

THE
JAHANGIRNAMA
Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India

Translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston

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Translator's Preface

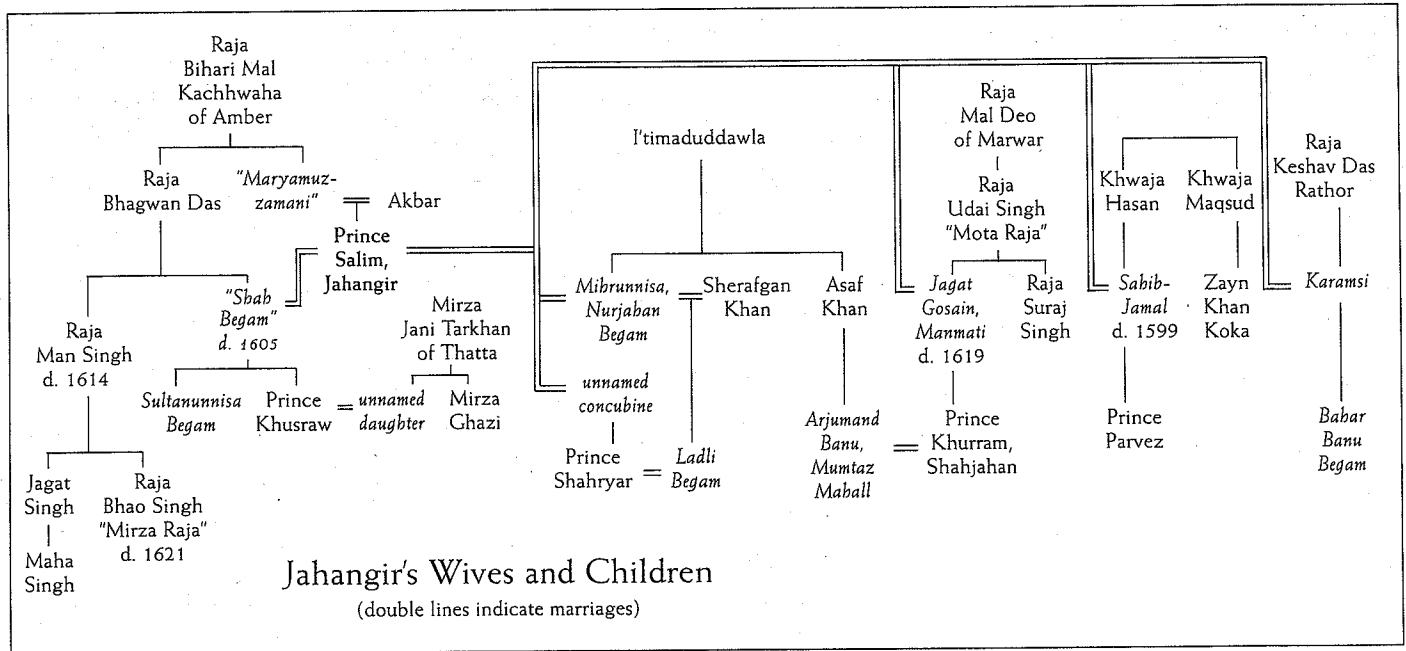
The fourth emperor of Timurid India, Sultan Salim, who ruled under the name Nuruddin Muhammad and the title Jahangir (1569–1627), kept a personal record of his reign much as his great-grandfather Babur had done. Jahangir's memoirs begin in 1605 with his accession to the throne. In 1622, five years before his death, Jahangir was compelled by illness to have his personal secretary, Mu'tamad Khan, actually write the memoirs and submit them for editing and correction (page 386). Their collaboration continued until 1624, when the memoirs end abruptly. In the eighteenth century a historian named Muhammad-Hadi added a continuation from the point at which the memoirs end through Jahangir's death in 1627 and Shahjahan's succession the following year; he also added a preface containing a brief account of Jahangir's life until his accession to the throne.¹

The memoirs have been commonly known under the title *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Jahangir's regulations). The Persian word *tuzuk* comes from the Turkish *tüzük*, which means "regulation," "order," "arrangement," and was used specifically for a ruler's or officer's disciplined and orderly maintenance and deployment of his troops and staff. Since the memoirs were considered to be the emperor's own guidelines for the maintenance of the empire—although in fact they contain few such, despite his claim that he had multiple copies made "to award to particular servants and to be sent to other countries to be used by the rulers as a manual for ruling" (page 271)—they were given the auxiliary title of *tuzuk*, which term had also become a common generic title for biographies of rulers. Nowhere does Jahangir himself use *tuzuk* as a title. Rather, in several places, particularly at the end of the twelfth year, when he has the memoirs of the first twelve years of his reign copied and bound as a presentation volume (page 255), he refers to the memoirs specifically as the *Jahangirnama* (Jahangir's book), and so will we.

Jahangir's record of his life and reign attracted the attention of Western scholars early in the exploration of source material for Mughal history. Extracts were first translated by James Anderson in *Asiatic Miscellany* (Calcutta, 1786) and by Francis Gladwin in his *History of Hindostan* (Calcutta, 1788). A section comprising the first nine years was translated by William Erskine,² who also translated the *Baburnama* in 1826. A translation was begun by W. H. Lowe for the Bibliotheca Indica in Calcutta in 1889, but only one fascicle was printed. A full translation was first made by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge. This version appeared in two volumes for the Oriental Translation Fund (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909–14), and it has served as the standard—in fact, the only—English translation ever since.

Because it has now been almost ninety years since the appearance of the first part of the last translation, many felt it was time for a new one. There is little to criticize in Rogers and Beveridge's exceptionally precise and correct translation, except for the

1. The memoirs exist in two versions. The "authentic" memoirs, the version here translated, begin *az 'ináyat-i bégháyat-i iláhi*, representative early manuscripts include one in Lahore, Punjab University Library (with seals of Jahangir and Shahjahan); London, India Office Library No. 305 (before A.H. 1040 [1630]); London, British Library, Add. 26,215 (17th century); Manchester, Bibliotheca Lindesiana (John Rylands Library) no. 938 (circa 1700); Oxford, Bodleian 219, dated A.H. 1118 (1706); Cambridge, Browne 94, dated 1139 (1726); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Blochet 579, dated A.H. 1196 (1781); Royal Asiatic Society, Morley 120, dated 1231 (1815). An edition, *Toozuk-i-Jehangeeree*, was made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the basis of ten good manuscripts in Bahadur Shah's libraries and printed in Aligarh in 1863–64. The latest printed edition, from which this translation has been made, was done by Muhammad Hashim and printed at Tehran: Chapkhana-i Zar, A.H. 1359 (1980). The manu-

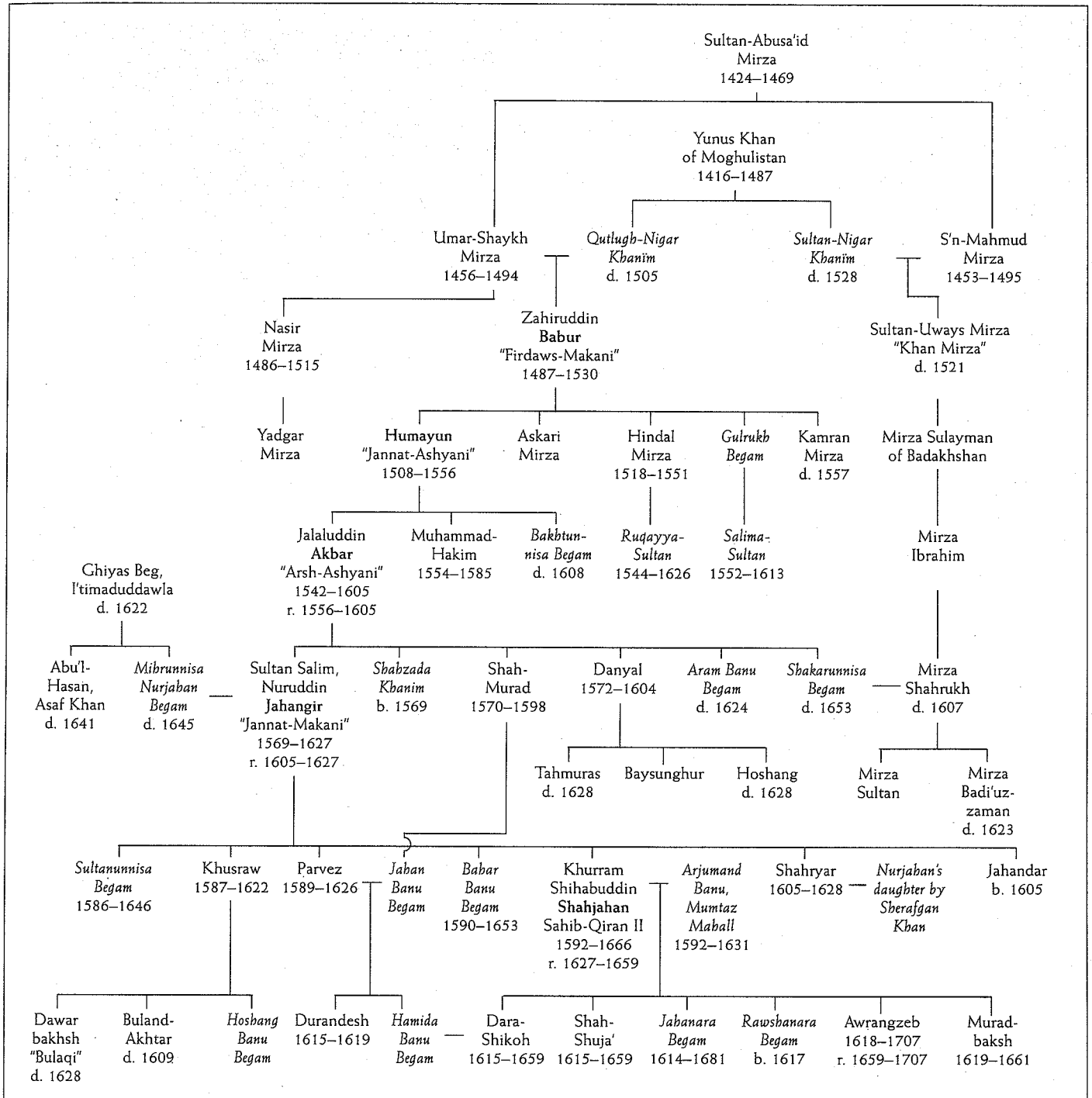


scripts used for this edition are India Office Library No. 305, datable to before A.H. 1040 (1630) (the folio numbers of this manuscript have been retained in Muhammad Hashim's edition, and I have retained them within square brackets in the translation for easy reference to the Persian edition); Oxford, Bodleian No. 221, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's own manuscript edition, dated September 1846; India Office Library No.

3112, copied for Muhammad Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's brother, in October 1843; and Tehran University Central Library No. 4010, which contains the first six years of the reign only and may possibly be Jahangir's own copy. A shorter version of the memoirs, known as the "garbled," or "spurious," memoirs, begins *bamd-i bégháyat u shukr-i bénibáyat mubdi'írá*; representative manuscripts are in Bankipur, Oriental Public Library, No. 557, dated A.H. 1020 (1611); Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Aumer 259 (1), dated A.H. 1138 (1627); London, India Office Library, Ethé 309, dated A.H. 1194 (1780); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Pertsch

tone. Jahangir wrote in a very fluid, colloquial style that is totally devoid of the rhetorical prolixity that characterizes "professional" Mughal historiography. Like many earlier translators of Asian works, however, Rogers and Beveridge refused to let the immediacy of Jahangir's prose come through and tended to render his words in stilted and sometimes awkward English. This impulse represents a school of translation that seems to have held that people long ago and far away had to speak in "thee's" and "thou's" and sound, at best, as Shakespearean characters sound to us now or, at worst, like Edwardian narrators of fairy tales. Such an approach is more justifiable for translating a rhetorically complex work of artful prose, but Jahangir's writing is anything but that. If Jahangir spoke in the second person singular, he did so because it was normal, everyday colloquial Persian for him to do so, not because he wanted to sound like a character in an old play ("These few words from my mouth thou wilt represent . . ."). The memoirs are refreshingly candid and frank, and nowhere is his Persian stilted, archaic, or pompous. Jahangir wrote in his native Persian, a language that is grammatically very simple but particularly rich in idiomatic expression; however, the literal renderings of Persian idiom translators have given us convey little or nothing to the reader of English—such idiom must be converted into an equivalent English idiom, if there is one, or captured somehow in modern English. Jahangir naturally mentions many things peculiar to the subcontinent, and these often lack equivalents in English, but he does not express feelings that cannot be conveyed by our modern language. There is one stylistic feature I have not tried to capture in English, and that is his rambling syntax, which even lapses altogether on occasion; but I have striven to keep the tone of the English as close as possible to that of the Persian and to stay as near as I could to the original while rendering an idiomatic English.

A translator of a work written in the seventeenth-century Persian language of the Indian subcontinent can transform linguistic content into something a modern audience can understand, but he cannot eliminate the cultural difficulties. The memoirs are strewn with unfamiliar terminology and, more problematically, brimful of unfamiliar



names and titles, and these need some explanation for the benefit of readers who are not specialists in Mughal India.

Names and Titles

Those with whom the emperor naturally had the greatest interaction and those who feature most prominently in the memoirs are the nobles of the empire. They had not

486, dated A.H.1199 (1784); Oxford, Bodleian 222, dated A.H.1225 (1810); London, British Library, Or. 1708, dated A.H.1239 (1824). A translation of the "garbled" memoirs was made by Major David Price (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1829) and reprinted in Calcutta: Editions

Indian, 1972. Muhammad-Hadi's preface begins *hamd u sanā-yi béhadd u sipās u sitāyish-i látubsā u látu'add mar yagána pádishábirá sazást*. In the Tehran edition Muhammad-Hadi's additions have been printed after the memoirs proper (pp. 441–515), but here I have split Muhammad-Hadi's section to fall chronologically—thus his summary of events before the memoirs is first, followed by the memoirs, followed by Muhammad-Hadi's narration of the end of Jahangir's reign. Little is known of Muhammad-Hadi except that he lived during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–1748).

2. An unpublished manuscript of his translation is kept in the British Library (Add. 26,611).

3. The word *khan* is a loan to Persian from Turco-Mongolian. Two alternative forms of the word, *khan* and *khaghan*, both of great antiquity, passed into Turkish and Mongolian and thence into Persian as two separate words: *khaghan*—and its variant *qa'an*—became the title of the supreme Mongol emperor and later a generic term for emperor, and *khan* became a title of honor in all lands dominated or influenced by Turks, which is to say almost the entire Islamic world.

4. I'tiqad Khan means something like Lord Confidence, and his second title, Asaf Khan, is a reference to Asaf ibn Barakya, the Arabized form of Asaph ben Berachiah, a character who appears many times in the Old Testament and was appointed by Solomon to temple service; see, e.g., 1 Chronicles 6:39 and, for the Islamic version, al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophets* (1978; reprint, Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, Inc., 1997),

only given names but also titles ending in *khan*,³ and as they acquired new, loftier titles the old ones fell into abeyance and were sometimes later given to others. As an example, Ghiyas Beg I'timaduddawla's son Abu'l-Hasan first held the title I'tiqad Khan; then, in 1614, he was given the title Asaf Khan,⁴ and his old title of I'tiqad Khan was later given to his brother Mirza Shapur. More common is the case of Ibrahim Kakar, who was first granted a khan title added to his own name, so he became Ibrahim Khan; later he was awarded a military title, Dilawar Khan (Lord Valiant), by which he was known for the rest of his life. Because these persons are almost always known to history by the last title they held, the principal entry in the index is under the last title with cross-references to the others.⁵ Furthermore, some titles, particularly those that had been in use for centuries, were held successively, like Khan Jahan, which the Khan Jahan Lodi of the memoirs was the second to bear during Jahangir's reign. At various places, therefore, there are three different Jahangir-Quli Khans, two Asaf Khans, and two Khan Jahans.

The "khan" titles were all bestowed by the monarch as a reward for personal merit. Some of the khan titles Jahangir gave were appropriate to the person or to the occasion on which they were conferred. Shamsi Töshäkchi was entitled Khoshkhabar Khan (Lord Good News, page 55) because he brought a piece of good news, and Warzish Khan (Lord Exercise) was given his title because he was Jahangir's fencing partner (page 153). Generally, however, the khan titles contain some reference to martial valor or fidelity: Sarbuland Khan means Lord Head-Held-High; Jansipar Khan means Lord Life-Risking; Mu'tamad Khan means Lord Reliable; Safdar Khan means Lord Battle-Line-Breaker; and so on.

Jahangir's son Khurram was awarded the title Shahjahan in the twelfth regnal year.⁶ He retained this title as his regnal name, and it is familiar in various guises as Shah Jahan, Shah Jehan, and Shah-Jahan. I have rendered it all as one word because—unlike Shah Abbas, for instance, who was a shah whose name was Abbas, like "Henry" in King Henry—Shahjahan was a bestowed title, not a name. The title had originally been *shah-i-jaban*, "king of the world," but over time the Persian grammatical link *-i-* was dropped, leaving it as *shahjaban*. In this it is like the other older titles Khan Dawran, Khankhanan, Khan Alam, Khan Jahan, and Khan A'zam, which were originally Khan-i-Dawran (Lord of the Age), Khan-i-Khanan (Lord of Lords), Khan-i-Alam (Lord of the Universe), Khan-i-Jahan (Lord of the World), and Khan-i-A'zam (Most Magnificent Lord), all of which had dropped the *-i-* over time. Jahangir's wife, whose name was Mihrunnisa, was first entitled Nurmahall (from the Persian *nur-i-mahall*, Light of the Palace) and then Nurjahan (from the Persian *nur-i-jaban*, Light of the World). The "Nur" part of her title and of many other names (like the spring Nur Chashma, the gardens Nur Manzil and Nurafza, and the elephant Nur Gaj) is a reference to the name Jahangir adopted upon his accession, Nuruddin (Light of Religion).

Titles like the princely Mirza may either precede the given name in the Persian fashion or follow the given name in the Turkish manner, indifferently (Mirza Shahrukh, or Shahrukh Mirza). The title Shaykh was applied on the one hand as a title of reverence to Sufi masters, as in Shaykh Salim Chishti and Shaykh Nizamuddin Awliya;⁷ on the other hand, under the Mughals it became a hereditary title for all *shaykhzadas*, the progeny of prominent Sufi shaykhs, like Shaykh Ala'uddin, a grandson of Shaykh Salim who became Islam Khan and was far better known for his military prowess than for his religiosity. Similar to Shaykh is Khwaja, a title of respect primarily for masters of the Naqshbandi order but also borne by other Sufis, like Khwaja Mu'inuddin of the Chishti order. The title Mir precedes the given names of sayyids, lineal descendants of the

Prophet Muhammad, and by virtue of their lineage they held a revered position in society. Persons appear in the memoirs with and without some or all of their titles. Sometimes they are mentioned by title alone, with no mention of their names, like the Mirmiran, the chief sayyid of the empire, whose name is never given. Occasionally persons are mentioned simply as "the son of So-and-So." I have tried to include all the various parts of a person's names and titles in the entry in the index. Alas, it is quite impossible to make all mentions of every person consistent, as my long-suffering editor would wish.

The titles Rajput and other Hindu princes receive are generally hereditary ruling titles like Maharaja, Raja, Rao, and Rai, all of which are ultimately derived from the Sanskrit term *raja*, sovereign. The Rajputs, the warrior and ruling caste of Rajputana (now Rajasthan) in western India, are also often identified by their clan affiliations: Kachhwaha, Bundela, Bhurtiya, Rathor, and Sisodiya, among others. Some of the more important Rajput houses were intimately connected to Jahangir by descent and by marriage. Jahangir's mother, who is obscured forever behind a veil of chaste propriety that forbade the mention of her name but who was known by her epithet, Maryam-uzzamani (The Mary of the Age), was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal Kachhwaha of Amber (Jaipur). Among Jahangir's Rajput wives was Prince Khusraw's mother, entitled Shah Begam (page 51), the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber and Maryam-uzzamani's niece; Shahjahan's mother, Jagat Gosain (page 30), also known as Manmati, was the daughter of Rana Udai Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur), who was known as Mota Raja (The Fat Raja); and Bahar Banu Begam's mother, Karamsi (page 30), was the daughter of Raja Keshav Das Rathor.

In Persian historiography it is common to refer to deceased monarchs and rulers by posthumous titles, of which Persian has a plethora. As a normal rule, any posthumous title may be used of any ruler who is dead at the time of writing; the Mughals alone gave fixed posthumous titles to each member of the dynasty. They are as follows:

REGNAL TITLE	HONORIFIC	GIVEN NAME	POSTHUMOUS TITLE
—	Zahiruddin Muhammad	Babur	Firdaws-Makani ("whose place is paradise")
—	Nasiruddin Muhammad	Humayun	Jannat-Ashyani ("who is nested in the garden of paradise")
—	Jalaluddin Muhammad	Akbar	Arsh-Ashyani ("whose nest is on the divine throne")
Jahangir	Nuruddin Muhammad	Salim	Jannat-Makani ("whose place is the garden of paradise")

Thus Jahangir generally refers to his father, Akbar, by his posthumous title as His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. Because it is difficult to keep track of these titles, the proper name of the monarch has been given in brackets at intervals to facilitate comprehension, e.g. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar].

☉ *Regnal Years and Dating Systems*

It was Mughal practice to date by regnal years. These were usually calculated by the solar year from the date of accession. Jahangir ascended the throne in October 1605, but at the following Persian New Year (Nawroz) in March of 1606 he decreed that his regnal years would commence on Nawroz. The first regnal year therefore extends from

314–16. In Islamic lore Asaf is the prototype of the grand vizier to the great King Solomon, and that is why the Asaf Khan title was bestowed.

5. The index also contains references to Shah Nawaz Khan Awrangabadi's *Ma'athir al-umara*, the great biography of the nobles of the Mughal Empire. These are signaled by MU with reference to the entry number in the English translation of that work.

6. Shahjahan was also known as Sahib-Qiran-i-Sani (Second Lord of the Conjunction), a reference to the remote ancestor of the dynasty, Amir Temür (Tamerlane, d. 1405), who was known as the First Lord of the Conjunction, i.e. the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, considered to be the most favorable conjunction of planets and known as *qiranu's-sa'dayn* (the conjunction of the two auspicious ones). In the case of Amir Temür the appellation was an honorific, but Shahjahan was actually born under the conjunction.

7. *Sbaykb* is the same word as sheikh, or sheik, which has the advantage of being a recognized English word. Unfortunately, because it conjures up images of the Sheik of Araby, which is about as far from its connotation in Mughal India as anything could be, it cannot be used here.

October 1605 until the end of the next solar year, March 1607; thereafter the regnal years coincide with the solar years of the Persian calendar. Nawroz falls on the vernal equinox every year and is determined by astronomical observation, not by the calendar. These days it falls on or near March twenty-first, but because in Jahangir's time the Julian calendar was still in effect in the English-speaking world and we have converted to Julian dates, Nawroz fell on or around March tenth. For the Gregorian equivalents used in continental Europe at the time, add ten days. Nawroz was normally the occasion for the grandest court celebration of the year. Following Nawroz was another occasion for court celebration, the day of culmination (*roz-i sharaf*), the nineteenth of Aries, which Jahangir calls the "nineteenth degree of Aries" (page 46). For instance, in the year 1616, the vernal equinox occurred on March ninth, and the culmination occurred nineteen days later on March twenty-eighth.

In Mughal India there were two calendars in use simultaneously, the Persian and the Islamic. Jahangir began his memoirs using Islamic lunar months and days, but shortly after the first year or so he gradually changed to the Persian solar system, which was officially introduced during Akbar's reign and was known as the *Ilahi era*,⁸ and thereafter he only occasionally interspersed an Islamic date. Because the Islamic year consists of twelve lunar months that have no readily discernible relation to the sun,⁹ the lunar year recedes against the solar year by eleven days annually. The Persian solar year begins on Nawroz and contains twelve months. When the vernal equinox falls on March tenth, the *Ilahi solar months*, with their zodiacal equivalents, which Jahangir also uses occasionally, are as follows:

- 1 Farvardin (Aries) = March 10
- 1 Urdibihisht (Taurus) = April 10
- 1 Khurdad (Gemini) = May 11
- 1 Tir (Cancer) = June 11
- 1 Amurdad (Leo) = July 12
- 1 Shahrivar (Virgo) = August 12
- 1 Mihr (Libra) = September 12
- 1 Aban (Scorpio) = October 12
- 1 Azar (Sagittarius) = November 11
- 1 Day (Capricorn) = December 11
- 1 Bahman (Aquarius) = January 10
- 1 Isfandarmudh (Pisces) = February 9

8. *Ilahi* literally means divine, but in Mughal usage it connotes "imperial."

9. The names of the Islamic months are as follows: Muharram, Safar, Rabi' I, Rabi' II, Jumada I, Jumada II, Rajab, Sha'ban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'da, and Dhu'l-Hijja.

10. For a list of items against which Jahangir was weighed, see page 197.

Jahangir's birthday, along with the imperial weighing ceremony that marked it,¹⁰ was therefore celebrated twice, once according to the lunar calendar on the seventeenth of Rabi' I (which fell on August thirtieth the year he was born, A.H. 977 [1569]) and again according to the solar calendar on or around the twenty-second of Shahrivar (end of August, beginning of September).

To complicate matters further, each regnal year, in addition to its designation as a regnal year, was labeled by the Islamic year in which it began, so many dates in any given regnal year actually belong to the next Islamic year. For example, the fourth regnal year began on the fourteenth of Dhu'l-Hijja of the Islamic year 1017, and thus the entire fourth regnal year may be referred to as 1017. However, Dhu'l-Hijja is the last

month of the Islamic year, and 1018 began only several weeks into the regnal year, so most dates in the regnal year 1017 were actually in the Islamic year 1018. Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was born on the thirtieth of Rabi' 1 1000 (January 5, 1592), but when Jahangir gives his son's birth date (page 30), he gives the year as 999 because the birth fell in Akbar's regnal year 999.

Because the Islamic "day" begins at sundown, the eve of any given day of the week precedes the daylight hours of that day. What Jahangir calls "Thursday eve" is what we call Wednesday night, i. e., as in All Hallows' Eve, it is the night that precedes the daylight hours of Thursday. In the translation I have reserved the word *eve* for this usage only. Where "evening" is used it means simply the early part of the night. Jahangir says, for instance, that he does not drink at all during the daytime. "I only drink at night," he continues, "but not on Thursday, the day of my accession, or on Friday eve, a blessed night of the week" (page 185)—he means that he does not drink on Wednesday night, which was Thursday eve for him, or on Thursday night, which was his Friday eve. In translating phrases like "on the eve of the twenty-eighth of Muharram 1022," I have converted the date, 28 Muharram 1022, to March 10, 1613, but because the event took place on the eve of that date, it should be understood that in our terms it happened during the evening of the ninth of March.

❁ Transcription and Transliteration

Elaborate systems of transliteration are helpful to only a few, but they are distracting to the majority of readers. Those who ought to know Persian well enough to know what the dots and macrons mean shouldn't need them; those who do not know Persian will scarcely be helped by a macron over a vowel or a dot under a letter, particularly since there is not now—and as far as we know there has never been—any distinction in pronunciation between or among any of the various *t*'s, *b*'s, *s*'s, or *z*'s Persian orthography inherited from Arabic. The retroflex *t*'s, *d*'s, and *r*'s of Hindustani certainly differ considerably in articulation from their nonretroflex counterparts, but marking them with a dot in the text will not enable the non-Hindustani-speaking reader even to approximate the proper pronunciation. In the translation therefore I have simply transcribed non-English words according to their common Hindustani or Indo-Persian pronunciation and dispensed with diacritical markings,¹¹ with the exception of the unobtrusive umlauts on Turkish words and the reversed apostrophe for the Arabic letter *'ayn* when it is not initial, as in Shah-Shuja' and Khan A'zam.¹² Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hindustani, and Kashmiri words that occur in the text are given in the glossary, and long vowels are indicated in the index. In transcribing Hindustani I have used *cch* and *cchh* in place of the ungainly *chch* and *chchh*.

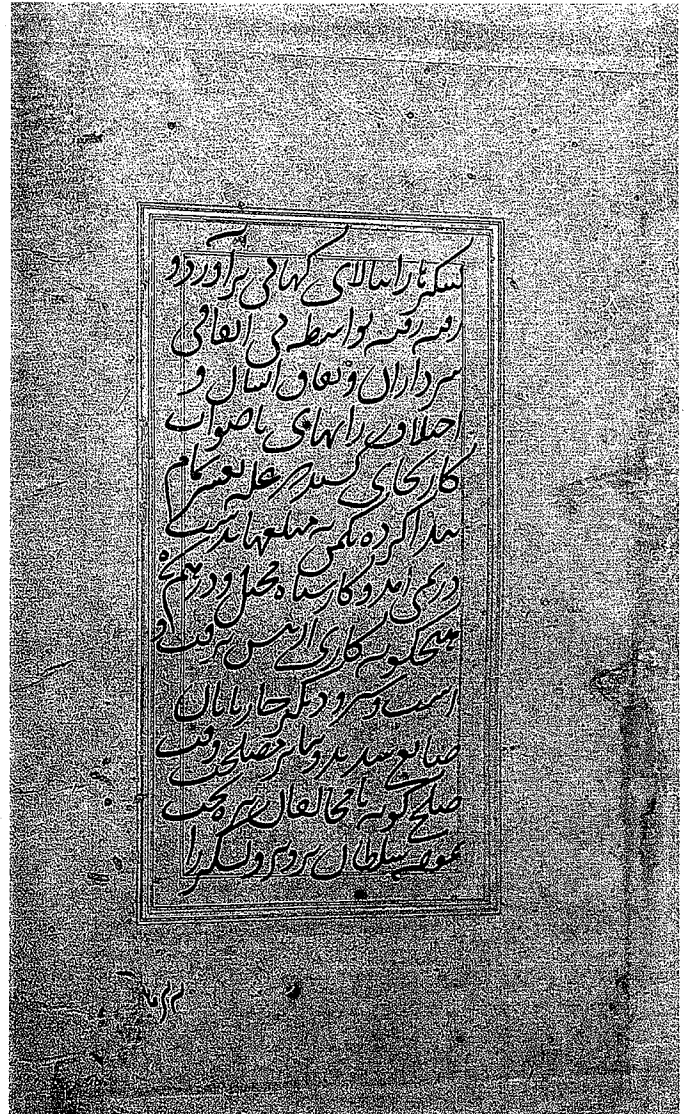


FIGURE 1. PAGE IN JAHANGIR'S HANDWRITING. India, ca. A.H. 1032 (1622). Ink on paper. 27.1 x 16.6 cm. The National Museum, Delhi. 56.65

11. Jahangir spoke Persian and some form of Hindi or Hindustani. He says he knew some Turkish, and he probably knew a little Arabic too, but he certainly did not know Sanskrit. What native Indian words and names he uses are Hindi, and he represented

medieval Hindi words in Persian letters as they were pronounced in his time, so we get *brabmcharj* for the Sanskrit *brabmacharya* and Bikramajit for Vikramaditya. These days it is popular in certain quarters to Sanskritize names and titles from the Mughal period. Pace the Sanskritwallas, there is little to be gained in attempting to Sanskritize Rajput and other Hindu names, particularly when dealing with an age in which Sanskrit was not in general use. It seems counterproductive to disguise Bhāo Singh as Bhava Simha, Bikramajit as Vikramaditya, and Kishan Das as Kṛsnadasa, when it is extremely unlikely that they were ever in their lives called anything other than Bhao Singh, Bikramajit, and Kishan Das. The pronunciation of Persian current in India in Jahangir's day should not have differed to any large degree from the pronunciation in Iran or in Persian-speaking Central Asia at the time, whereas in a few stylistic features Jahangir's Indo-Persian is naturally closer to the Tajik Persian of Central Asia than to the Persian of Safavid Iran. From that time to now, certain features in the pronunciation of Persian have changed markedly in Iran while remaining fairly stable in India and Central Asia. Our transcription reflects the seventeenth-century Indian pronunciation of the language, not the modern Iranian. We have, therefore, Parvez, not Parviz; Awrangzeb, not Owrangzib; and Dara-Shikoh, not Dara-Shokuh.

12. Umlauted *ü* and *ö* are pronounced as in German; *ä* is pronounced like the *a* in "cat"; *ï* is a back *i*, not dissimilar to the second vowel in "nation." The reversed apostrophe (') is a glottal stop when carefully enunciated; in normal practice it merely lengthens the preceding

Geographical names are spelled in accordance with normal English usage (Punjab, Delhi, Bengal), and fortunately all places of any consequence in the subcontinent have conventional English spellings, most of which coincide fairly closely with the native pronunciation. All places of any size mentioned in the text have been included on the general map of the Mughal Empire on page xvii. The few place names that have eluded all attempts at identification, all obscure villages whose names occur in itineraries en route between major cities, probably still exist as they did in Jahangir's time, but, as can be seen from the page in Jahangir's own handwriting illustrated (fig. 1), Jahangir wrote hastily without the dots that are necessary for reading Persian consonants. Subsequent copyists and editors have restored the dots as best they could, but when toponyms are unknown, the dots—and consequently the pronunciation—can only be guessed. Place names that have remained unidentified are signaled by a bracketed question mark [?].

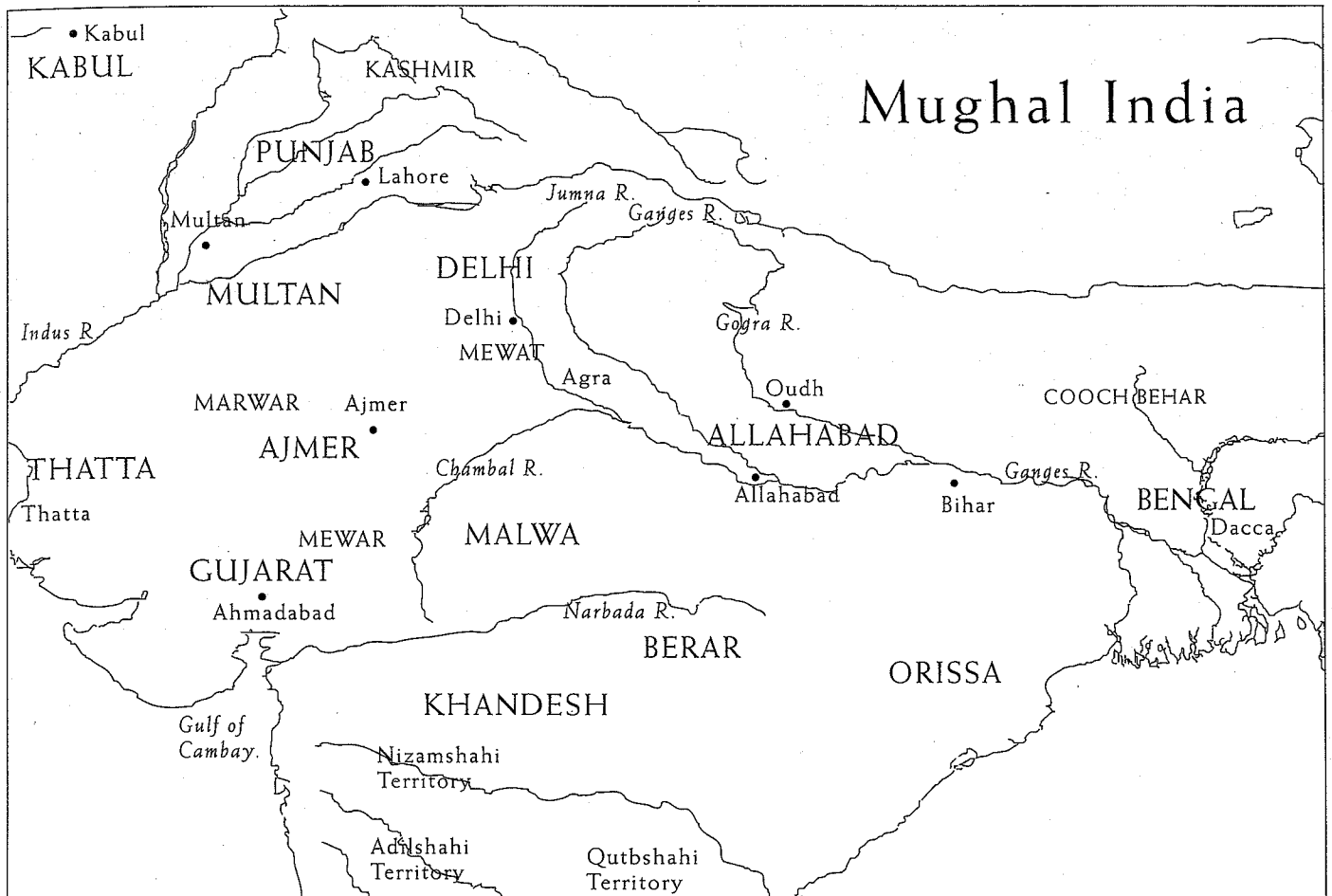
Occasional suggestions for emendation of the text or a variant reading are given in the notes. These generally involve change of diacritical dots or substitution of letters with similar shapes. Examples of emendations that have frequently been deemed necessary are the following ordinal numbers, which are commonly confused in Persian manuscripts, particularly when dots are missing: *basbtum* (eighth) and *bistum* (twentieth); *yazdabum* (eleventh) and *panzdabum* (fifteenth); *sizdabum* (thirteenth) and *bizhdabum* (eighteenth). The misreading of these numbers has resulted in passages in which the sequence of dates is out of order. Where it has been possible to determine the correct sequence of dates, I have emended the text and so noted all emendations.

The native Indian—mostly Hindustani or Kashmiri—words that Jahangir uses in his Persian give his writing a characteristic local flavor. Because it would be a shame to lose this quality in translation, in order to convey the "Indianness" of the Persian I have retained these words, even where a perfectly good English word exists, and given English equivalents in brackets. For Persian terms that lack good equivalents in English I have retained the Persian word and either given the nearest equivalent in brackets or provided a brief explanation in a note. All these words and technical terms are to be found in the glossary.

In consonance with good Persian literary style, Jahangir peppered his prose with poetic quotations. Many of these are proverbial in nature, and they would have been familiar to Jahangir's contemporaries, though the sources have been lost to time. Where the source of a quotation could be identified, it has been given in a note. Jahangir quotes fairly often from Firdawsi, Sa'di, and Hafiz, the most quotable of all Persian poets, and he occasionally gives an identified quotation from Baba Fighani of Shiraz (died 1519).

❁ Illustrations

When it comes to the Jahangirid period in Mughal art, there is an *embarras de richesses*, and because these pictures help bring the memoirs to life, I have included as many as feasible. Not only are there portraits of the emperor in various stages of his life, but there are portraits of most of the grandees of the realm and several *objets* mentioned specifically in the memoirs, like the knife made from a meteor (page 363) and a jade tankard that had once belonged to Ulughbeg Mirza (page 95). In addition to the formal court scenes, there are also paintings that could only have been made specifically as illustrations for a volume of the *Jahangirnama*.¹³ And we know from Jahangir's own words that when the memoirs of the first twelve years were copied and bound, an accession scene was produced by Abu'l-Hasan for inclusion into that volume (page 267).¹⁴ This is without



doubt the double-page accession scene now in an album in the possession of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (the left-hand half of which is reproduced on page 22). Three illustrations from this series not included in this volume are in the Raza Library at Rampur. They were obviously made for the *Jahangirnama*, but unfortunately they are in such poor condition and so badly abraded that it is not worthwhile reproducing them here. They are *Jahangir Watching a Snake and Spider Fight* (Rampur Album 1, folio 2a), which illustrates the text on folio 47a, *Jahangir Receiving Muqarrab Khan with Exotic Animals from Goa* (Album 1, folio 7a), which illustrates the text on folios 84b–85a, and *Jahangir Viewing a Freak Tamarind Tree* (Album 1, folio 8a), which goes with the text on folio 139a.¹⁵

Also included are Jahangir's "fantasy" pictures. A delightful series of paintings, these illustrate Jahangir eliminating Dalidr, the personification of poverty (*Emperor Jahangir Triumphant over Poverty*, page 25), Jahangir dispatching his nemesis, the Nizamshahi general and vizier Malik Ambar (*Jahangir Shoots Malik Ambar*, page 165), and Jahangir preferring the company of a pious shaykh to the monarchs of the world, including James I of England and the Ottoman Sultan (*Jahangir Preferring a Shaykh to Kings*, page 257.)

❁ Historical Overview

Emperor Jahangir is probably best known in the West merely for being the father of Shahjahan (1592–1666), who built the Taj Mahal, but Jahangir ruled the Mughal

vowel slightly. At the beginning of a word the 'ayn has no value whatsoever, so it has been dispensed with.

13. For this series of paintings see Beach, "Jahangir's *Jahangir-Nama*," 224–34. For an article on the illustration of Prince Khusraw's indictment (treated in the text on page 57f), see Chandra, "The Judgment of Khusraü," 43–46.

14. An illustration of Abu'l-Hasan presenting his painting to Jahangir (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Od 49/4, no. 40) is reproduced in Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 97, figure 70.

15. *Jahangir Watching a Snake and Spider Fight* and *Jahangir Viewing a Freak Tamarind Tree* are reproduced in Beach, "Jahangir's *Jahangir-Nama*"; *Jahangir Receiving Muqarrab*

Khan with Exotic Animals from Goa is reproduced in Beach et al., *King of the World*, 120, figure 15. Additional Jahangir-period paintings illustrative of specific material in the *Jahangirnama* but not reproduced here include the following: (folio 68b) *Mulla Ali-Ahmad Dies in Ecstasy*, Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript E.14, folio 14r, reproduced in Akimushkin, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa*, (folio 75a) *Prince Khurram Kills the Lion that Attacked Anup Rai*, Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, folio 135b, reproduced in Beach et al., *King of the World*, 79, figure 30; (folio 107b) *The Submission of Rana Amar Singh of Mewar to Prince Khurram*, Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, folio 135b, reproduced in Beach et al., *King of the World*, 33, figure 7; (folio 310b) *Mulla Muhammad Bijapuri*, by Hashim, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121.10.34r, reproduced in Welch et al., *Emperor's Album*, 160, figure 38; (folio 172b) *Rao Bhara*, by Govardhan, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Kulturbesitz, MS. A117, folio 23a, reproduced in Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 93, figure 66.

16. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 40.

) Empire when it was at the height of its power and prosperity. He also built splendid structures and gardens, if not the world's most famous and romanticized building. During his father Akbar's reign (1556–1605) the boundaries of the empire had been expanded to include all of the northern Indian subcontinent, and except for some fairly minor skirmishes on the northwestern border with the Safavids of Iran, most of the empire had been pacified and consolidated. The only active military front was the Deccan, the perennial trouble spot to the south.

The dynasty to which Jahangir belonged began in India with Babur Padishah (1483–1530), a Timurid prince from Central Asia who seized the kingdom of Kabul in 1504 after he had been driven from his homeland and patrimony by the invading Uzbeks. Babur had been ruling in Kabul for over twenty years and engaging in periodic raids on the northwestern frontier of the subcontinent when he defeated Sultan Ibrahim II of the Delhi Sultanate at Panipat in 1526 and fell heir to the kingdom of Delhi and its possessions in the Punjab and the Doab (the region between the Jumna and Ganges Rivers). The next year at Khanua he defeated a coalition of Rajputs under Rana Sanga (Sangramasinha) of Mewar and gained control of the region west and south of Agra. Babur died in 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Humayun (1508–1556), but after a reign of ten years he was defeated by an Afghan confederation under Sher Khan Sur at the Battle of the Ganges, after which he was forced to pull back to Lahore and eventually to flee the subcontinent. Reinforced by the Safavid Shah Tahmasp of Iran, with whom he had taken refuge, he returned fifteen years later in 1555, defeated the Afghans, and reestablished himself in Agra and Delhi. After Humayun's accidental death in 1556, his son Akbar ruled for fifty years. Under Akbar imperial rule was consolidated in the central and northern subcontinent; Malwa, Gujarat, and Khandesh were acquired; and in 1576, Bengal (what is now West Bengal and Bangladesh) was added to the empire. The kingdoms and states south of the Mughals—the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar, the Adilshahis of Bijapur, and the Qutbshahis of Golconda—were forced to acknowledge Akbar's supremacy, but the Mughals were still not strong enough to annex these kingdoms directly, and they remained a thorn in the side that occupied much of Jahangir's and Shahjahan's reigns.

❁ *Divisions of the Empire*

The Mughal Empire was divided into large administrative provinces called soubas, of which there were sixteen—Agra, Ajmer, Allahabad, Bengal, Berar, Bihar, Delhi, Gujarat, Kabul, Khandesh, Lahore (the Punjab), Malwa, Multan, Orissa, Oudh, and Thatta (Sind)—ruled by provincial governors (*subadars*). The soubas were subdivided into smaller units called *sarkars*, the official in charge of which was the *fawjdar*, whose main duty was to keep the peace. The next smaller administrative unit was the *pargana*, which was administered on the local level by an agent (*amil*) whose main concern was the collection of revenue from the villages that made up the *pargana*. This hierarchical structure notwithstanding, the Mughal state was "highly centralized, and the emperor was the real pivot of the government. No important administrative decision was taken without his full cognizance; many matters of detail and, by modern standards, trivial were regularly brought to his notice."¹⁶ This fact is brought out particularly well in Jahangir's memoirs, in which we find him making decisions on matters that we would consider far beneath an emperor's concern.

Jahangir managed the empire largely at a distance from the capital. In fact, it is a mistake to think of the empire as having a fixed capital, although to a certain extent Agra was always the nominal seat of the central government. The capital and court

were wherever the emperor happened to be at the moment. True to their Central Asian heritage, the Mughal emperors were often on the move, and as the emperor moved, so too did the entire panoply of court—in duplicate. When Jahangir traveled so too did the bureaucracy, the workshops, the imperial harem, the nobles with their retinues, and all the servants, workers, scouts, guards, hangers-on, and camp followers. Before a move was made, imperial camp A was sent out one day's march in advance to set up and await the emperor's arrival. In the meanwhile camp B, the *pesbkbana*, the forward camp, proceeded a day's march ahead of camp A and pitched. Once the emperor set out from camp A and it was dismantled, it was taken a day's march ahead of camp B and became the *pesbkbana* to await the arrival of the imperial entourage. Leapfrogging in this manner, the two camps alternated until the destination was reached. The unbelievable panoply that accompanied the emperor is well described by Peter Mundy, who described Shahjahan's entry into Burhanpur on June 1, 1632 as follows:

Myselpe, with Sunderdas, went towards Darree ca bagh [Dahre-ka Bagh, Dahra Garden] to see the Kinge comeinge thither. By the way, before wee could gett forth of the Cittie, wee were stopped and hindred by a great number of Eliphants, Cammells, Carts and Coaches laden with lumberment, which came from the laskerre [*lasbkar*], or Campe, also many Coaches, Palanqueenes and doolees with woemen. . . . Att length wee were informed whereabout the king was himselpe; for all the face of the earth, soe farr as wee could see, was covered with people, troopes of horses, Eliphants, etts., with innumerable flaggs small and great, which made a most gallant shew; for it is the Custome of every perticular great man to goe with a great many of theis flaggs carried before him. . . . Then thousands of horsemen going breadthwise, then came about 19 or 20 great Eliphants of state with coverings and furniture; most of them of Cloth of gold, the rest rich stufte, velvets, &c.; some of them carryinge a flagg with the kings Armes, which is a Tygar couching with the Sunne riseinge over his backe. . . . Then came the kinge himselpe mounted on a darke gray horse, and with him Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahabat Khan. . . . A litle distance behinde rode his eldest sonne Daroo Shuchir [Dara-Shikoh] all alone, All the rest of the Amrawes [*umaras*] or Lords on foote, before and behinde, and on each side of him. . . . All theis moveinge in one, on soe many huge Eliphants seemed like a fleete of shippes with flagg and streamers. . . . Soe that all theis together made a most majestical, warlike and delightsome sight.¹⁷

17. Mundy, *Travels* 2:188ff.

One can easily imagine that Jahangir's entry into Ahmadabad (page 244) must have made a similar impression on spectators.

Jahangir moved around frequently during his reign. He left Lahore in March 1607 for Kabul, where he arrived in June 1607. He left Kabul in August 1607, stopped in Delhi in February of 1608, and went on to Agra in March. After remaining in Agra for five years, he set out in September 1613 to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mu'inuddin Chishti at Ajmer, arriving in November. He remained in Ajmer until the end of October 1616, when he departed for a visit to Malwa, Mandu, and Gujarat. He returned to Agra in April 1619. In October of that same year he left for Kashmir, returning in February 1621. In October 1621 he left Agra again for a tour of the hill country, arrived in Ajmer in May 1623, departed there in November 1623 for Kashmir, arriving the end of May 1624. In September 1624 he left Kashmir for Lahore. In April 1626 he went to Kabul, departing in August 1626, arriving in Lahore in October. In March 1627 he set out for Kashmir, and there he died on October 29, 1627.

18. The situation in Jahangir's time can be extrapolated from a later passage in Abdul-Hamid's *Paadshahnama* 2:506f., where he states that during Shahjahan's reign an officer who held a *jagir* in the same province in which he was serving was expected to present one third of the number of horses indicated by his *suwar* rank, while an officer who held a fief in a different province was expected to present only a fourth of the number of his *suwar* rank. The number of horses determined the number of soldiers the officer was expected to field as follows. Of the soldiers under the command of a full-time (i.e. twelve-month service) officer, 30% were *se-aspa* (provided with three horses each), 60% were *du-aspa* (provided with two horses), and 10% were *yak-aspa* (provided with one horse)—a ratio of 220 horses for every 100 soldiers. A three-quarter-time officer (nine months a year) was expected to present 60% *du-aspa* and 40% *yak-aspa*, a ratio of 160 horses for every 100 soldiers. A half-time officer (six-month service) presented 10% *du-aspa* and 90% *yak-aspa*, a ratio of 110 horses for every 100 soldiers, and so on with all intervening gradations. A full-time officer holding a *suwar* rank of 1,500 and serving in his own province would therefore be expected to present 500 horses and 227 soldiers. There were further complications, but basically the system operated on these principles. During Jahangir's reign the number of horses and soldiers

❁ *Pomp and Circumstance*

The system of rank that is constantly met with in the memoirs was officially instituted by Akbar, but it was fully established under Jahangir. Rank consisted of a dual number, the first of which was called *zat*, or personal rank, and the second was called *suwar*, the horseman rank. The *zat* number indicates an individual's personal rank, but it has actual meaning only in relation to others, i.e. an individual who held the rank of 2,500 outranked by far someone who held the rank of 1,000. By the *zat* rank were solved the knotty problems of precedence and who stood "higher," or closer to and on which side of the emperor, at court ceremonials, and salaries drawn from the treasury were also tied to the *zat* rank. The *suwar* rank theoretically reflected some multiple of the number of horses the officer was expected to present for branding at the spring muster.¹⁸ There was no "civilian" rank as opposed to military, so persons who were affiliated primarily with the bureaucracy and other occupations we would consider principally civilian held relatively small *suwar* ranks that were probably purely nominal. To finance the maintenance of troops, to each officer was assigned a land grant, called *jagir*, which was supposed to be capable of producing the income required to maintain, mount, and field his troops.¹⁹ Unlike European feudal grants, however, the holder was not expected to live on or personally administer his land, no fief was hereditary,²⁰ and the Mughal system jealously kept the stewards who administered and collected taxes from marrying into local families in order to prevent them from acquiring vested interests.²¹ As even the casual reader will notice, rank inflation set in rapidly, and by no stretch of the imagination were princes of the blood with the rank of 20,000/20,000 expected to field 20,000 horses, although they certainly held valuable fiefs and drew emoluments from the treasury that would have enabled them to do so.

Nobles were well rewarded for their services, but elaborate gift-giving was part of the bargain. *Peshkash* (offerings) and/or *nazr* (vows), which were donated to charity, were expected whenever the nobles appeared at court. Very elaborate gifts were expected on Nawroz. But gift-giving was reciprocal, and the givers usually received in excess of what they gave, even if the award of a pair of elephants from the emperor might be viewed with some skepticism, given the cost of maintaining elephants.

All grants of nobility were purely and solely at the discretion of the emperor. When a noble died, all his holdings reverted to the crown. This is not to say that the offspring of the nobles did not have a certain advantage in life. By virtue of being personally known to the emperor and having access to the "halls of power," the sons of nobles often attained nobility and rank themselves, but this was by no means a certainty. Jahangir muses on the worthlessness of some of his nobles' offspring, as well he should know, having himself produced several worthless sons, as he readily admits. Theoretically the Mughal system was merit-based, and individuals of talent from the most obscure backgrounds were supposed to be able to rise through the ranks to high positions, even if in practice it never hurt to have illustrious antecedents.²² To Europeans, accustomed to a land-based hereditary nobility, the fluidity of Mughal nobility must have seemed very strange.

❁ *Ladies of the Harem*

One tends to think of the women of the imperial harem as being cloistered and secluded not only from sight but also from any participation in society, but this image is far from correct. The ladies of the harem would not, of course, have appeared in public—or even semipublic—affairs unveiled, but they actively participated in all

aspects of court life from behind their lattice screens. They accompanied the emperor on all his travels and went hunting with him—we even see that Nurjahan (1577–1645), Jahangir's principal wife, was a crack shot with a gun, not an easy feat with the encumbrance of a veil, as Jahangir comments. They managed their own estates, issued documents,²³ carried on correspondence, and arranged elaborate entertainments. Some of them wrote poetry, but because so many of them adopted the pen name Makhfi (secluded), it is difficult to assign any given poem to a particular woman. Many were accomplished calligraphers and painters, and at least one specimen of Nurjahan's calligraphy is known.²⁴ There was, however, one aspect of life in which Mughal princesses did not always participate: marriage. Although sources do not elaborate on the custom, either there was a decision after Akbar's reign that no one outside of the imperial family was of sufficiently high station to marry a female member of the ruling house or else there were simply no available princes around. Prior to that time, Babur's sisters had been married, as had been Humayun's sister Gulrukh Begam, Akbar's half sisters Bakhshi Banu and Bakhtunnisa had both been married. Jahangir speaks of his three sisters, Shahzada, Shakarunnisa, of whom he was extremely fond, and the spoiled, ill-tempered Aram Banu. Shahzada was married to Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza, a member of the Safavid royal house; Shakarunnisa was married to the regal Shahrukh Mirza of Badakhshan, who was also distantly related to the Mughals;²⁵ whether or not Aram Banu was married is not known. One of Jahangir's daughters was married to a cousin, but it is certain that none of Shahjahan's daughters was married. Since, aside from Shahjahan's own sons, the few surviving male members of the imperial house (Princes Shahryar, Dawarbaksh, Tahmuras, and Hoshang) were killed in 1628, there may have been no one for them to marry. After Shahjahan's time, when there were a few princes of the blood around, Aurangzeb married his fifth daughter to his nephew Izadbakhsh, the son of his brother Muradbakhsh. The notion of marriage outside the family would not likely have been entertained.

❁ *Mughal Histories and Historiography*

The Mughals had a flourishing tradition of history-writing. Babur (ruled in India 1526–30) wrote his own memoirs. Humayun's reign (1530–40, 1555–56) was chronicled by Mihtar Jawhar Aftabachi in his *Tazkiratu'l-waqi'at*, by Bayazid Bayat in his *Tarikh-i-Humayun* (covering the years 1542 through 1591), and by Humayun's own sister Gulbadan Begim in her *Humayunnama*. Akbar's reign (1556–1605) is well documented in the voluminous *Akbarnama* by Abu'l-Fazl. Shahjahan's reign (1628–58) was exceptionally well recorded by the historians Muhammad-Salih Kambo in his *Amal-i-Salib*, Abdul-Hamid Lahawri in his *Padshabnama*, Inayat Khan in his *Shahjahanama*, and Sadiq Khan in his *Shahjahanama*. There are also two unfinished versified histories by Muhammad-Jan Qudsi and Abu-Talib Kalim. Aurangzeb's reign (1658–1707) is chronicled in Muhammad-Kazim's *Alamgirnama* and Musta'idd Khan's *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*.²⁶ For Jahangir's reign (1605–27), by contrast, there are only Jahangir's own memoirs and Mu'tamad Khan's relatively short *Iqbalnama*, which was based largely on the memoirs.²⁷ Hence Jahangir's memoirs are really *the* history of his reign since, unlike his predecessors and successors, he did not engage or commission professional historians but took it upon himself to record for posterity what he considered to be significant events of his reign. This has left us with many sections in the memoirs in which miscellaneous promotions are recorded. These may not be particularly interesting for the general reader, but they are of great historical value. On the other hand, Jahangir's

an officer was expected to field was probably somewhat more than the figures given for Shahjahan's reign, given the constant tendency to rank inflation.

19. That this did not always work out in practice is shown by the fact that during Shahjahan's reign officers whose *jagir* incomes were exhausted by troop maintenance were entitled to a compensatory stipend from the treasury equivalent to a quarter of the *jagir* revenue (Abdul-Hamid, *Padshabnama* 2:507).

20. Although *jagirs* were not hereditary, often a son of a deceased *jagirdar* was awarded his father's *jagir*, and over time some estates became hereditary in practice, if not in theory.

21. See, for instance, the ninth of Jahangir's twelve inaugural decrees on page 26.

22. "Obscure background" needs to be modified here to reflect its true significance. Those who gained entrée into the rank system came from the educated classes and the "quality," the *a'yan* in Mughal terminology. Nowhere do we meet with a simple agricultural worker or ordinary villager who has been ennobled, much less a representative of the urban lower classes.

23. In a particularly interesting document belonging to the Art and History Trust (reproduced on page 394), Nurjahan berates Raja Jai Singh in no uncertain terms for having the audacity to arrange a marriage between his sister and one of the princes without her approval.

24. A calligraphic specimen by Nurjahan is reproduced on page 354 (opposite folio 262a).

25. Both marriages are recorded in Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama* 3:990.

26. An English translation of Mihtar Jawhar's *Tazkiratu'l-waqi'at* was made by Major Charles Stewart (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1832). Half of Bayazid Bayat's *Tarikh-i-Humayun* was translated by B. P. Saksena in *Allahabad University Studies* 6/1 (1930): 71–148. Gulbadan Begim's *Humayunnama* was edited and translated by Annette S. Beveridge (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1902). Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbarnama* was edited by Agha Ahmad Ali and Abd al-Rahim for the Bibliotheca Indica (Cawnpore-Lucknow, 1881–83) and translated by Henry Beveridge for the Bibliotheca Indica in three volumes (Calcutta, 1897–1921). The section of the *Akbarnama* known as the *Ain-i-Akbari* was edited by Hermann Blochmann in two volumes (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867–77) and also translated into English by Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868–94). Muhammad-Salih Kambo's *Amal-i-Salib* was edited by Ghulam-Yazdani and published in three volumes (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912–39). Abdul-Hamid Lahawri's *Padshahnama* was edited by Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Abd Al-Rahim for the Bibliotheca Indica in two volumes (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867–68). Inayat Khan's *Shah-jabannama* has not been printed in Persian, but it was translated into English by Major A. R. Fuller and revised and edited by Wayne E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan: An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan*, Compiled by his Royal Librarian (New Delhi, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Sadiq Khan's *Shah-jabannama* has never

penchant for recording minutiae of his daily schedule has produced other sections that, as fascinating as they are for the general reader and for all the light they shed on Jahangir's character, are of little or no historical significance.

Jahangir's memoirs are written in Persian, the normal language among educated people in Mughal India. He claims that he also knew some Turkish, his ancestral language—"Although I grew up in Hindustan, I am not ignorant of how to speak or write Turkish" (page 77)—and he certainly must have learned to speak some form of local Hindustani from his mother or other Rajput women in the harem, although he never says so. (It is difficult to imagine how else he might have communicated so well and so often with the hermit Gosain Jadrup, for example.) Since Persian is no longer a living language of the subcontinent, and it did not originate there either, it may be helpful to trace its development in brief.

Persian was introduced into the Indian subcontinent as an administrative language at the end of the tenth century by the invading Ghaznavids, who established an empire in the Punjab that outlasted their home empire in Ghazna (south of Kabul) by almost a century and a half. Although not the first contact between the subcontinent and Islamic civilization, the Ghaznavid incursion is responsible for the lasting Islamization of northern India and the pervasive Persianate civilization it embraced. Throughout the rapidly changing dynasties that succeeded, the Persian language and its cultural baggage remained stable, spreading downward into society as Islamization—either religiously or culturally—filtered down from the ruling classes and upward with the activity of Persian-educated Sufi missionaries. What is now called the "Mughal Empire"²⁸ was founded in the subcontinent in 1526 by Babur, who was descended from the Turkish conqueror Amir Temür (known in the West as Tamerlane) and was originally from the Fergana Valley in what is now Uzbekistan. Like every educated Central Asian Turk at the time, Babur was totally bilingual in his native Chaghatay Turkish and in Persian, so when he came to the subcontinent, the language neither of the bureaucracy nor of the ruling class or "polite society" had to be changed in the slightest, for culturally speaking Babur and his men, Central Asian Turks though they were, were completely acculturated to the same Persianate civilization that had long since been domesticated in the subcontinent. Turkish-speaking rulers were also nothing new to the subcontinent: all dynasties ruling in Delhi from around 1200 were either Turks or Afghans, and all used Persian as the language of administration and culture. In fact, over the century of Mughal rule before Jahangir, the Persianization of India had only increased. When Humayun returned to the throne after his fifteen-year exile in Safavid Iran, he brought with him many Iranians, and this influx further reinforced the already entrenched position of Persian. To this can be added the immigration of a large number of talented Iranians fleeing Safavid Iran for either religious or economic reasons in the early sixteenth century. On the religious side, the Safavids had made Twelver Shiism the state—and sole tolerated—religion within their realm. Those who chose not to convert from Sunnism had to emigrate to Sunni lands, either westward to the Ottoman Empire or eastward to the subcontinent. Economically, the creation of the highly centralized Safavid empire had deprived Iran of a number of local courts, which historically had given employment to a large number of poets, bureaucrats, and administrators, among others. These out-of-work educated elite also left Iran, generally for the subcontinent, where opportunities for employment were more promising. An excellent example of such Iranian émigrés is Ghiyas Beg, the future I'timaduddawla, who left Iran and, after harrowing experiences en route, arrived in India with his wife, his son Abu'l-Hasan, who became

Asaf Khan, and his daughter Mihrunnisa, who eventually married Jahangir and became Nurjahan.

❁ *Jahangir's Personality*

Ruling over a vast empire in a time of relative peace and great prosperity, Jahangir enjoyed riches beyond even the wildest imagination. Jewel connoisseurship, hunting, and drinking were his passions, and although he took his ceremonial duties quite seriously, even when he was ill, he was able to leave much of the routine affairs of government—and all the fighting—to subordinates. Yet for all Jahangir's organizational ability and interest in his subjects, when one takes into consideration the amount of wine and opiates he consumed every day, one wonders whether he ever drew a completely sober breath. A conscientious ruler and meticulous administrator of his empire, Jahangir lacked his great-grandfather Babur's adventurousness and his keen psychological insight into his friends, foes, and other contemporaries. His life was not filled with adventure or excitement, and as far as we can tell, he was never anywhere near a battle after his enthronement. He did not have the breadth of vision of his father, Akbar, who, as he says, had created an empire that accommodated

followers of various religions . . . in the broad scope of his peerless empire. . . . Just as all groups and the practitioners of all religions have a place within the spacious circle of God's mercy . . . , in my father's realm, which ended at the salty sea, there was room for practitioners of various sects and beliefs, both true and imperfect, and strife and altercation were not allowed. Sunni and Shiite worshiped in one mosque, and Frank and Jew in one congregation. Utter peaceableness was his established way. He conversed with the good of every group, every religion, and every sect and gave his attentions to each in accordance with their station and ability to understand (page 40).

Jahangir was, however, a keen observer of the world around him; had he lived in a different time he might have been a naturalist. His fondness for close observation of animals and the obvious affection in which he held them is brought out best in the sequence on the crane family he watched with such interest.²⁹ He loved having baby gazelles and mountain goats around and was highly amused by their antics (page 302). He was fascinated by orangutans and other exotic monkeys that travelers brought for him to view. Strange and unusual natural phenomena held great fascination for the medieval Islamic world in general, but Jahangir lived on the threshold of the modern world, in which such oddities did not have to be read about in books or shown by fantastic illustrations but could be physically transported from the far corners of the globe and exhibited to the emperor.

In this connection a word should be said about European presence in Jahangir's India, even though the "Franks"—the generic term by which all Western Europeans were known—are scarcely mentioned in the memoirs. Initial direct European contact with the subcontinent came in 1498 when, as we all learned in school, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and was taken from Malindi in east Africa to Calicut on the Malabar coast by an Indian navigator. Having aggressively established themselves commercially and politically, the Portuguese were followed closely by the English and the Dutch, and by the end of the following century there were regular commercial ties between Europe and the subcontinent. In 1613 the English were granted imperial permission to establish trading posts—called "factories" at the time—

been printed. Muhammad-Kazim's *Alamgirnama* was edited by Khadim Husayn and Abd al-Hayy for the Bibliotheca Indica and printed in Calcutta, 1865–73. Musta'idd Khan's *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* was edited for the Bibliotheca Indica by Agha Ahmad Ali and printed in Agra in 1873. The first ten years were translated by Henry Vansittart, *The History of the First Ten Years of the Reign of Alamgeer*, and printed in Calcutta in 1785. All the above-mentioned works are originally in Persian, of course.

27. Partial editions of the *Iqbalnama* were made by Abd al-Hayy and Ahmad Ali for the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1865, vol. 3 only); Lucknow 1870 (vols. 1–3), and Lucknow 1890 (vol. 3 only). An Urdu translation was made by Muhammad Zakariya Ma'il (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1963).

28. It is worth repeating here that the "Mughals" did not refer to themselves as Mughals at all. It is a misnomer picked up in the sixteenth century by Europeans, mainly the Portuguese, from a local usage, probably derogatory, and perpetuated ever thereafter. From the common European appellation the word has even reentered Indian languages as *mughli* (as in the name of the young hero of Kipling's *Jungle Book*). "Mughal" comes from the same word that gives our "Mongol," and in Babur's time it referred not to actual Mongols from Mongolia but to the highly Mongolianized Turks of Moghulistan. It is true that Babur's mother was the daughter of the khan of Moghulistan, but Babur would have been dismayed had he known that his dynasty would be known by this name. It is, of course, far too late now even to contemplate changing our common name for

the dynasty, but the reader should be aware that the "Mughals" referred to themselves as Timurids (see page 33, where Jahangir still dreams of recapturing Timurid ancestral lands from the Uzbeks in Central Asia), and in the rare instance in which they applied anything like an official name to their dynasty, they called themselves the *Silsila-i Gurkaniyya* "the Gurkanid Dynasty," a reference to Amir Temür's title of *gurkan*, from the Mongolian *gürügän* 'son-in-law,' a title dating back to the time of Genghis Khan and accorded all who married princesses of Genghisid blood, as did Amir Temür and Babur's father, Umar-Shaykh Mirza.

29. The pair, nicknamed Layli and Majnun after the famous lovers of Persian romance, mates on page 266; a nest is made and an egg is laid on page 269f; they hatch two chicks on page 274; the male's affection for the chicks is tested on page 277; they encounter another pair of cranes in the wild on page 279.

30. Sir Thomas Roe's experiences in India are recorded in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619*.

31. *Jahangir Receiving Prince Parvez at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.654, reproduced on page 305 (opposite folio 218b).

32. For a contemporary Jesuit's account of his stay in India and his dealings with Jahangir, see Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*.

33. See Beach et al., *King of the World*, 95, figure 38, *Jahangir Receives Prince Khurram on his Return from the Mewar Campaign*, where several European paintings can be seen affixed to the wall above and behind the emperor.

in Surat, Ahmadabad, and Cambay. In 1615 James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to Jahangir, and he remained at court until 1618, but his presence was not sufficiently impressive to rate inclusion in the memoirs.³⁰ Indeed, Jahangir makes no more than cursory passing mention of the "Franks" as squabbling interlopers who merited little of his attention. The Jesuits also maintained an active presence at Jahangir's court, and a Jesuit "padre"—so labeled in Persian—is depicted in a Jahangir-period court painting.³¹ Apparently the missionaries were so well treated that they allowed themselves to hope they might convert the emperor—but they are not mentioned at all in the memoirs.³²

European art that reached the Mughal court is another story. Europeans were appreciated mainly for the oddities and rarities they brought, including works of European art, which was highly valued and profoundly influenced the technique and vocabulary of Mughal painting. Works of European art can be seen hung at court in some of the illustrations dating from Jahangir's and Shahjahan's periods.³³ Always curious about unusual animals, objects, places, and peoples, Jahangir comments on oddities brought by the Franks and others, like the pineapple (pages 24 and 206), a North American turkey (page 133), and a zebra from Africa (page 360).

Pragmatic and a firm believer in reason, Jahangir had not the slightest trace of gullibility. "This is so strange, it is recorded here," he is fond of commenting, or, "It does not accord with reason, and my mind does not accept it." Of course, he had his prejudices and blind spots too. Although he was religiously tolerant, his tolerance did not extend to religious chicanery of any stripe: he dealt summarily with a self-styled guru whose actions had displeased him (page 59), he drove a yogi away and had his idol smashed (page 153), and he imprisoned a famous Muslim divine who thought too highly of himself (page 304). At the same time, however, he was devoted to and believed implicitly in saints' tombs and the efficacy of holy men's prayers, particularly those he thought had brought about his birth. A child of his age, he also believed in astrology and was careful to give alms to ward off the inauspiciousness that could be occasioned by an infelicitous conjunction of planets (page 111). There are few instances in the memoirs of the sort of fickle "oriental despotism" popular imagination might have one expect, and the one occasion on which he had one of his grooms killed for a relatively minor offense (page 106) will strike the reader as astonishingly uncharacteristic, for another time, when his servants, terrified by a lion, knocked him down and ran right over him—"in the rush I was knocked back one or two paces. I know for certain that two or three of them stepped on my chest getting over me" (page 117)—his reaction was quite restrained. Although he was an avid hunter and took great pride in maintaining an accurate count of the vast numbers of animals he bagged,³⁴ he also extended his father's injunction against the slaughter of animals and encouragement of meatless days to two days a week and to a period of days equal to the number of his years at every birthday.

Jahangir was fond of "scientific" experiments of his own devising. He debunked the accepted reason for the mountain sheep's pugnacity (page 65); he tested the reported efficacy of bitumen for broken bones on a chicken and found that it had none (page 143f); he tested the relative salubrity of the air in Ahmadabad and Mahmudabad by hanging sheep carcasses in each city to see which carcass would putrefy sooner (page 274f); he took an active interest in animal husbandry and goat breeding (page 302); he determined the gestation periods for elephants with nearly correct results (page 160); and he examined a lion's and wolf's livers to see whether their gall bladders were inside or outside the liver as a measure of courage (pages 207 and 213).

As was virtually customary for Mughal emperors, Jahangir's reign began and ended with family trouble. His first clash with his own children was with his eldest son, Khusraw, whose rebellious actions had driven his Rajput mother to commit suicide (page 51). Twenty years later Jahangir was still having trouble with his offspring—this time with the son who had long been his favorite, Khurram, who was to succeed him as Shahjahan. Now, with Shahjahan in open rebellion and Jahangir old beyond his years and too worn out to rule, Jahangir's more than willing wife Nurjahan leapt into the breach and took over effective control of the empire together with her brother Asaf Khan. Unfortunately Nurjahan figures very little in the memoirs, a fact particularly regrettable since she and Asaf Khan wielded such enormous power during the last years of the reign, as had their father, I'timaduddawla, until his death in 1622. In an attempt to thwart Shahjahan and to ensure the succession of Prince Shahryar, Nurjahan concealed Jahangir's death on the return journey from Kashmir. The plan failed, however, and Shahjahan was enthroned in Agra on January 23, 1628, three months after Jahangir's death.

It is the playful but world-weary and tired Jahangir that was remembered in the subcontinent. The Venetian traveler Niccola Manucci records the following anecdote about Jahangir he picked up in India at least half a century after the emperor's death:

One day he was passing through Lahor city when he saw a number of little children playing in the street. He descended from his elephant, sat himself down on the ground in their midst, and distributed sweets, flowers, clothes, gold and silver coin. After embracing and kissing them, he said tearfully: 'Better were it for me to die or to be a little one like you, not to be as I am to-day, with my conscience entangled in the affairs of this weary world.' At these words he took his departure with a salutation, the tears streaming from his eyes. From these and other like acts the people judged that this king feared God, and desired to live without causing harm to his vassals.³⁵

34. A word needs to be said concerning the confusion of lions and tigers that has crept into translations of Jahangir's memoirs. In Persian, lion is *sber* and tiger is *babr*; in modern Hindustani, the Persian word for lion, *sber*, means tiger (cf. Kipling's Sher Khan clearly a tiger), and lion is compounded of both words, *babr sber*. This unusual linguistic situation has led to confusion between the two cats in translation, but it is clear that in Jahangir's time *sber* still meant lion and not tiger. On folio 94b, Jahangir is speaking of lions, but it has been translated previously as tigers (Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. Rogers, 240). In the episode on page 117f, in which Anup Rai was mauled by a lion—and for this we have several contemporary illustrations that clearly show a lion—the same confusion in terminology has turned the lion into a tiger (Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. Rogers, 185–87). There is also confusion in terminology between leopards (*yuz*) and cheetahs (*chita*), and some instances of *yuz* in the memoirs may actually mean cheetah (as on page 144), or even panther, but for lack of evidence to the contrary I have maintained consistency in translating *yuz* as leopard and reserved cheetah for *chita*.

35. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* 4:95.

☉ *Muqarrab Khan Brings Rarities from Goa*

On the sixteenth of Farvardin [March 25], Muqarrab Khan, one of the most important and long-serving Jahangirid servants, who had been promoted to the rank of 3000/2000, arrived from the port of Cambay to pay homage. I had ordered him to go to the port of Goa on several items of business and see the vice-rei, the governor of Goa, and to purchase any rarities he could get hold of there for the royal treasury. As ordered, he went to Goa with all preparedness and stayed there a while. Without consideration for cost, he paid any price the Franks asked for whatever rarities he could locate. When he returned from there to court, he presented the rarities he had brought for my inspection several times. He had every sort of thing and object. He had brought several very strange and unusual animals I had not seen before. No one even knew what their names were. Although His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur] wrote in his memoirs of the shapes and forms of some animals,⁹ apparently he did not order the artists to depict them. [85a] Since these animals looked so extremely strange to me, I both wrote of them and ordered the artists to draw their likenesses in the *Jahangirnama* so that the astonishment one has at hearing of them would increase by seeing them.

One of the animals was larger in body than a peahen and significantly smaller than a peacock. Sometimes when it displays itself during mating it spreads its tail and its other feathers like a peacock and dances. Its beak and legs are like a rooster's. Its head, neck, and wattle constantly change color. When it is mating they are as red as can be—you'd think it had all been set with coral. After a while these same places become white and look like cotton. Sometimes they look turquoise. It keeps changing color like a chameleon. The piece of flesh it has on its head resembles a cock's comb. The strange part about it is that when it is mating, the piece of flesh hangs down a span from its head like an elephant's trunk, but then when it pulls it up it stands erect a distance of two fingers like a rhinoceros' horn. The area around its eyes is always turquoise-colored and never changes. Its feathers appear to be of different colors, unlike a peacock's feathers.

He also brought a simian of a strange and curious shape. Its hands, feet, ears, and head are exactly like a monkey's, but its face resembles a fox's. The color of its eyes is like a hawk's, but its eyes are larger than a hawk's. It is an ordinary cubit from its head to the base of its tail, shorter than a monkey but longer than a fox. Its fur is like the wool of a sheep, and it is gray. From its earlobe to its chin is a wine-colored red. Its tail



NORTH AMERICAN TURKEY, by Mansur. India, Mughal period, ca. 1612. Opaque watercolor on paper. 22.5 x 15.5. cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum. IM 135–1921

9. For Babur's description of the animals of Hindustan, see *Baburnama*, folios 274b–282b.

would have stopped if I had so motioned, I thought that if I checked it from going over the bridge, [196b] the people would know that my drunken actions were a pretense, and it would be obvious that neither was I drunk nor was the elephant out of control, and such actions are unsuitable for kings. Therefore, asking for God's help and assistance, I did not stop my elephant from pursuing the other one, and both set off across the bridge. Since the bridge was made of boats, every time it put one of its feet on the edge of a boat, one end went into the water and the other came out. At every step I thought the boats were going to break apart. Seeing this, the people were about to go mad with worry. However, since God's protection has been with me in every place and at every time, both elephants crossed the bridge safely."



On Thursday the twenty-fifth [October 7] a wine party was held on the banks of the Mahi River, and several elite servants who have admittance to this type of party and celebration were given brimful goblets and had their hearts' desires fulfilled. Without exaggeration, it was an extremely pleasant spot. We stayed there four days for two reasons. One was the pleasantness of the site, and the other was so that the people could cross without fear.

On Sunday the twenty-eighth [October 10] we decamped from the banks of the Mahi. On Monday we marched again.

❁ *The Saga of the Cranes, Continued*

On this day a strange sight was seen. The pair of cranes that had produced young had been brought from Ahmadabad on Thursday and left to wander around with their chicks in the courtyard of the palace beside the tank. As it happened both the male and female made cries and a pair of wild saras cranes heard them and cried out from the other side of the tank. Then they flew over and the male began to fight with the male and the female with the female. Although several people were standing around, they paid not the slightest attention to them. The eunuchs who were in charge of the cranes ran forward to catch the wild ones, and one of the eunuchs seized the male and another the female. The one who had seized the male managed to keep a struggling hold on it, while the one who had caught the female couldn't hold her, and she escaped his grasp. With my own hand I put rings in their noses and on their feet and turned them loose. They both returned to their place and quieted down. However, every time the tame cranes cried out, the others cried out in answer.

Something similar was once seen in a wild antelope. I had gone hunting in the pargana of Karnal, [197a] and there were around thirty persons with me, huntsmen and servants. A black buck antelope came into view along with several does, and we set out a decoy antelope to fight with it. They butted horns two or three times, and the decoy turned around and came back toward us. We wanted to fasten a *phana* on the decoy's horns and put it back out again so that the other one would get tangled in it.¹⁷ Just then the wild antelope, in a territorial rage, disregarded the men and came charging, butted horns two or three times with the decoy antelope, and disappeared.

❁ *The Death of Inayat Khan*

On this date news came of the death of Inayat Khan. He was one of my closest servants and subjects. In addition to eating opium he also drank wine when he had the chance. Little by little he became obsessed with wine, and since he had a weak frame, he drank more than his body could tolerate and was afflicted with diarrhea. While so

17. The *phana* is a weighted cord attached to a decoy antelope's antlers that gets tangled in a wild antelope's antlers and locks the two together. This method of catching antelopes is described by Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 276b.



THE DYING INAYAT KHAN. India, Mughal period, ca. 1618. Ink and light color on paper. 9.5 x 13.3 cm. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 14.679

weakened he was overcome two or three times by something like epileptic fits. By my order Hakim Rukna treated him, but no matter what he did it was to no avail. In addition, Inayat Khan developed a ravenous appetite, and although the doctor insisted that he not eat more than once a day, he couldn't restrain himself and raged like a madman. Finally he developed cachexia and dropsy and grew terribly thin and weak.

Several days prior to this he requested that he be taken ahead to Agra. I ordered him brought to me to be given leave to depart. He was put in a palanquin and brought. He looked incredibly weak and thin. "Skin stretched over bone." Even his bones had begun to disintegrate. Whereas painters employ great exaggeration when they depict skinny people, nothing remotely resembling him had ever been seen. Good God! how can a human being remain alive in this shape? The following two lines of poetry are appropriate to the situation: [197b] "If my shadow doesn't hold my leg, I won't be able to stand until Doomsday. / My sigh sees my heart so weak that it rests a while on my lip."

It was so strange I ordered the artists to draw his likeness. At any rate, I found him so changed that I said, "At this time you mustn't draw a single breath without remembrance of God, and don't despair of His graciousness. If death grants you quarter, it should be regarded as a reprieve and means for atonement. If your term of life is up, every breath taken with remembrance of Him is a golden opportunity. Do not occupy your mind or worry about those you leave behind, for with us the slightest claim through service is much." Since his distress had been reported to me, I gave him a thousand rupees for traveling expenses and gave him leave to depart. He died the second day.



On Tuesday the thirtieth [October 12] the imperial camp was pitched beside the Manab River.¹⁸ The party for Thursday the second of Aban [October 14] was held at this station. Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 1000/800. Rai Sal's son Gridhr was also awarded the rank of 1000/800. Khan A'zam's son Abdullah Khan was promoted by 1000/300. I awarded Diler Khan, a jagirdar in the souba of Gujarat, a horse and an elephant. Shahbaz Khan Kambo's son Rambaz Khan came as ordered from the Deccan, was made bakhshi and reporter for the Bangash army, and received the rank of 800/400.

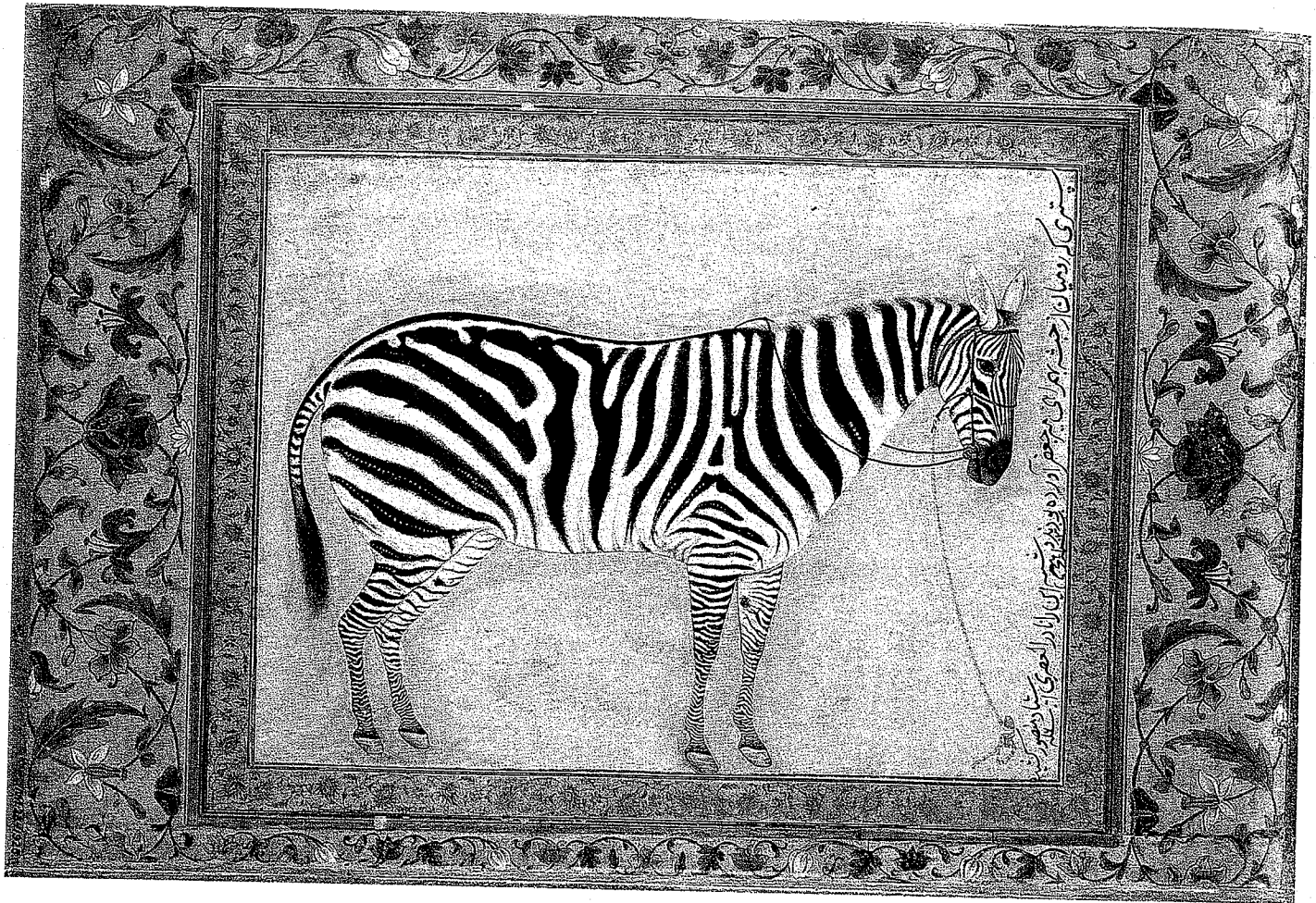
On Friday the third [October 15] I decamped. At this stage Prince Shuja', my son Shahjahan's darling son who had been brought up under Nurjahan Begam's protection and of whom I am inordinately fond, [198a] came down with a childhood illness called infantile epilepsy. He was unconscious for a long time. No matter what treatments and remedies those with experience tried, they did no good, and his unconsciousness robbed me of my consciousness. Since obviously nothing but hopelessness was being gained from material medication, I rubbed my forehead in humility and supplication before the divine court and asked for him to be restored to health.

In this state it occurred to me that inasmuch as I had promised God to stop shooting animals and not to harm any living thing with my own hand after completing my fiftieth year, if I ceased this activity as of this date with an intention for Shuja's recovery, his life might possibly be the means for saving a number of animals. God answered my prayer. In short, I made a solemn and honest undertaking with God that henceforth I would not harm any living thing with my own hand, and through divine grace the child's illness disappeared.

When I was in my mother's womb, one day there was no trace of the movement infants make inside the womb. Upset and in a dither, the nurses reported the situation to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. At that time my father used to hunt constantly with leopards. Since it was a Friday, he vowed that if I was safe and sound he would never hunt with leopards again on a Friday so long as he lived. Until the end of his life he remained constant to his pledge. I have also followed his example and have never hunted with leopards on Fridays. Anyway, we remained at this station for three days on account of my darling Shah-Shuja's illness. I hope that God will grant him a natural life span.

On Tuesday the seventh [October 19] we decamped. [198b] One day Hakim Ali's son was praising camel's milk. It occurred to me that if I drank it for a few days it might be beneficial and agree with my constitution. Asaf Khan had a female camel that was giving milk. I tried a little of it. Unlike other camels' milk, which is not without saltiness, I found it to be sweet and palatable. I have been drinking a bowl of it, which is half a water cup, every day for around a month. The obvious benefit is the elimination

18. This is probably the Panam River. Here the name in the text occurs as "Manab"; before (page 255) it was "Bayab."



ZEBRA, by Mansur. India, Mughal period, dated A.H. 1030 (1620–21). Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. 18.3 x 24 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum. IM 23–1925

On Thursday, at Asaf Khan's request, I went with the ladies of the harem to his house, where he had arranged a splendid party and presented for my inspection many valuables, gems, precious textiles, and rare objects. One hundred thirty thousand rupees' worth was accepted, and I gave him back the rest. Mukarram Khan had sent thirty-two elephants, both male and female, from Orissa, and they were accepted.

❁ *A Strange Striped Animal*

At this time I was shown a wild ass. It was extremely strange, for it was for all the world exactly like a tiger. Tigers have black and yellow stripes, but this one was black and white. There were black stripes, large and small in proportion to where they were, from the tip of its nose to the end of its tail and from the tip of its ear to the top of its hoof. Around its eyes were black stripes of great fineness—you'd say the painter of destiny had produced a tour de force on the canvas of time with his wonder-working brush.

It was so strange some thought it might have been painted, but after inspection it was clear that that was how God had made it. Since it was so rare it was included among the gifts for my brother Shah Abbas.



Bahadur Khan Uzbek had sent topchaq horses and Persian textiles as an offering, and they were viewed. Winter robes of honor were sent with Mu'min Shirazi for Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang and the amirs in Bengal.

On the fifteenth [March 25] Sadiq Khan's offering was viewed. Goods of all sorts worth fifteen thousand rupees were taken, and I gave the rest back to him. Fazil Khan also presented what he could as an offering on this day; only a little was taken.

On Thursday the nineteenth, I'timaduddawla arranged the celebration of culmination. I mounted the throne after the elapse of two watches and one ghari of the day. [266b] At I'timaduddawla's request the culmination celebration was held in his house, and he presented an outstanding offering of rarities and valuables from every region. He had really outdone himself. One hundred thirty-eight thousand rupees' worth was accepted. On this day I gave a two-hundred-tola mohur to Zaynal Beg, the ambassador.

Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang had sent several eunuchs from Bengal as an offering. One of them appeared to be a hermaphrodite, for he had both a male organ and the place that only women have, but he had no testicles. Also included in Ibrahim Khan's offering were two very fine, well-proportioned boats made in Bengal. Ten thousand rupees had been spent on the decoration alone. Without exaggeration they were really regal boats.

I made Shaykh Qasim governor of Allahabad, awarded him the title of Muhtasham Khan, and promoted him to the rank of 5000. I ordered the administrators to assign the jagir for his increase out of unapportioned lands. Raja Shyam Singh, the zamindar of Srinagar,¹ was given a horse and an elephant.

It was now reported that Husayn Khan's son Yusuf Khan had died suddenly while serving in the Deccan. It had been heard that while he was in his jagir he had become so fat that he got short of breath with the slightest movement or exertion. On the day he paid homage to Khurram he was huffing and puffing coming and going. When he was given a robe he couldn't even get it on and make a salute. All his limbs were trembling, and only with the greatest of difficulty did he manage to make a salute and get himself out. Then, taking shelter in an enclosure, he fainted. His servants put him in a palanquin and carried him home. No sooner had he arrived than he died, leaving the heap of dust he purchased so dearly to the mortal world.

On the first of Urdibihisht [April 10] I gave Zaynal Beg, the ambassador, a royal dagger.

Shabryar's Wedding

On the fourth of the month [April 13] a celebration was held for my son Shahryar's marriage. The henna party was held in Maryamuzzamani's quarters,² and the marriage was performed in I'timaduddawla's house. I went myself with the ladies of the harem and participated in the celebration.

After eight gharis had elapsed of Thursday night, the wedding took place under favorable auspices. It is hoped that it will prove to be auspicious for this dynasty. [267a]



On Tuesday the ninth [April 18] a jeweled charqab with a turban and cummerbund and two horses, one Persian with a golden saddle and the other Turkish with a painted saddle, were given to my son Shahryar in Nurafshan Garden.

1. This is the Srinagar in Garhwal, not the Srinagar in Kashmir.

2. The "henna party," called *banabandi*, is customary before weddings. The bride's hands and feet are decorated with patterns in henna. The custom is still observed in Iran and the Indian subcontinent.