that he fell where he stood. The king said: 'If I had not killed that tiger my lion would have got enraged.'

If there was any youth too lively and too fond of women, he would order him to be shut up with a woman of low caste, dirty, malodorous, and covered all over with filth. Thus he would leave the youth for several days, punishing in this manner the riotousness of youth.

He never forgave his physician, a very religious man, who came to court once when the king had already several cups in his head. Jahangir called for a bow and arrow wherewith to slay the physician. The queen, who was behind a screen, humanely ordered them to produce arrows of cane, so that the king might not kill him. Thus, when the physician arrived, he shot at him with the said arrows. In spite of this attack the
physician behaved in a very dutiful manner, though the king never desisted from shooting at him. At length the courtiers, by order of the queen, made a sign to him that he should fall to the ground. He fell as one dead, and Jahangir said that he deserved death, having by his pretences taken the life of many a one. All this he did by reason of the displeasure he had against Mahomedans.

Some assert that Jahangir was willing to become a Christian, and this is why [105] he mocked so much at the Mahomedans. Many times he ordered the learned men to dispute with the Jesuit fathers over the Faith in his presence, and the fathers always came out the victors. Once the learned men, not having any other answer to give, replied: ‘What can we reply? Those with any knowledge are aware that our reasons are the stronger’—that is to say, that the Gospel was falsified. Of the givers of this answer, among the rest was the Qazi. The father retorted instantly with some animation: ‘On this very spot I can prove to your majesty and the whole court that the Gospel which I hold in my hand has not been falsified, but is the Truth. If you will order a stack of straw to be brought into your majesty’s presence, I, with my book in my hand, will seat myself on the straw, and there shall also be seated with me the Qazi holding his quran. When we have seated ourselves in this manner, let them set the straw alight, and thus will be seen which faith is the true one.’

The Qazi was in great fright at this speech; and knowing that Jahangir was just the man to make the experiment, he dropped his head, the colour left his face, and trembling, he defiled himself, filling the whole court with the odour, but answering never a word. When the smell reached Jahangir, he held his nose, as also did the courtiers. Then he spoke briefly: ‘I see that the padre is ready to prove the truth of his faith, but the Qazi is already in a fright, and has made one mistake.’ He said

42. Catrou (i. 119) says this story is attributed in Europe to P. Rodolfo Aquaviva in the time of Akbar. See E. D. Maclagan’s article on ‘Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar,’ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896, Part I., pp. 41, 51, quoting ‘Budaoni,’ ii. 299 (‘Bibliotheca Indica’). Bernier has the story of Pere ‘Atash,’ with slightly different details (‘Travels,’ edition Constable, p. 288). H. G. Keene (‘Turks in India,’ 1879, p. 255) says Joseph de Castro died at Agrah in 1646. His tomb is among those in the Padre Sântus Cemetery there (see Father Symphorien’s article in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agrah about 1874).
to the padre: 'Your name shall be from this day forth "Padri Atax"' (Atash)—that is to say, 'Father Fire.' The name of the padre in question was Joseph da Costa, a Portuguese by race, but after this he was always called Padre Atash.

Jahangir, being at his palace within the city of Lahor, which he had built upon a river called the Ravy (Ravi), saw a covered boat pass with its curtains down. When it arrived near the royal seat, he saw that in the boat was a beautiful woman. He fell so violently in love with her that he had no sleep nor rest: but the woman replied firmly to all the solicitations made to her on behalf of the king, that she was the wife of a soldier of position named Xir Afgam (Sher Afgan)—that is to say, 'Tearer of Tigers'—nor would she hear a word from any other man so long as her husband remained alive. The king, who was deeply in love with her, sent an order to the governor of the city of Patana (Patnah) that as soon as Sher Afgan should arrive there with a letter he must be slain. This was done, but the valorous soldier, although taken unawares, killed five persons in defending himself. Sher Afgan being dead, Jahangir took the woman [106] into his palace. The condition made was that she should be principal queen, and her father be made wazir, with absolute power throughout the empire, her brothers and nearest relations to be grandees at the court. All of these things were conceded by the king; he made a grand feast which lasted for eight days, and many gifts were conferred on all the men at court. The queen thus obtained, to whom Jahangir gave the title of Nur Jahan—that is to say, 'Dawn of the World'—governed the kingdom, and did everything that she pleased. She was a woman of great judgment and, of a verity, worthy to be a queen. They struck coin in her name, which had for symbol the twelve signs of the zodiac, and in her time these were current money.

Nur Jahan succeeded in making the king drink less than he had done formerly, and after many entreaties he agreed that he would not drink more than nine cupfuls. Every time he drank it must be offered by her hand. If on any account he should ask for more, he was to be satisfied to allow her to put him off by excuses. Many days had not passed when the king, being engaged in listening to the singing of his musicians, began to drink joyously. In a short time he had come to the end of his nine cupfuls. As the music went on he asked for more, but the queen would not give it, saying that he had already had his nine cupfuls,
and she did not mean to give him any more. Jahangir went on asking for just one cup more. When he saw that the queen would not give ear to his words, he fell into a passion, laid hold of the queen and scratched her, she doing the same on her side, grappling with the king, biting and scratching him, and no one dared to separate them.

The musicians, hearing the noise going on in the room, began to call out and weep, tearing their garments, and beating with their hands and feet, as if someone were doing them an injury. Thereupon out came the king and queen, who had been struggling together, to find out the reason of all these cries. Seeing that it was a feigned plot of the musicians, they fell a-laughing, and the fight ended. The king was highly delighted with the trick played by the musicians, to whom he gave a handsome reward.

But the queen, after the custom of petted women, showed herself more angry and offended than before. She would neither take his gifts, nor listen to the excuses he made to her. In the end, through a third person, she gave Jahangir to understand that the only way of being pardoned for the affront was to throw himself at her feet. The king, who could not live without Nur Jahan, was willing to carry out her wishes, but he feared to be blamed for such an act, which would give rise to a great deal of talk among his people; therefore he took counsel with an old woman. At once she got him out of his difficulty by advising him that, when the queen was walking in the garden, and the sun was shining on her, he should place himself before her in such a way that the shadow of his body should reach the queen's feet; then he could beseech his loved one as if he were at her feet. The old woman got the queen into the garden by beguilements, and thus the king approached until his shadow was at the feet of the queen. Then he said to her, 'Behold, my soul is at your feet!' and thus peace was made.

The queen, to show that her heart was won by so much love, invited the king to a sumptuous banquet, lasting eight days. She ordered all the reservoirs, both in the garden and in the palace, to be filled with rose-water, prohibiting anyone from washing his hands in these reservoirs. It happened that she went to sleep near one of the tanks. At early dawn she rose, and as she was anxious that no one should foul the water in these tanks, she went at once to see if there had been any defilement. She noticed
on the top of the water a film of oil. At this she flew into a passion, suspecting someone had thrown fat into this tank. She was curious to know what it could be that had dirtied the water, so she ordered someone to pass a hand over the oil referred to. Smelling it, she found it had a very sweet smell. Two or three times she smelt it, and each time was aware of the same smell; hence she concluded that the said oil had formed from the rosewater like dew. Very much pleased at having acquired such an excellent perfume; she quickly rubbed some on her clothes, and went off to embrace the king. He was asleep, but on being roused he was lost in admiration at such a fine perfume, while Nur Jahan recounted to him the story. It was thus that the secret of essence of roses was discovered in Hindustan; and in those days a hundred rupees were paid for one rupee's weight of the said essence. Nowadays it is to be got for fifteen rupees, owing to the great quantity of roses grown in the empire.43

I was anxious to find out the descent of this queen, and I came to know for a certainty that she was the daughter of a Persian who arrived from Persia as a camel-driver in the service of some Armenian merchants. He brought with him his wife, who was enceinte. On the way, near the fortress of Candar (Qandahar), she was delivered of a child, and one of the merchants lent him an ass on which to convey the woman in that state of distress. The child that was born in this miserable plight came to be this most famous queen (Nur Jahan). Through her influence the court of the Great Mogul was filled with great nobles from Persia [108].

This king was very fond of carrying out works for the benefit of the public and the adornment of his kingdom. To this intent he issued orders to have trees planted on the royal highways from one end of the country to the other, commencing at the city of Moltan (Multan), and going as far as the city of Ilavas (Allahabad)—that is, for five hundred and thirteen leagues. At the distance of one league apart are to be seen something like pyramids, and by these the traveller can reckon the distance he has traversed. Near to every such pillar there is a village for the refreshment of those passing by. On these roads are found saraes, reservoirs, gardens, and villages.

43. This story of the discovery of essence of roses is to be found in the Indian histories. The place assigned is the Shalimar Garden, just outside Lahor.
The king came out to inspect this work of his, and went from Lahor as far as Agrab. One night, being in his tent drinking his liquor, he heard the jackals call. These are a breed of small wolves which exist also in Persia, and in India there are a great number. The king asked why these animals were not quiet. The courtiers answered that, knowing of the arrival of His Majesty, they craved some protection against the cold. Jahan-gir there and then ordered that they should be presented with 'serpaos' (sarapa, or complete suits) and shawls to wear. The order was carried out. No one failed to approve this regal generosity.

The night following, once more the king heard the cry of the jackals. He inquired if his order had been carried out. On receiving an affirmative reply, he wanted to know why they repeated their calls. The courtiers answered that this time they had not come to complain, but to render thanks to His Majesty for the alms given them by him on the preceding night. The king was highly pleased at this answer, for the Moguls are very avid of praise. So much is this the case that flattery, which to European princes would appear mere mockery, would by the Mogul king and grandees be accepted as sincere laudation. Though they are quite aware of their falseness, they are pleased nevertheless to hear such words, and swallow them at their superficial valuation.

I will recount here some ridiculous instances, and I am telling the truth without the least exaggeration. If a Mogul king or prince sees an elephant or a horse not of very much account, and should say that it is a fine elephant or a powerful horse, then the courtiers begin to praise the elephant, saying that there is not in the world another as large or its equal in strength and stanchness; that once it fought against five or six other elephants clad in armour while it was unprotected, yet it routed them all; that, being present in such and such a war, it threw the enemy’s army into confusion and disarray; that its trunk could carry more than would go on the backs of five or six other elephants, and other things like this, which, if I were to state, the reader would think me fooling him.

In the case of a horse, they would at once say that it is of such mettle that it would pass through hills of fire. If they discharged a whole battery of artillery at once in front of it, it would not, owing to its high courage [109] and temper, stir more than if it were made of brass; of such cleverness that you need only:
move the rein a little to get it to carry out the order that the rider had in his head; and that on the occasion of a battle it could jump at one leap a river as wide as the length of a musket-shot.

I beg the reader to believe that it is impossible to set forth completely the flatteries used by the courtiers; they exaggerate everything excessively in order to find favour with the great. On the other hand, if a great man, on seeing a handsome elephant of great height and well-proportioned body, or a well-made horse, says something depreciatory as to these animals, those present begin at once to express all the ill that can be said of an animal, calling it wretched, miserable, timid, out of condition, of no use. With all this the great men are delighted, for two reasons: first, to see others adopt their opinions out of mere submissiveness; secondly, because these flatteries divert their minds from the cares they have.

What I have mentioned about animals may equally be said about men. For to have the repute of valour, it suffices that a noble praise a man; and to be scouted, even if a valiant soldier, it is enough for a great man to say a little word in dispraise. It is the same thing also about women. A woman may be really foul and fetid, but a great man need only say a word in her favour, and she becomes a Venus descended upon earth; while a woman may be really lovely, and if a noble for his own ends runs her down, all who are there make her out to be so repulsive that never in the world was seen such a coarse creature. This will be enough to put the reader in possession of the extent to which the Moguls are flatterers, each one working for his own ends in every matter.

Although this king was of a kind disposition, seeking methods, as I will tell hereafter, of doing good to all except the Mahomedans, there was, in spite of this, a Rajput prince, master of twenty-five thousand horse, who considered himself aggrieved because the king would not give him what he asked. One day he had the temerity to come with his cavalry to the city of Lahor, beating his drums, a thing that no one may do except the king, and posted his army on the bank of the river at a little distance from the royal palace.

Jahangir was amazed at such temerity and wanted to take vengeance on him for this affront. But he did not judge it in accordance with his own greatness to send out an army against such a petty prince. He decided to send for a cavalry soldier
named Mahabet (Mahabat Khan).⁴⁴ One day Jahangir had gone out shooting, and getting separated from the rest of his companions, became tired out and hungry. Mahabat was the only man with him. Making some cakes, he got a light by firing his musket; he then roasted two of them on a little spit, and sprinkling salt and pepper [110] on them, gave them to the king to eat. This made Jahangir anxious to reward this cavalry soldier; he therefore sent for him and asked him in secret if he would undertake to kill the Rajput prince. Mahabat replied: 'It is for your majesty to order and me to obey.' To carry out the project he requested that he might have a pearl necklace, a jewel ornament for the breast, and a set of robes of honour (sarapa), and, in addition, as his companion, one of the king's scribes who was his special friend, also his majesty's boat with energetic rowers. All this was agreed to by Jahangir.

Mahabat with the above-named preparations left the city at eight o'clock at night. On drawing near to the Rajput camp, the sentinels challenged and asked who he was. He answered that he was an envoy from the king who came to speak to the rajah. Mahabat instructed his companion to remain with the doorkeepers, and when these men should be heavily asleep warn him by coughing at intervals.

Mahabat went in and accosted the rajah with a most cheerful face, and, full of confidence, said that he had come from the king to inform him how much his majesty loved him and cherished him to a high degree. To show that these were not mere words or inventions, he had sent as marks of the favour he held him in this string of pearls, this jewel, and this rich set of vestments. He was considered at court to be a brave and valiant captain, worthy of the most honourable employments; thus the king was anxious to employ him in some extensive enterprise, and to reward him as far as was in his power.

The rajah, puffed up at this news and proud of the present the king had sent him, conversed pleasantly with Mahabat. With delusive words the latter said to the rajah softly that the course he had followed was excellent, for if they did not act like that the Rajputs would never be esteemed. With such talk he kept

⁴⁴ Mahabat Khan, Khan Khanan, Sipahsalar, Zamanah Beg, son of Ghyur Beg, Kabuli (see 'M-ul-U,' iii. 385-409). He died in 1044 H. (1634-35).
the rajah up till beyond midnight. The Rajputs who were in his company, heavy with sleep and full of opium, of which they are accustomed to take largely, went out a few at a time, and the rajah was left alone intoxicated with praises and flatteries.

Seeing that the rajah was now alone, and his companions at the door coughing at intervals, Mahabat decided that it was time to make the coup he had designed. Thus continuing the conversation, he said: "The king is so well inclined towards you that he enjoined on me to seek every mode of smoothing away your grievance. He is therefore very desirous of favouring you, nor does he wish that you should be any more offended. As a mark of this desire he gave me these orders, whereby you are made viceroy of the kingdom of Bengal."46

Saying this, he drew out a bag of gold brocaded, and placing it on his two hands, presented it with great deference [111]. Then suddenly he struck the rajah through the heart and down as far as the bowels with a sharpened knife hidden in the bag. He issued from the hall silently, leaving the unfortunate prince dead, and passing through the door, took with him his companion. They got into the boat and hastened back to court, where the king was waiting for him impatiently to know what had happened. He was so much on the qui vive that he heard the sound of the oars, and with a shout he cried in a loud voice: "What news, Mahabat?" The valiant soldier replied: 'My lord, the rajah is already dead.' At this the king was much contented, and made Mahabat a great man in his court, transgressing the rule bequeathed to him by his father that no one should be promoted to great station all at once. He gave the man the title of Mahobet Can (Mahabat Khan)—that is to say, 'great affection.'46

In this manner this man became in a short time the greatest general at the court of the King Jahangir. He treated the Rajput princes with great friendliness, and succeeded with great skill in attaching them to his interests.

45. Mahabat Khan (Zamanah Beg), while still a boy, was in Jahan-
gir's service from before his accession. The accepted story of this assassination is given in 'Ma, asir-ul-UMara,' iii. 386, and the victim was the Ujjainiah Rajah of Parganah Bhojpur in Bahar (represented now by the Dumraon Rajah in the Shahabad district). Jahangir had called for some volunteer to deliver him from this ganwar (rustic).

46. This is a wrong etymology, the word being from haib, 'fear,' and it means 'august, majestic,' Mahabat, 'loving,' is from a different root.
Although the kings of this world hold it as part of their glory to exalt their courtiers, they are not always rejoiced to see them powerful. Often the loyalty of a grandee is in their eyes treason. Thus happened it to Mahabat Khan. Although faithful to his sovereign and grateful for the benefits conferred, and seeking every mode of showing his fidelity, he was nevertheless an object of envy, not only to the other courtiers, whose nature it is to be envious, but to the wazir, Ascef Can (Asaf Khan)," the king's father-in-law, and to the queen, who sought for a way to have him assassinated. To this intent they placed ten thousand armed horsemen on the roads, hoping to get him killed. But on learning of this treachery, he (Mahabat Khan) went to the palace and entered, unheeding the protests of the door-keepers. Reaching the king's presence, he advanced closer than allowed by etiquette. The king was amazed at so much boldness, and dreaded his doing some violence. He asked Mahabat Khan what he wanted.

The valiant general replied: 'I desire that your majesty do me the honour of coming to my house, for it is most necessary.' Saying these words, he seized the king's hand, who, observing his determined manner, made no resistance, although in great trepidation. He came out of his palace followed by some soldiers who had entered with Mahabat Khan into the royal presence.

No sooner had they reached the gate of the fortress than Mahabat Khan gave orders for the king to mount his elephant, and behind him was placed one of the Khan's Rajput soldiers, blind of one eye, with a drawn sword in his hand. After they had gone a few yards the king complained that the soldier had a foxy smell, and wanted him removed. Mahabat Khan replied: 'It is very obvious that if your majesty [112] had any general as brave as these soldiers of mine, I should not have ventured to carry you off to my house, as I am doing.'

They passed through the roads where were posted the armed horsemen sent to slay Mahabat Khan; but no one attempted to use force for fear the Rajput might decapitate the king. Thus the king entered into his general's house. The queen and the court expected that Mahabat Khan, having killed Jahangir, would crown himself king, and all the city was in great confusion. But

47. I'timad-ud-daulah Mirza Ghyas Beg, Tahrani, was the father of Nur Jahan. He died 1031 H. (1621-22) (see 'M-ul-U,' i. 127). Asaf Khan was her brother.
Mahabat Khan had other intentions. Therefore on arrival at the house he made his king take a seat in the best place in his mansion, while he himself stood humbly and respectfully, waiting on him and offering him various fruits and perfumes.

The king showed great desire for wine, and wanted the queen. But Mahabat Khan said wine-drinking was not good, and as for the queen, she would come, but for the present he should take repose. The night passed without his getting any wine. Everyone expected that Mahabat Khan would declare himself king, but when the morning came this loyal subject had a long talk with the king. He demonstrated to him that, to deliver himself from death and save his own life, he was forced to make use of this means and attempt more than he designed. He had made use of his majesty's person as a refuge from the hands of traitors. He complained much about his mode of government, telling him that it was indecorous to let a woman govern the empire. He gave him other reproofs, and declared himself a loyal vassal; after saying this he drew his sword, presented it to the king, and, placing himself on his knees, said that if the king held him culpable in any degree, or was himself to the slightest extent offended, he could order his head to be cut off with the very sword which had been dedicated to the defence of his royal person.

Jahangir, finding him so submissive, took him to his arms and said he need not be afraid, no one should harm him; he gave his word and swore on the Quran to hold him ever as his most loyal servant. He would therefore defend him against everybody, and declared himself much obliged for the good advice he had received. As further confirmation of his love, Jahangir ordered the queen to come to his place of detention. Mahabat Khan prepared a magnificent banquet, which lasted for three days. The queen presented him with many gifts, swearing to hold him always in favour and acknowledge him for the most loyal vassal in the whole kingdom. The king increased the rank of Mahabat Khan, and until this day this family still exists at the Mogul Court in considerable dignity. I had a great friendship with the son of this Mahabat Khan, who also had the same title. He
was a general much esteemed by the king, Shahjahan, but further on I will say something more about him (I., 212) [113].

Jahangir was by nature very generous and grandiose; the least sum he ever ordered to be given to anyone was one hundred thousand rupees; nor was it seldom that he made this present; he did so many times, just as if it were of no account, while it is a large amount. The king ordered one hundred thousand rupees to be laid on the ground so that he might see what height it had. This was done. The wazir believed that on seeing its bulk he would be more chary of ordering the giving of so much coin. It was the contrary that happened, for he said he had thought one hundred thousand rupees would take up more space; and thus, from this time, when he made a gift, he ordered the double to be given of what he had given before. The wazir repented of having thought he could thereby check the king’s extravagance.

It happened that a French trader called Monsieur Bravet brought from Europe some bric-a-brac, which, although curious, was of little money value, hoping to sell it to the king. Jahangir, who was well inclined to Europeans, directed that the whole of the things should be bought, and whatever the sum the owner asked should be paid to him. This was done accordingly, and they paid him thirty thousand rupees, which are equal to fifteen thousand patacas. Afterwards all the things were laid before the king, who was much delighted with such a set of curiosities. Among the other trinkets was a very tiny padlock, which Jahangir took in his hands, and admiring it, said such a padlock was not the work of human hands, but of angels. He added that no one but the King of Hindustan could pay the price of it, and after many exaggerated words he directed them to give the merchant thirty thousand rupees more, for the padlock alone was worth the whole of the money. To get presents or rewards from this king it sufficed to say some witty thing, whereupon he would give elephants and a number of rupees.

48. Mirza Lahrasab, Mahabat Khan II., Governor of Kabul, eldest son of Zamanah Beg, Mahabat Khan I., died at Amanabad in the Punjab in 1085 H. (1674-75), aged sixty-two years (‘M-ul-U,’ iii. 590). Two sons survived him.

49. As before (I., 6), the pataca is here shown as worth two rupees. Yule (683) says pataca was a name for a dollar, or piece of eight.
While Jahangir was a liberal giver, neither was he reluctant to allow any and every one to approach his person. It seemed as if this king was born to be a contrast to the pride of his father, who never spoke to anyone but the grandees. On the contrary, this king often walked about alone and in disguise. It happened one evening that he went into a tavern, where he found a man singing and already merry from the wine he had drunk. The king was pleased at seeing so much mirth, and seating himself near the man, made himself his friend and drank along with him. After several drinks the king asked his new friend what he was called. He answered that his name was Alexandre (Alexander or Sikandar), the weaver, and gave him directions as to where he lived. After complimentary speeches on one side and the other [114] the king demanded food and more wine. The weaver, in gratitude to such an excellent comrade, invited him to come next day to his house, as he wished to regale him. Thus they took leave of each other with many civilities.

The following day the king rode out on his elephant to find the rendezvous. He ordered them to pass through the street where the weaver lived. At the time the royal cavalcade and the elephants were passing Sikandar was busy attending to his preparations for the day's work, with a hammer in his hand, knocking into the ground the pegs to which his ropes were to be fastened. The messengers asked him where Sikandar the weaver lived; the king had come in search of him to dine with him. Recognising that, without a doubt, the man who had eaten with him the day before must be the king, he fell into perplexity. He pretended that he had not heard. The king had now come close, while the messengers insisted on his answering and telling them where Sikandar lived. Without lifting his eyes, and as if he did not know what they wanted, he exclaimed in a loud voice: 'Anyone relying on a drunken man deserves a severe blow with this hammer.' The king laughed heartily at this response, and ordered them to give him a reward, which was so great that he ceased to work as a weaver.

A similar case occurred with a drunkard who, meeting the king on his elephant, began afar off to shout out, asking whether he wanted to sell his elephant. Jahangir gave an order that the drunkard be detained and brought the next day into his presence. When the man was produced, he was asked if he wanted to buy the elephant. The reply was that 'the purchaser was outside; he
was nothing more than the broker.' The king was pleased with
the answer, and rewarded him with an elephant.

It was not only this once that the king showed himself cap-
able of making light of regal pomp, for many times he did similar
things, in scorn of the pride and imperturbability of the great
nobles. Sometimes he passed through the city upon his elephant,
followed by many elephants, on which meat was being cooked,
or wine and drinking-cups, bread, a supply of pickles, and small
boxes of fruit, were carried. Others bore musicians, instruments,
and drums, making a great noise. Jahangir sat eating and
drinking.

One day he came with this array into the royal square, where
there was a crowd of medicants called 'Bequed' (Be-qaid, 'eman-
cipated'). When they beheld the king, they cried with loud
voices: 'Oh! you eat by yourself and drink without sharing with
us.' On hearing this, the king descended from his elephant and
sat himself down in the midst of them, eating and drinking, ac-
compained by music and mirth. The faqirs, who had already
been drinking, began to give every one of them his criticism on
the manner in which he ought to govern. Having listened patient-
ly until they had finished talking, he fell a-weeping, and sent
them on their way [115].

Weeping came easily to Jahangir, for without any reason at
all he would burst into tears. It was enough for the queen to
deny him a drink of wine to drive him to tears, and to dry them
you had only to present him a glass well filled with liquor. Any-
thing and everything made him cry, just as any sort of gift sufficed
to pacify him.

Although of such a soft disposition, he was still very watch-
ful that real justice should be done; and if he was loved by the
people, he was feared by his officials. These were compelled to
walk in the right way, since, if they went wrong in any matter
of justice or in any important business, he ordered them to be
thrown to the lions, which were always present in his hall of
audience.

It happened one day that he was on the banks of the river
and saw a pot carried down by the stream. He ordered that this
pot should be produced before him. It was found to contain a
dead body cut into pieces. Orders were given for the officers of
justice to discover the culprit, with the warning that if they did
not find him, all of their heads would be cut off. Among the
other expedients they resorted to, one was to order every potter to deliver one pot, and by examining the marks on these, they hoped to trace the vendor of the pot in question. It is customary in the Mogul country for every potter to put his own special mark on his pots. It was thus that they caught the culprit.

Another time, returning from the chase, he saw the officers of justice carrying away a Rajput to be hung. The king asked what offence he had been guilty of. They replied that he had forced a Mahomedan woman, then present and demanding his execution. The king called the woman before him and asked her if the Rajput's body was hairless, like he was in the face. 'Yes,' answered the woman. She supposed that as it is the fashion of the Rajputs to shave their beards, they must also be accustomed to remove the hair from all the rest of their body. The king ordered an examination. It turned out that the woman had raised a false complaint; whereupon he ordered that the woman should die and the Rajput be released. He also fined the officials for their negligence.

Among the other fancies that he had was a particular affection for the Jesuit fathers. He gave them a house and a church in Lahor. In that reign Europeans had much freedom in regard to hearing about Christianity; and the said fathers instructed the king's sons, one of whom, by reason of some affront received from the fathers, after he had become king, sent an order to burn the church and carry off the bell at Agra, as I shall state hereafter (I., 137). It is now time to speak of his sons.

Jahangir [116] had no son by his beloved queen Nur Jahan, but there were two by other mothers. The heir-apparent was Sultan Bolaqui (Bulaqi), 50 and the name of the other son was Sultan Corram (Khurram). Bulaqi had two sons, of whom I will speak farther on (I., 120); Sultan Khurram, besides two sons, Dara (Dara) and Xaxuja (Shah Shuja') had a pregnant wife with the most extravagant fancies and complaints. Jahangir gave the order that when this princess was delivered he should be informed in

50. Bulaqi, a pet name from bulaq, an ornament worn by women; it hangs from the cartilage of the nose. His real name was Dawar Bakhsh, and he was the grandson, not the son, of Jahangir. His father, Jahangir's eldest son, was Khusru, and as he died in his father's lifetime, 1031 H. (1622), aged thirty-six years. Dawar Bakhsh, according to Mahomedan law, was excluded from inheritance, and had no rights to the throne.
whatever place he might happen to be, and if asleep they were to awake him.

The princess brought forth a male child, and at once they went to report to the king, who at that moment happened to be relieving himself. Jahangir said that if that prince survived to be king, he was destined to conquer the whole of Hindustan. Nor in this did he deceive himself, as we shall see hereafter, this child being that same Orangzeb (Aurangzeb) who now reings.

Sultan Khurram, who was the second son, perceiving that his father Jahangir favoured the sons of Sultan Bulaqui, and intended their exaltation, went into rebellion. He took up arms against his father, but was defeated several times. After his last defeat he passed near to Ugolin (Hugli), in the territory of Bengalla (Bengal), a village that the king Jahangir had given to the Portuguese in order that they might frequent the said port. Some Portuguese sallied forth and seized two beloved female slaves of the princess Taigemahal (Taj Mahal, a corruption of Mumtaz-mahal, 'chosen one of the harem'). This lady sent word to them that it would be better for them to help a prince then seeking refuge in flight than to attempt to rob him. Therefore she urgently prayed them to send her the two slave girls. But the Portuguese paid no heed to her request, an act which cost them dear, as I shall explain hereafter (I., 120, 121).

Meanwhile Sultan Corram (Khurram), pursued by the forces of his father, finally took refuge in the territories of the King of Vizapur (Bijapur). He lived in a town called Juner, distant thirty leagues from the city of Bassaim\(^1\). (Bassein), which belongs to the Portuguese. The King of Bijapur ordered that one of his own houses should be given to the prince to dwell in, with a garden full of vine-trees, where I have been myself. Thus was Jahangir delivered from the attacks of one son, who left behind him nevertheless this bad example to a new generation of revolt against his father. He had learnt it from Jahangir, who rebelled against his father, Akbar.

Jahangir followed his father's example, and gave orders for his tomb to be erected opposite the royal palace at the city of

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51. Bassein, a town twenty-eight miles north of Bombay; Juner, a town in the Puna district, seventy miles east by north of Bombay. The two towns are about seventy miles apart. Khurram did live for a time at Juner (see 'Ma,asir-ul-Umara,' i. 163, article on 'Islam Khan').
Lahor. In preparing this mausoleum he went to great expense, building a dome adorned with many precious stones. These were removed by orders of King Aurangzeb, only allowing stones of small value to remain, such as agate, amethyst, turquoise, and such-like [117]. These stones were cut into the shapes of various flowers.

Some years before the death of Jahangir it happened that the secretary (wazir) presented to him a Persian, exaggerating greatly about him, and saying that he was known to everyone in Persia, and even to the king himself, who ate salt in his house. As the king heard this about him he made him a great noble, and gave him the title of Cassam Can (Qasim Khan). Persians are famed for favouring their own nation in the Mogul Empire, and the larger number of the nobles are Persians. But in addition to this, the wazir was indebted in some small way to this vendor of salt, and desired to favour him on this occasion, so that he might share his (the wazir's) own good fortune. Others told the king that this so-called Qasim Khan had been a seller of salt in Persia, and Jahangir asked the wazir why he had uttered such encomiums of a man who sold salt. The wazir replied: 'I let your majesty fully understand that he sold salt in Persia, for I said that even the king ate the salt of his house, for he held a farm of all the salt in that kingdom.' For this reason Jahangir styled him Cassam Can Namaquin (Qasim Khan Namakin, from namak, 'salt')—that is to say, 'distributor of salt,' and his title of nobility was left with him. I dwelt seven years in his house in the city of Lahor. It had been given me by the governor to live in, he (Qasim Khan) being then dead. It was one of Jahangir's laws that the crown was heir to the wealth and houses of his servants when they died, also to those of his vassals who had no sons.

Favours often serve for the downfall of those who receive them, seeing that they do not know how to control themselves afterwards. Thus it was with the English who dwelt in Hindustan. Relying on the kindness that Jahangir always showed to Europeans, when they had a difference at the port of Surat with the governor, in order to take their satisfaction they laid an em-

52. See 'Ma,asir-ul-Umara,' iii. 741, for quite a different and more reasonable derivation of the epithet 'Namakin' given to this Qasim Khan. Compare also Blochman, 'Ain,' vol. i. pp. 414 (note), 470, No. 199.
bargo on the ships that the king and the wazir destined for Mecca, and also on those of many merchants, obstructing them in their voyages. Jahangir observed what was going on, and forwarded an order to adjust the dispute without incensing the English. At various times many different complaints about them were laid before the king, until, displeased at hearing so many complaints, he ordered the English to be seized. As they resisted the execution of the royal orders, he sentenced them all to be beheaded. Hence was brought about the death of those who were in the territories of Agra and Surat. This event happened in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-two, \textsuperscript{53} two years before his death [118], which came about as follows:

This king was, as can be seen by the above account, somewhat over-jovial. In the hot season he went away for recreation to Kashmir, and returning in the cold weather, he came to live in the city of Lahor. He happened to fall ill while coming from that country, and before he could reach Lahor he died of disease, after having reigned twenty-two years seven months and eleven days. His corpse was carried to the mausoleum of which I have spoken (I., 116).

\textbf{OF SULTAN BALLAQI (BULAQI), ELDEST SON OF JAHANGIR}

When Jahangir died, Sultan Bulaqi, his eldest son, \textsuperscript{54} took possession of the kingdom without opposition. He looked on himself as absolute sovereign, and believed that no one could oppose him except his brother, who had been banished, as I have already said (I., 116), to the territories of Bijapur, and to him the usurper paid no attention. Thus he followed in the footsteps of his father, and occupied himself with dances, music, and other pastimes. Nevertheless, he sent off an envoy to the King of Bijapur, warning him against according any favour to his brother, or permitting him to leave his then abode. If the king disobeyed

\textsuperscript{53} These events at Surat seem to be the same as those assigned by Hunter to 1623 ('History,' ii. 55). Jahangir did not die till 1627.

\textsuperscript{54} Bulaqi (Dawar Bakhsh) was Jahangir's grandson (see ante, note to fol. 116). He was put on the throne by Asaf Khan at Lahor in opposition to Shahryar, the fifth son, who was Nur Jahan's candidate (see Elphinstone, 592). Native historians state that, on being deposed, Dawar Bakhsh was killed, but some Europeans say they saw him in Persia in 1633 (Elphinstone, quoting Olearius, p. 190; and see forward, fol. 120, where Manucci says much the same).
X. Dawar Bakhsh *alias* Bulaqi, Grandson of Jahangir

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this direction, war would be declared, and his whole kingdom devastated. The King of Bijapur, frightened by these menaces, kept his eyes open, and meant to prevent Sultan Khurram leaving, and thus avoid drawing upon himself the wrath of Sultan Bulaqi.

Sultan Khurram was a prisoner with all his family—that is to say, his wives, four sons, Darā (Dārā), Xaxuja (Shah Shuja'ī), Oranazeb (Aurangzeb), and Moradbaex (Murad Bakhsh), and three daughters—namely, Begom Saeb (Begam Sahib), Gonorara Begom (Jahanara Begam), and Roxonara Begom (Roshanara Begam). There was also a wife who was enceinte, who longed to eat apples, a thing difficult to procure thereabouts, nor was it the right season for them. He (Khurram) was vexed at his inability to gratify the princess, and went forth from his house much cast down.

On his way he met a faqir, who offered him two apples. Highly delighted, he (Khurram) carried them off at once to the princess, and told the poor man to wait, as he had something to say. Going inside, he delivered the apples to the princess, then came back humbly and reverently to the faqir, and said to him: 'I suspect that you are some holy man, since you have succoured me in the time of trouble. May it please you to do me the favour of telling me if that is so.' The man [119] replied that it was. They had a long conversation, and the faqir told him many things.

Among other things he said that he (Khurram) would fall ill, but on those occasions he must smell his hands. So long as they had the scent of apples, his illness would be neither dangerous nor mortal. When they ceased to smell of apples, it would be a warning that he had reached his term of life. In the end the prince asked him which of his sons would be the destroyer of his race. The faqir answered that it would be Aurangzeb, who in those days was quite a child.55 This was the reason that Sultan Khurram never had any love for Aurangzeb. From this time he (Khurram) began to scoff at him (Aurangzeb), calling him the White Snake, he being fairer than all his brothers. Sometimes he resolved to kill him, but his elder sister, called Roshanara Begam, always preserved him, and God reserved him to be the chastisement of his father.

55. Aurangzeb was born in 1618, and if this conversation was in 1627, he would be about nine.
Meanwhile the prince Khurram had abandoned all hope of ever leaving the territory of Bijapur. There now came to him a letter from his father-in-law, Acet Can (Asaf Khan), the wazir, father of Jahangir's beloved queen and of Sultan Khurram's wife, but by different mothers. The contents were that he (Khurram) must leave his place of refuge by whatever method he could devise, and procure a secret meeting with Mahabat Khan, then actually governor at the city of Brampur (Burhanpur). If he (Khurram) would come to court he should make king, and everything was in readiness.

The prince, finding that the King of Bijapur would neither consent to assist him nor even grant him his liberty, resorted to the following trick. He feigned for some time that he was ill, until the news spreading abroad everywhere, the King of Bijapur sent his people to see him and find out the truth. Sultan Khurram was informed of the men's arrival, and sent secretly to order the slaughter of a goat, the blood of which he drank. After this he ordered the envoys to be introduced. When they came in he shammed being overcome with nausea, and vomited blood, making himself out to be at the point of death.

On coming out, the envoys forthwith reported to their king how the Mogul prince was at the last gasp, and could not survive in any case. Finally, Khurram's household set up cries and lamentations, calling out that he was dead. Putting on mourning, they went to the court of the king to ask permission to quit his territory, and carry the corpse of the deceased prince to the sepulchre of his ancestors. The king gave them leave, and they carried him (Khurram) off, placed in a bier covered with all the trappings of woe, and followed by all his people weeping and lamenting as they went.

This news reached the court of Sultan Bulaqi, who was very pleased, saying: 'Now am I delivered from a great enemy, and become absolute monarch.' They travelled [120] through the city of Burhanpur, and Mahabat Khan came out to follow the bier until they arrived at the suburbs of Agra city. When the bier had arrived so far, Asaf Khan, father-in-law of the fictitious

56. This is an error. Arjumand Bana Begam, Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shahjahan, was the daughter of Asaf Khan, who was the brother, and not the father, of Nur Jahan. Thus, Mumtaz Mahal was her niece, and not her half-sister.
defunct, requested leave from Bulaqi to go himself at the head of a large cavalry force to meet the bier, pleading that such was the custom. Sultan Bulaqi, who had no suspicion of the fraud, but, on the contrary, in his joy regaled himself with music, dancing, and wine, gave the permission to go and make whatever preparations he might please. He had no idea that he had only a few moments more to reign.

Asaf Khan left the city, and coming to the bier, found the prince Khurram alive and well, and put him on an elephant kept ready for the purpose. Thus they entered into the city with all their cavalry, raising a rebellion against Bulaqi, beating the royal drums, marching with drawn swords in their hands, and shouting: 'Long live King Shahjahan!' It was thus that he entitled himself from this time forth—it means 'King of the World.' Bulaqi was amazed at the prince's thus returning to life, and all of a sudden becoming master of his (Bulaqi's) forces. Since there remained no other method of saving his life, he took to flight, and thus escaped from his brother's wrath.

OF THE KING SHAHJAHAN, FIFTH KING OF HINDUSTAN AND TENTH OF THE RACE OF JAIMUR-I-LANG

The first thing undertaken by Shahjahan was, by the utmost efforts, to attempt the capture of his fugitive brother, Bulaqi. But, in spite of all he did, he could not overtake him: he (Bulaqi) fled until he entered the kingdom of Persia, where he ended his life in destitution.57 This is why he was not included in the number of the kings, nor was he ever accorded that title. Finding that he could not seize his brother Bulaqi, Shahjahan sent out another force to the city of Lahor, where there were two sons of that prince. Express orders were given that wherever they were found they should be walled up forthwith. They were in the hall where King Jahangir gave audience, and were busy writing. Without showing them any mercy, Shah Jahan's emissaries built up the door, leaving them inside, and up to this day it remains bricked up. It is a custom with these kings and lords that after their death the chamber where they die is walled up and never opened any more.

Finding himself undisputed King of Hindustan, Shahjahan was compelled to make war against the Portuguese of Hugli,

57. See ante, note to fol. 118, for the contrary statement of native historians.
for this was demanded by Taj Mahal, from whom the Portuguese [121] had carried off two slave girls (ante, I., 116). He sent against them the general Qasim Khan, who, when he arrived close to Hugli, made an arrangement with the Portuguese. These paid a large sum of money, whereupon he (Qasim Khan) retired the distance of a day’s journey, but again advanced towards Hugli, with the excuse that the king had ordered him to take the place.

They defended themselves as long as they could, but, unable to continue longer, they surrendered. Qasim Khan, seized by lot five thousand souls, among them some Augustinian and Jesuit fathers. It seemed as if God desired to chastise the Portuguese of Hugli, seeing that they were unable to escape with their ships by way of the river Ganges, on the banks of which the town referred to stands.

The water in the river had fallen, and the boats lay stranded, a thing that had never happened before or since. I have no desire to record in this place the arrogance displayed by these same Portuguese, of whom I will write somewhat elsewhere (III., 192). Qasim Khan carried off the prisoners to court, and God willed that before they arrived there the queen, Taj Mahal should die. Shahjahan gave orders for the construction of her mausoleum opposite the royal palace at Agra with great expenditure. It is in two stories, in the lower being deposited the body of his beloved wife. No one may see this sepulchre, for it is in the charge of women and eunuchs.

There cannot be the least doubt that if the Portuguese had reached the court in the lifetime of Taj Mahal she would have

58. This Qasim Khan was the son of Mir Murad, Juwaini, and died in Rabie I., 1042 H. (the middle of that month corresponds to October 1, 1632). Thus, as he died three days after the taking of Hugli, that event must have happened about the end of September, 1632. Elphinstone (519) assigns the siege to 1631; Danvers (ii. 247) says it was from June 6 to September 29, 1633; Beale and the ‘Ma, asir-ul-Umara’ (iii. 78) have 1631. Compare the ‘Padshahnamah’ of ‘Abd-ul-hamid (‘Bibliotheca Indica’), vol. i., part i., pp. 433-439, and Elliot and Dowson, vii. 30-34, where it is placed under the fifth year, and the capture is fixed on the 14th Rabie I., 1042 H. (September 30, 1632, N.S.). The best European account is in Sebastian Manrique (Augustinian), ‘Itinerario de las Missiones qui hizo el padre Fray S. M. . . .’, Roma, 1649, 476 pp., 4 to. (pp. 419-445). He is partly quoted by H. G. Keene in ‘Turks in India’, p. 255.

59. Taj Mahal died on July 6, 1632, N.S.
ordered the whole of them to be cut into pieces after great tortures, for thus had she sworn when they did her the injury. All the same they did not escape a sufficient amount of suffering; some abjured their faith, either from fear of torture and of death or through the desire of recovering their wives, who had been distributed by Shahjahan among his officers. Others, the most beautiful among them, were kept for the royal palace. Of some of these I shall have something to say further on (II., 24).

The fathers were more tenacious in holding to the Christian faith, saying that they adored a Master who could preserve them, nor for anything that Shahjahan might do would they become renegades. There were also a few others—laymen—who held fast to their faith, but were released through the petitions of some persons at court, chiefly of an Armenian, who was a great favourite, or through the money paid by a Venetian, my compatriot, called Hieronomo Veroneo, a man ransomed by the Portuguese. These released prisoners lived in the city of Agrah, and until this day they are some of their descendants.

After the death of his beloved queen Taj Mahal, Shahjahan selected in Hindustan the city of Dihli in order to build there a new city as his capital, and thereby perpetuate his memory, the climate at that spot being healthy. He used the ruins of ancient Dihli and Toquilabad (Tughlaqabad) for building this new Dihli, to which [122] he gave the name of Shahjahanabad—that is to say, 'Built by Shahjahan.'

He expended large sums in the construction of this city, and in the foundations he ordered several decapitated criminals to be placed as a sign of sacrifice. The said city is on the bank of the river Jamniah, in a large plain of great circumference, and it is in the shape of an imperfect half-moon. It has twelve gates, and ancient Dihli forms a suburb, as also do several other villages.

The walls of the city are built one half of brick and the rest of stone. At every hundred paces is a strengthening bastion, but on these there is no artillery. The chief gates are the one leading to Agrah and the one leading to Lahor. Within the city are large and well-built bazars, where are sold things of every kind. The chief bazars are those that correspond with the streets leading to the fortress, and end with the two above-named gates. There are
also in Dihli fine palaces for the nobles; a great number of the other houses have thatched roofs, but are highly decorated and commodious inside. The city on the eastern side, along which the river Jamnah flows, has no wall. In one corner of the city, on the northern side, is the royal fortress, facing to the east. In front of it, between it and the river, is left a sufficient space for the elephant fights. The king sits at a window to look on, as likewise the women, but they are behind gratings. Thence also the king beholds the parades held on the same space, of the omaraos (umara, grandees), rajahs, and nobles. Beneath the royal balconies there is, night and day, a mad elephant kept, out of ostentation.

The fortress is encircled by walls of large red stones, and it has a bridge of some twelve arches, by which access is obtained to the fortress of Sellemguer (Salimgarh), situated on an island made by the river Jahnah. It was built by the king Selem Xa Patany (Salim Shah, Pathan). The royal fortress has two gates leading into the city, there being a large open space in the midst. Shahjahan planted two large gardens, one on the north side, the other on the south side, and for the reason that the river Jamnah does not rise high enough to permit of its irrigating these gardens, Shahjahan, at great expense and labour, constructed a deep canal from a river adjacent to the city of Serend (Sihrind), one hundred leagues from Dihli. This canal flows into the fortress and fills the water-channels, into which Shahjahan ordered some beautiful fish to be thrown with gold rings in their heads, each ring having one ruby and two seed-pearls. This watercourse circulates through [123] all the fortress, except the side towards the river Jamnah. Opposite to the fortress, on the west side, is the royal mosque, where the king goes once every week to say his prayers.

Shahjahan fancied that just as he had easily taken the town of Hugli from the Portuguese, so in like manner he would be able to take from them everything they had in Hindustan. Therefore he ordered his son Aurangzeb, then fourteen or fifteen years of age,60 to march against Damao (Daman) and take it

60. This statement as to Aurangzeb's age places the events in 1632 or 1633, but I can find no confirmation in Danvers or Elphinston. Danvers (i. 522) speaks of one Luis de Mello, Governor of Daman, but that was in 1560-61, in the reign of Akbar. The man's son Diogo is referred to by Manucci (part ii., 78).
from the Portuguese. But these fought valiantly, and since the fortress possessed good walls, Aurangzeb could not reduce it. After an investment of three months he (Aurangzeb) was forced to retire after losing a considerable number of men. Finding that the Portuguese defended themselves bravely, and that he could do nothing against them, Aurangzeb sent a message to Luis de Mello de Sampayo, known as 'The Snorer,' who was then governor of the fortress, that it was easy for everybody to snore behind walls. Angered by this message, Luis de Mello sent back word that on the next day but one, about noon-time, he would come forth into the open field, and as a sign that he was there in person he would lift his hat. He issued from the fort, and Aurangzeb's men charged him and killed him. The Portuguese returned to the fortress to defend it.

Shahjahan sent this son against Daman because he knew him to be brave and fearless. It was for this reason that he afterwards ordered him to go against the kingdom of Balq (Balkh). Aurangzeb invaded the territories of the said realm until he encountered the enemy's army in the field. These being the stronger gained the battle, and Aurangzeb was very nearly taken prisoner. Without fail would this have happened had not Mir Baba, his foster-brother, come speedily to his assistance. Still, although this prince (Aurangzeb) was held to be bold and valiant, he was capable of great dissimulation and hypocrisy; pretending to be an ascetic, he slept while in the field on a mat of straw that he had himself woven. He stitched caps with his own hands and sent them out for sale, saying that he lived upon what he made by them. He ate food that cost little, such as radishes, lentils, barley, and such-like vegetables and cereals; he gave alms publicly, and also let it be known that he underwent severe penances and fasting; he allowed himself to be found in prayer or reading the Quran; went out frequently with his chaplet in his hand; and on all occasions called on the name of God as if he made no account of the things of this world. All the same, under cover of these pretences, he led in secret a jolly life of it, and his intercourse was with certain holy men [124] addicted to sorcery, who instructed him how to dissimulate and to bring over to his side as many friends as he could with witchcraft and soft speeches.

61. This campaign in Balkh belongs to 1647 (Elphinstone, 511).
One day Shahjahan marched on a campaign to recover the fortress of Candar (Qandahar), which Alimerda Can (‘Ali Mardan Khan), the Persian, had voluntarily surrendered, when he rebelled against his own king. Xaagas (Shah ‘Abbas) retook it in the following way: A goat had escaped from its herd, and the goat-herd pursued in order to catch it. The goat, by one leap after another, got upon a high hill, and thence, following a route full of rocks, arrived inside the fortress. The goat-herd also entered it by the same way, and came out again without anyone knowing of his being there. When he got back, he went off to make a report at the court of Shah ‘Abbas. With the goat-herd as guide, a sufficient number of soldiers started for Qandahar, and taking the hidden path above referred to, they made a secret entrance into the place; during the night they decapitated the sentries, and got possession of the fortress. Although Shahjahan made three attempts to retake this fortress, he was not able to do anything.

One day, on the march already referred to, a mendicant came up to him (Shahjahan), and the king intended to give him something; but Aurangzeb told him not to do so, because the mendicant had a considerable sum of money tied round his waist, and in this Aurangzeb showed himself to be a true prophet. The king ordered the mendicant to be searched, and in his girdle they found forty rupees of gold. He (Shahjahan) said to his son: ‘If what you did and said was not a plot, you are a saint.’ Aurangzeb, seeing that his father had begun to place faith in his pretences, made believe to intensify his abstinence, simply to deceive his father, so that his rank might be increased. It was found out afterwards that the mendicant had been tutored by him (Aurangzeb); in spite of this, all the simple-minded people took him for a saint. But his father, who knew well the nature of this son, and also recollected the words of the faqir with the apples, gave little credit to all this show of holiness. It was for this reason that he did not increase the low rank that he had first given him. To his other sons he gave many tokens of paternal affection—above all, to the eldest son, Dara. Envious of this preference, Aurangzeb sought means of injuring his brother Dara, to whom he had a great antipathy.

Shahjahan was anxious to prevent the occurrence of any trouble at court. He therefore ordered that only one prince
should come each day to his presence. But Aurangzeb, pricked by envy and the desire of injuring his brother Dara, rode out on horseback, lance in hand. He waited until Dara should come out of the fortress. Then he spurred his horse in such a way that it struck his (Dara’s) palanquin with its hind-quarters, so that the litter nearly fell to the ground. Dara, thus insulted, made bitter complaints to his father [125].

The father, seeing this want of harmony among his sons, and fearing some misfortune, separated them. He knew that Aurangzeb was in treaty with his brother Xaxuja (Shah Shuja’) for the marriage of his son, Sultan Mahamud (Muhammad), with the latter’s daughter when she arrived at a proper age. He therefore sent the prince Shah Shuja’ to be lord over the kingdom of Bemgalla (Bengal), and Prince Aurangzeb to the city of Moltan (Multan), and Prince Moradbacx (Murad Baksh) to the kingdom of Guzurab (Gujarat); while he kept with himself the prince Dara, his eldest son, as being the most esteemed and loved.

Aurangzeb knew that his father put no faith in him, and did not love him. He therefore wrote to him (Shahjahan) letters in most humble terms, also making use, with great foresight, of his brother Dara. To the latter he wrote many letters, begging a thousand pardons for the affronts he had committed; he said he had done them as one having no sense. He offered him the services of his family and of himself, if he would only have compassion upon him and his sons; adding that he looked on him (Dara) as a father. Dara, who was of a genial character and compassionate nature, sent loving letters in reply. Then Aurangzeb, seeing matters well arranged, wrote to his eldest brother a letter in which he entreated him to obtain from their father leave to quit the city of Multan, where the climate did not agree with him and he was always ailing, and asked that he might be transferred to the Dacan (Dakhin).

The cunning man made this request because he saw that in the Dakhin he could establish his fortunes through the continual activity of the armies there, owing to the existence of the kingdoms of Vizapur (Bijapur) and Golconda (Gulkandah), and because the lands of the Dakhin are very productive, abounding in supplies of food and various sorts of cloth, and contain many minerals. The petitions that Dara made to his
father were so insistent that this favour was granted Aurangzeb; he was withdrawn from Multan and ordered to the Dakhin. Shahjahan was unwilling to concede these requests; still, from Dara’s importunities he granted what was asked. But he said to Dara: ‘You are acting on behalf of venomous snake, and you will have to suffer from its poison.’

Aurangzeb went to the Dakhin, where his strength began to increase. Near to Doltabad (Daulatabad) he built a city that he called Aurangabad—that is to say, ‘Built by Aurangzeb.’ There he began to weave the web of his rebellion, including the destruction of his father and his brothers.

Before speaking of the wars waged by Shahjahan and of his downfall, it is necessary to say something of his disposition. Although warlike, as he showed [126] by his rising against his father, he was at the same time fond of music and dancing to the same degree, more or less, as his father Jahangir. His usual diversion was to listen to various instruments, to verses and poetry; and he was very fond of musicians, especially of one who was not only a graceful poet, but also a buffoon.

This musician was worried by the palace gate-keepers, who are exceedingly rude to anyone who requires entrance to court. They will not permit anyone’s entrance or exit without some douceur, excepting the officials, to whom they can say nothing for fear of a beating. Every time that this musician came to court the gate-keepers made him wait a long time, until he either gave them or promised them something. Anxious to rid himself of such hindrances, he composed some verses, and arrived to recite them in the presence of the king. The gate-keepers did not fail to display their accustomed insolence, detaining him until he had promised to give them all that was bestowed on him this time by the king. He went in and recited in such fine style and with such graceful behaviour that the king was much delighted, and ordered for him a reward of one thousand rupees. The singer transmuted his joy into tears, raising his hands to heaven, weeping and beating his breast to show his sorrow at such a present. He said to the king with many bows that he prayed him as a favour to order him in place of the thousand rupees to receive one thousand stripes. Shahjahan smiled, and asked why he made such a request.
He replied that he had promised to the gate-keepers all that he should acquire, or his majesty should make a gift of to him during the day. Thus, since they were rude, not allowing him to enter or go out without his taking out his purse and giving something, he was willing to transfer to them the thousand stripes, or even more if the king so wished. The king laughed heartily, and to satisfy him sent an order to serve out the thousand stripes to the twenty-five gate-keepers then on duty. The gate-keepers complained; but the poet made his excuses, saying he had only kept his promise. The gate-keepers got the thousand blows, while he carried off the thousand rupees, and, in addition, a horse of which the king made him a gift.

The horse they gave him was gone in the loins. He tied a bundle round the neck of this horse, and when the king came out he mounted it, and showed off its paces before him. The king asked him why he had tied on the bundle; it hindered the horse in his paces. He answered that it was there to equalize the weights, thus giving a hint that the horse was gone in the back. Shahjahan was delighted, and ordered them [127] to give him another horse. From that day forth the gate-keepers were very respectful to this musician, so that they might not get any more beatings.

Another thing happened to one of these gate-keepers. Shahjahan, who thought highly of the man, ordered him on a campaign, after having by gifts and favours raised him to the position of a great noble. This favourite met with great success, and was sent for to court to receive further rewards. All the nobles went out to meet him except the physician, who would neither go out to greet him nor visit him afterwards. The officer was aggrieved, and went in person to see the physician. The latter, making no account of the other's person, sent out word that he might come in. The physician remained seated, and appeared to be writing. The general entered, and the physician in a soft voice said he might take a seat, but showed him no other mark of civility, and pretended to go on writing.

The newly-risen great man waited to see whether the physician would show him any sign of politeness, this being the only object for which he had paid this visit; but finding that the physician never stirred, neither paid any heed to him, he begged leave to depart. The physician, in the same soft tones, continuing his
occupation, gave him permission to go away without any token of kindness.

The general went off at once to complain to Shahjahan, exaggerating the slight done to him by the physician, and the latter fell under the king’s displeasure through the disrespect he had shown to the general. The physician replied: ‘Your majesty may create many generals of that sort, but you cannot make any man similar to me, for it has cost me forty years to acquire the knowledge that I possess, and there is a great difference between us.’ The reason of this affront became known afterwards. It was that when the general was a door-keeper he put many difficulties in the way of the physician. Thus was the proverb verified: ‘What you do you get’ [Tit for tat].

Not only was Shahjahan fond of music; he was also eager to have at his court all sorts of wrestlers. These are men of great strength, who frequently contended in his presence. And he also ordered boxing matches. But his ordinary amusement was tiger-hunting, for which he kept ferocious buffaloes with very long horns. These fought with each other or with tigers; they are very [128] brave animals, and skilful in the sport above referred to.

When the king desires to go out hunting, the huntsmen are warned.62 These men see to the finding of the tigers, and send out into the jungle asses, cows, sheep, and goats to prevent the tigers changing their haunts. The king goes out on his tallest elephant, and the other princes likewise on elephants acquainted with the requirements of this sort of fight. They sit in uncovered howdahs, each one with his matchlock. Then they encircle the jungle with high nets, leaving only one opening, through which the king and the huntsmen enter. Around the net, on the outside, stand a number of soldiers, who cannot wound the tiger when it comes near the net, nor can the tiger injure them, for in no manner can it break the net and get out.

The order in which the king moves is as follows: In front go the buffaloes, sometimes more than one hundred in number, all in a row. On each one is mounted a man with his legs guarded by leather, and having a broadsword in one hand and holding with the other the reins, which are passed through the

62. This account is very imperfectly reproduced by Catrou (159,160).
XI. Elephant Fight

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buffalo's nostrils. Behind them comes the king on an elephant, and after the king the princes and the men in highest favour.

When they get into the jungle where the tigers are, the buffaloes advance slowly in the formation of a half-moon, until the tigers are in sight. After locating the tigers by sight and smell a circle is formed, leaving them in the centre. In this way the tigers, finding themselves caught, search for an exit. Unable to get away, each one makes its spring in the direction that it sees best. When this spring takes place the man who is mounted on top jumps off with agility, and the buffaloes seize the tigers on their horns with great dexterity, and, shaking their heads tear them to pieces. If any one of the tigers escapes the horns, or refuses to stir from its place, the king fires his gun and kills it, or gives an order to kill it.

Sometimes they go out to these hunts without taking any buffaloes, but riding on elephants, as I have before said. This way of hunting has much more risk for the hunters. Once it happened to King Shahjahan that a badly wounded tiger bounded up and hung on with its claws fixed in the elephant's head. The elephant-driver fell to the ground from fright. The king, seeing himself in this urgent danger, clubbed his match-lock and hit the tiger with it on the head. But the tiger did not let go, and the elephant, finding he could not make use of his trunk, ran furiously till he found a tree, against which he crushed the tiger. It was on this account that Shahjahan gave orders for the head of the elephants to be protected in future down to the end of the trunk with a covering of thick leather, studded with sharp nails. In addition to the huntsmen, there is always an official present whose business it is to take possession of the tiger's whiskers; and therefore, as soon as the tiger is dead, they put on his head a leather bag, coming down as far as the neck. Having tied the bag, the official attaches to it [129] his seal. After this the tiger is carried in front of the entrance to the royal tents, when the official appears who has charge of the poisons, and removes the whiskers, which are employed as a venom. 63

63. Bernier also describes these hunts (pp. 182, 183, 378, 379, edition Constable). He mentions the nets, but not the buffaloes, and his description is not so precise as Manucci's. I find nothing in the text here to justify Catrou's 'lames d'épees assez larges et fort pointues,' which he says were attached to the buffalo's horns (p. 159).
All the world knows that the Mahomedans, following the example of their master, Muhammad, are very licentious; wherefore there are men among them, some more and some less, chiefly the nobles and the kings, who do not content themselves with a few wives, but seek for every method of gratifying themselves in this particular. It may be asserted that Shahjahan was not superior to others in this respect, for, not contenting himself with the women that he had in his palaces, he forfeited the respect of the nobles at his court by intrigues with their wives, whereby he came to his ruin and his death.

The chief of these women, one that he thought a great deal of, was the wife of Jafarcan (Ja'far Khan), and from the love he bore her he wished to take her husband's life, but she saved him by praying that he might be sent as governor to Patana (Patniah), as was done. In the same way he had an acquaintance with the wife of Calican (Khalil Khan) for some time, and this man took his revenge in the battle fought by Dara against Aurangzeb, as I shall relate further on (I. 192).

Here it seems appropriate to state how the spies reported to Shahjahan that the wife of Khalilullah Khan wore shoes worth three millions of rupees, owing to the numerous precious stones with which the said shoes were garnished. When Khalilullah Khan came to audience, the angry king scolded him, saying that if his wife wore shoes of such great value, it was a sign that he had great wealth, the greater part of it got by theft, and therefore the first thing was for him to render an account of what he had embezzled. He (Khalilullah Khan) stood speechless, and could make no answer. But one of his friends who was present obtained permission from the king to reply on behalf of Khalilullah Khan. He said there was nothing for his majesty to

64. Ja'far Khan was son of Asaf Khan's sister, and was married to that noble's daughter, Farzanah Begam (Bibi Jiu). Thus, if that wife is alluded to, she was Shahjahan's sister-in-law, and the story is almost incredible. Ja'far Khan became wazir, and died in 1081 H. (1670-71), ('M,ul-U.', i. 531).

65. Khalilullah Khan was the younger son of Mir Miran, Yazdi, and his wife was Asaf Khan's grand-daughter. She was thus Shahjahan's niece by marriage. Khalilullah Khan died on the 2nd Rajaib, 1072 H. (February 21, 1662). His elder brother was Asalat Khan, Mir Bakhshi (died 1057 H.).
complain of, for the whole wealth of Khalilullah Khan was in those shoes, because his wife was in the habit every day of shoe-beating him on the face, and gave him thus all the riches that she had. On hearing this Shahjahan sank his head, and laughing to himself, said: 'It is a sufficient punishment to have in your house an angry wife.' All those who were present also began to smile at such an act of friendship. Khalilullah Khan left the audience in shame, quarrelling with his friend about the affront done to him in the king’s presence by giving such an answer. His friend retorted that the had [130] no room for complaint, rather was he under a heavy obligation, for if he had not come to his aid the king would have ordered his execution. Khalilullah Khan let the matter pass, and he lived the rest of his life under this disrepute.

Some authors 66 assert that Khalilullah Khan was beaten with shoes in the audience of Dara. I know of a certainty that this is not so, because never again would Khalilullah Khan have left his house, nor would any one have had respect for him, nor would he have been captain-general of the king’s cavalry, as he was. If they write thus, they record tales got from the common people, and not from those at court.

Shahjahan did not spare the wife of his brother-in-law, Xaahish Can (Shaistah Khan), though it was by a trick, for she would not consent. The procurer in this affair was Begom Saeb (Begam Sahib), the daughter of Shahjahan, who, in complaisance to her father, invited the said woman to a feast, at the end of which Shahjahan violated her. This lady was so much affected that, going to her house, she would neither eat nor change her clothes, and in this manner ended her life in grief. Shaistah Khan dissembled, hoping to have his revenge in due time, as will be seen farther on (I.176).

The intimacy of Shahjahan with the wives of Ja'far Khan and Khalilullah Khan was so notorious that when they went to court the mendicants called out in loud voices to Ja'far Khan's wife: 'O Breakfast of Shahjahan! remember us!' And when the wife of Khalilullah Khan went by they shouted: 'O Luncheon of Shahjahan! succour us!' The women heard, and, without taking it as an insult, ordered alms to be given.

66. This is a hit at Bernier (see 'Travels,' p. 53, edition Constable, and Mr. Constable's reference to Tavernier, edition Ball, i. 143).
For the greater satisfaction of his lusts Shahjahan ordered the erection of a large hall, twenty cubits long and eight cubits wide, adorned throughout with great mirrors. The gold alone cost fifteen millions of rupees, not including the enamel work and precious stones, of which no account was kept. On the ceiling of the said hall, between one mirror and another, were strips of gold richly ornamented with jewels. At the corners of the mirrors hung great clusters of pearls, and the walls were of jasper stone. All this expenditure was made so that he might obscenely observe himself and his favourite women.

It would seem as if the only thing Shahjahan cared for was the search for women to serve his pleasure. For this end he established a fair at his court, which lasted eight days every year. 67 No one was allowed to enter except women [131] of all ranks—that is to say, great and small, rich and poor, but all handsome. Each one brought what merchandise she could. But the best piece of goods she could produce was her own body. Their only object was that the king might fall in love with them; thus honourable women would not go to the place. In those eight days the king visited the stalls twice every day, seated on a small throne carried by several Tartar women, surrounded by several matrons, who walked with their sticks of enamedelled gold in their hands, and many eunuchs, all brokers for the subsequent bargaining; there were also a set of women musicians.

Shahjahan moves past with his attention fixed, and seeing any seller that attracted his fancy, he goes up to the stall, and making a polite speech, selects some of the things, and orders whatever she asks for them to be paid to her. Then the king gives an agreed-on-signal, and having passed on, the matrons, well versed in these matters, take care that they get her; and in due time she is produced in the royal presence. Many of them come out of the palace very rich and satisfied, while others continue to dwell there with the dignity of concubines. These eight days were observed in the palace with great festivity, dancing, music, acting, and other amusements. The fortress remained shut, with no man inside but the king. Once out of curiosity the women were counted as they came out, and there were more than thirty thousand.

67. Compare Bernier (272, edition Constable). These fairs were instituted by Akbar (Blochmann, 'A, in-i-Akbari,' i. 276).
It is impossible to explain satisfactorily the passion that Shahjahan had in this direction. Not satisfied with so many inventions for his inordinate desires, he also permitted great liberty to public women, of whom the greater number were dancers and singers. All of them paid taxes to the king.

Among them is one caste called Cancheny (Kanchani), who were under obligation to attend twice a week at court, for which they received pay, and to perform at a special place which the king had assigned to them. This class is more esteemed than others, by reason of their great beauty. When they go to court, to the number of more than five hundred, they all ride in highly embellished vehicles, and are clothed in rich raiment. All of them appear and dance in the royal presence.

Once the king fell in love with one of them, retained her in his palace, and gave her the title of concubine. Some of the nobles said to the king that a woman of that rank was unworthy of being placed in the royal palace. Xaaiahan (Shahjahan) replied: ‘Matei nec her ducan que baxat’—that is to say, ‘A good article may be [132] from any shop.’ 68 One time when these women (the Kanchanis) were at the court, Khaliullah Khan, who was the officer on guard, attempted to dally with one of them. Upon this account the king flew into a rage and wanted to issue an order for his execution for having had the temerity to forget his respect to the royal abode. But on the petition of Ja’far Khan’s wife, the culprit was pardoned. Ordinarily the dancing women dance in the principal open places in the city, beginning at six o’clock in the evening and going on till nine, lighted by many torches, and from this dancing they earn a good deal of money.

Although Shahjahan delighted in well-made women, he also required them to have good sense. Therefore, at different times, by different questions, he tested the understanding of every one of them. But it was a strange thing that happened to him with four servant women in his palace, who bore the names of the four quarters of the world. He rose at midnight to try the good judgment of these four, and going into the room of each one, asked her if dawn were near. The first replied ‘No,’ giving as her reason

68. Mithai nek har dukan kih bashad—'Sweetmeats are good, whatever shop they come from.'
that she still had the taste of betel in her mouth. The second also
gave a negative answer, because the light of the candle in her
room was still bright, whereas when dawn was approaching it no
longer burnt so clearly. The third said that it was still a long
time to daybreak, the reason being that when daylight was coming
on the pearls that she wore felt cold, whereas at that hour this
was not so. The fourth, a woman from the kingdom of Kashmir,
where it is the habit of the women to speak freely, told Shahjahan
that the day would not be here so very soon, for when it was near
she felt the call to relieve her necessities, and at that moment her
bowels gave her no such warning. With these answers Shahjahan
retired, and when the next day arose, he gave to the first the office
of looking after the betel that he ate; to the second charge of the
royal lamps; to the third the care of the pearls and jewels; to the
fourth, the supervision of the cleanliness of the royal retiring
place.

The lasciviousness of Shahjahan did not interfere with his
care to govern his kingdom most perfectly. He upheld the maxim
of his father [133] that true justice must be enforced, rewarding
the meritorious and punishing the guilty. He kept his eye on his
officials, punishing them rigorously when they fell short in their
duty. This was the reason that he kept at his court an official
with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order
that in his presence they should be made to bite any official who
had failed to administer justice, leaving the culprit lying in his
presence till the breath left him.

Thus he did, as I saw, to the cotual (Kotwal) called Maho-
med Said (Muhammad Sa‘id), who is the magistrate. This man
did not decide uprightly, and took bribes. Therefore an order
was given that he should be bitten in one hand in his (Shahjahan’s)
presence by a cobra capello, the most poisonous snake on earth.
The official in charge of the snakes was asked how long the man
could live. The official replied that he could not live more than
an hour. The king remained seated until the Kotwal expired. He
then ordered that the body should lie two days in front of his
court-house. Others who had deserved death were ordered to be
thrown to mad elephants, who tore them to pieces.

Fear of this punishment was the cause of a cazi’s (zazi’s)
action. A youth who had demanded justice against a relation paid
to this qazi twenty thousand rupees for a favourable decision of
in turn paid thirty thousand rupees to obtain an unjust decree. The qazi went off to the king and reported that he had been paid thirty thousand rupees to give an unjust decree. The king, having been informed of the truth, forced the relation to pay to the youth the whole sum claimed, and ordered the thirty thousand rupees to be placed in the royal treasury. The qazi appropriated the twenty thousand rupees, and retained at the same time the reputation of a just judge.

If perchance any commander fled from battle, or did not do his duty, he was severely punished, both in his own person and that of his wives and daughters, the king directing rats to be placed in the latter's trousers, simply to disgrace and frighten them, and as a warning to other officials to do their duty with care. 69

Before Shahjahan sent his son Moradbux (Murad Bakhsh) to be Viceroy of Guzurate (Gujarat), the previous governor was Nacir Can (Nasir Khan). 70 This man tyrannized over the people greatly, collecting extraordinary contributions and behaving harshly. As the merchants of that region were unable to obtain access to the king's audience to make their complaints, they bribed secretly some actors to represent their grievances in detail before the king. Among the actors were mingled also some of the traders, who were to appear in the play and make petition to the court to be given redress, on showing that they had brought sufficient money.

They reported to the king that some strange actors had arrived, and wished to give a representation of a novel kind. Being a lover of such amusements, he gave permission for their entry. Then they played a piece which showed the misgovernment existing in the kingdom of Gujarat. The king was in astonishment at

69. A threat to cause mice to be put into his women's trousers was used by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar to his wazir, Qutb-ul-Mulk, in 1719 (see Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. lxxiii., part i., 1904, p. 340).

70. Possibly this is intended for Hafiz Muhammad Nasir, diwan of the province under Dara Shukoh, 1648-52. He was sent in 1653 to take charge of Surat ('Bomby Gazetteer,' vol. i., part i., 1896, pp. 280, 281, from the 'Tarikh-i-Ahmadi').
the wrongs represented, and said: 'Can there be a man in the world to do such wrongful acts?' All the veritable merchants, but pretended actors, prostrated themselves on the ground before the king, and said to him: 'Let it be known to your majesty that everything we represented for your amusement is actually done by the governor. Disbursing our money, we tried in vain to lay before your majesty our complaints, therefore we have invented this device.' The king made inquiries, and finding that everything was true, he issued orders that the governor should be carried a prisoner to the fortress called Rotasgar (Ruhtas-garh), which is near Patana (Patnah), in the region of Bemgalla (Bengal), there to remain for the rest of his life. It is a rule that he who enters the said fortress ends his life there in misery on insufficient food. The king ordered all the governor's goods to be confiscated, whereby he was deprived of much ill-gotten wealth.

But still more terrible was the penalty inflicted on two forgers in the year 11 one thousand six hundred and fifty-four (correctly 1656), I being then at the court of Dara. It happened that a youth wanted to marry a certain woman. She refused; whereupon he had recourse to a lawsuit. He said that after the woman had promised to marry him, and he had consumed with her all that he had, she refused to keep her word. The judge ordered inquiry to be made from the woman. She replied that the whole was false; neither had she given him her word, nor did she wish to marry. The judge asked the youth if he had any witnesses to the promise. He answered that his witnesses were the marks she bore on her body, the whole of which he described. He had learnt these marks from an old woman who was on familiar terms with the defendant, braiding her hair and bathing her body. Eunuchs and women were sent in order to examine the body of the women, and the conclusion was that the youth had detailed the marks with accuracy. Thereupon the judge decreed that the woman must marry the complainant.

The woman petitioned the judge [135] for a delay of several months, after which she would marry the youth; and the latter agreed to this proposal. The woman knew that no one except the old woman could give information of the marks on her body, for

71. The correct year must be 1656 or 1657, as Manucci did not arrive at Dihli before the middle of 1656 (see Introduction, p. lvii).
she was a chaste woman, living a retired life. After the lapse of a month, more or less, she issued from her house, followed by two sturdy slave-girls, and made for the dwelling of the youth. The latter was then ill. Entering the house, she seized him by the throat and shouted that now she had caught the thief who had robbed her. Thus saying, she carried him off by force to the judge and accused him of theft. Her story was that the night before, when sleeping with her, he had stolen a valuable bracelet like the one then on her arm. The youth swore it was not true, never had he known such a woman; and it being a total falsehood, he demanded justice for the false accusation.

Then the woman asked for justice to be done her in respect of the false claim the man had made a month before. At that time, expressing a desire to marry her, he had sworn that he had lived a long time in her house, and that she had promised to marry him. As a proof of his truthfulness he had called in eunuchs and women to examine her body, and had thus dishonoured her. The eunuchs and the women were summoned, and they testified that she was the very woman to whom they had gone to examine the marks on her body. She appeared before the king and made her complaint. The youth was asked by what channel he had learnt the marks on this woman’s body. He then gave the name of the old woman, who had suggested to him this method of effecting his purpose. Shahjahan praised the astuteness of the woman, and gave orders for the old woman and the youth to be buried in the ground up to the waist, after which they were shot to death by arrows, and their dead bodies left lying there for twenty-four hours.

Another case occurred in the kingdom of Kabul, when Mahabat Khan was governor. It was that of a woman of that kingdom called Dariacatu (Daryae Khatun), who dwelt in the city, and had slave-women who solicited the travelling merchants of Osbeque (Uzbek) race. As Mahomedans are very facile about entering into marriage, and seeing this woman was very rich and had much goods, they would agree to marry her. There were nineteen men who had thus become her husbands. After a little time had passed, she used to take the husband to her villages to collect the rents. The man, delighted at the thought of acquiring more wealth, left the city with a light
heart. She took them all into the lands of the Pathans, where she sold them to her acquaintances. The muscles near the heel were severed, so that they could not run away. She then returned to the city.

When they reported [136] the matter to the governor, she was seized. The governor, when fully informed of the facts, thought the case such an extraordinary one that he submitted it to the king. He ordered the woman to be torn to pieces by the dogs, which in that region are very handsome and savage. The Pathans keep them to protect their herds from wolves.

Not only did Shahjahan do justice against those guilty of great crimes: he also dealt with the nobles whenever he found an opportunity, in order to terrorize the rest. His object was to make the governing of his kingdom easier, so that he might pass his time with his women and be free of vexations. Thus it happened that one day, going out to hunt, there came before him a servant complaining that for months his master had not paid him, and he was in great distress. On hearing the complaint, the king, without advancing a single step, ordered the man's master to be brought, whereupon he presented himself. He acknowledged the wrong done to the servant. The king ordered the gentleman to dismount, and the servant to get upon the horse of his master, while the master should remain running in front, in the servant's place, where he (Shahjahan) could see him. This continued until the master, unable to run any longer, fell to the ground, whereupon the king said to him: 'I do not fail to pay you, because you serve me; it is equally just that you should pay those who serve you.'

Equally terrifying was the sentence passed on one of his slaves. For just as he was liberal in giving rewards, he was equally exacting of obedience. Shahjahan had among his slaves one that he was very fond of, called Saadet Can (Saadat Khan)—that is to say, 'Efficacious.' He had an income of fifty thousand rupees, and was lord over two thousand horse. He was in charge of the betel consumed by the king, and to him was given one of the Portuguse women who had been taken prisoners at Ugulim (Hugli). The king saw several times that Saadat Khan gave away betel to the nobles at court. Shahjahan enjoined him not to give betel to anyone, and to remember this order. Saadat Khan, paying little heed to such an order, and relying on the love
the king bore him, distributed the betel secretly. One day it so happened, unluckily for him, that the king saw him give betel to a noble [137] of the court. But he dissembled. At the end of the audience Shahjahan went into the garden, and without compunction ordered him to be beaten to death in his own presence. He said: 'This is what those deserve who do not obey the king's orders,' whereat the nobles trembled, and served him in fear.

The king handed over the whole of Sa'adat Khan's wealth to his wife, in spite of the rule made by Akbar that the king should confiscate all the goods left by anyone in his service. This Shahjahan did in order not to let it be hinted that he killed his slave to get possession of his wealth. This wife was a Christian, though she lived as a Moor (Mahomedan). When I was in the city of Agra in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, I was sent for by the qazi, a great friend of mine, who told me privately that for love of me he did not interfere with the Jesuit fathers, then actually dwelling in the city. For he knew of a certainty that the said woman resorted in secret to the house of the Jesuits. Such a thing was strictly prohibited. He earnestly entreated me that so long as he was in power the woman should never go there again. If she did he might suffer great damage. I gave him my thanks, and advised the said woman, and the fathers were under an obligation to me. For Aurangzeb was very inimical to those who interfered with his religion. This was chiefly because Shahjahan had given an order to knock down the bell-tower of the fathers' church, out of the ill-will he bore them; still, for some reason or other, he accorded permission for the building of a smaller church, one without tower or bells.

To make still more clear how Shahjahan was anxious that justice should be administered in his realm, there are other interesting cases to be described. The first is that of a soldier who took wrongfully the slave-girl of a Hindu clerk. The latter brought a complaint before the courts. The soldier said the slave-girl was his, and so likewise said the girl herself, as she wanted to live with the soldier. The charge was transferred to the king's tribunal, and he ordered the slave-girl to be placed in his palace. When he wanted to write he directed the girl to pour a little water into the inkstand, and this she did most dexterously. This proved to the king that she was the slave of the scribe, and not of the soldier; thus he decreed that the girl should be made over to the